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from an original picture in Lambeth Palace.

MATTHEW PARKER, D.D.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Born August 6.th 1504. *Died May 17.th 1575.*

THE

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

MATTHEW PARKER,

THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Various Transcripts of Records, Letters, Instruments, and other Papers, for the asserting or illustrating the foregoing History.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXXI.

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TO HIS GRACE

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

THOMAS,

BY THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN;
AND
ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it please your Grace,

AS I did, divers years ago, present Memorials of CRANMER, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, to your immediate predecessor in the said see; so I am ambitious to dedicate this Life of PARKER, the second Protestant Archbishop, unto your Grace: both of them equal, as in the great work they undertook, of reforming corrupt religion, and restoring the ancient Church of England; so in their *sufferings*, and all the effects of rage from evil men, for their most beneficial pains and service therein: whereof we, the succeeding generations in this happy island, have reaped the blessed fruits in our deliverance from the foreign Romish yoke, and for the holy primitive religion and worship established among us.

And, my Lord, this history of Archbishop PARKER is your due, not only as divine Providence hath

placed you, his worthy successor, in his chair, and laid upon you the same weighty office in this Church of England that he once bore; but also in respect of a more private relation your Grace standeth in to him, (which endears his memory to you,) *viz.* that you were bred up in his native city, and sent to his college, and was *his scholar* there, (as I have heard your Lordship call yourself,) and enjoyed a part of his noble benefactions for the encouragement of learning. For which reasons, but chiefly for the public benefit, your Grace hath been an approver and encourager of me in my undertaking of this work. A work so long wanted, and so much desired by learned men; especially such as have a veneration for the ancient, both civil and ecclesiastical, history of this realm, and the constitution of this Reformed Church: of both which Archbishop PARKER did so singularly merit.

As for the latter, *viz.* the Reformation, all the parts of it went through his hand. The methods that were used in this great and blessed undertaking, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, were chiefly the effect of his deep deliberation and counsel. And this work was justly laid upon him, out of the high esteem the Lord Keeper Bacon and Secretary Cecil (both very wise, able, and the Queen's chief Statesmen) had of his learning, wisdom, moderation, and piety; and likewise for his thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs in general, and particularly his understanding of the state of this Church, when the reforming of it was

first enterprised under King Henry VIII. and of all the steps that were taken in it afterwards.

And for this cause, my Lord, such as have been willing to look into Queen Elizabeth's Reformation, and to satisfy themselves about it, at the first hand, (and not implicitly to depend upon later historiographers of these matters,) and to understand aright the particulars how it began and was carried on in the former part of her reign, have desired so much to see an account of the life and acts of this chief manager thereof. Whereof, I hope, your Grace, as well as other learned and pious men, will not be disappointed in the perusing of these commentaries.

Especially, since what is here related may be credited; being the effect of a great many years' pains and collections, not only out of great plenty of authentic records and MSS. of those times, but of the Archbishop's own letters to others, and of other eminent men to him: which is the best supply and storehouse for the writing a true history. This was the cause that the great Daniel Heinsius approved much of publishing *epistolary conferences*, written between persons of public rank or office in the State, for the preserving of the real knowledge of things past, and for the drawing thence exact and just accounts of former transactions. "I have "always been of that opinion, (saith he in a letter "to a friend,) that nothing more instructs posterity, "than the reading of familiar discourses, in letters "between intimate friends, especially men of great "figure and place, as is usual: since in such corre-

" spondences things are sincerely related, without " colour or deceit[a]."

So that, I think, my Lord, nothing is wanting to the credit of this history, but the assurance of my fidelity in the use I have made both of the letters and the other originals. Which I here protest to your Grace, and all the world, I have done without favour or affection, and with an awful regard to truth and sincerity. I will not presume to detain your Grace any longer, after I have recommended myself and my studies unto your Grace's good acceptance; and so take my leave in all due observance, being,

If it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

[a] Nihil esse quod posteritatem magis instruat, quàm familiaris sermo, qualis est epistolaris, si à maximis præsertim viris, ad interioris notæ, ut solet fieri, amicos (apud quos nec fuco nec fallaciis est locus) liberè instituatur. *Dan. Heins. Nobiliss. Cornelio Vander Mile.*

THE

PREFACE.

I HAVE some things to advertise the reader; partly concerning this work, and partly concerning myself.

The Wise Man (Prov. x. 7.) saith, that *the memory of the righteous is blessed;* or, *attended with praises,* (according to the vulgar,) as a part of the reward of his virtues, after he is gone hence. This history is intended to contribute to this good end, *viz.* to revive and do right to the sacred *memory* of a righteous man: who was pious, and a confessor for pure religion; learned, and a great fautor and promoter of good learning; and also an illustrious member of this Church of England; being both a chief instrument in its reformation, and a primary defender and patron of its constitution. And as honour to his name may be perpetuated by these memorials of him, so considerable advantage and benefit likewise may arise thence unto us that read them. For the various passages and emergencies of this great and good Prelate's life will administer plentiful matter for our own behaviour, and imitation of his piety, prudence, liberality, resolution, patience, unmoveable constancy in a good cause, adherence to, and zealous defence of, the Church of England, as reformed and legally established. Hence also we shall be instructed in much of our ecclesiastic and academic history; which is necessarily and largely interwoven in these writings of his life, and runs along with each year of it.

For though the chief matters herein related respect the Archbishop only, and his painful discharge of his peculiar function and office; yet in the course of the history fall in many transactions about religion and the Church's affairs: as, how true religion was first brought in and settled:

what was done afterwards in ecclesiastical commissions, synods, and convocations, and visitations both of dioceses and houses of learning: what methods and labours were used for the preserving of peace and concord among Christians, and uniformity and unanimity in the service of God, both against those that favoured the old superstitions, and the supremacy of the Roman Bishop in the Britannic dominions, and likewise against a strong faction of the Protestant denomination; which laboured vehemently, not only to cast out the Liturgy of our Church, but to overthrow the ancient government of it by episcopacy; and to set up a different new discipline and regiment in the room thereof: and finally, what the Queen's and Court's influences were in these matters. Here also are shewn the Bishops that were placed in the sees, and that succeeded from time to time, with their characters. And withal, notice is taken of many other learned and eminent ecclesiastics, that in those times made a figure in their places and vocations. Various and remarkable matters are also here declared, that fell out in the Universities, and of controversies that happened there in divers colleges, with respect either to religion or learning.

That which I am next to do is, to reconcile (as far as I may) a reputation to this history. For which purpose I must mention the advantages I have had for the enabling me to write it, and the unbiassed integrity I have used therein.

As to the former, I have seen and perused numberless papers of those times, not only in my own custody, but remaining in the best archives of the nation, and in repositories of charters, letters, instruments, and other curious monuments, belonging to divers honourable and reverend men, some alive and some deceased; whose names, in due respect and gratitude, I have mentioned in the margin of the book, where I have had occasion to cite their MSS. Besides registers of Archbishops, Bishops, cathedral churches, the University, &c. All these I have conversed in for many

years, and taken collections from, and not seldom whole transcripts, thence, as might serve for my purpose.

And that I have been just and faithful in the use I have made of these records, and made them my constant, steady guide in all I have writ, I do first solemnly declare and avow, that so I have done: and that, as I have been an unwearied searcher after, so a sincere lover of truth. And in this, as well as my other writings, I have no other end to serve, but to leave a true history of our reformed excellent Church to posterity. I cannot better utter my mind in this regard, than in the words of a late learned writer; "As I never found in myself any great inclination "to be led away blindfold by any party; so on the contrary, a very great one to search diligently after truth; "and having once found it, never to betray it by adding, "concealing, or false colouring." Dr. Hody's Preface to his Hist. of Eng. Councils.

But further, besides my protestation, the truth of which I offer may appear, in that I have affected, through the course of the history, to digest into it the very words, sentences, and periods, as they stand in the originals. The rigorous care I have had to faithfulness and impartiality hath inclined me to present my narrations after that manner; however the expressions may sometimes sound odd and obsolete to the ears of the present age; and I am sensible I may be censured therefore for my language. But that of Modrevius (sometime a learned nobleman of Poland) speaks my mind; "That in speaking, *truth* ought altogether to be "more regarded than an artificial style [a]."

The original papers also in the Appendix, (to the number of CVI.) produced at length and *verbatim*, will be another witness for me. And as I have recorded them for the vindication of my history, so also for further service; namely, as memorials and transcriptions that will find acceptance with the more ingenious and inquisitive sort of men: since hereby satisfaction may be gathered concern-

[a] Omnino magis veritas in dicendo quàm artificium, spectandum. *Fric. Modrev. de Eccles.*

ing many persons and things, either not known at all before, or dark, doubtful, or mistaken. And perhaps therefore the reviving of these old writings out of obscurity, and the restoring them as it were out of rubbish, and making them obvious to every eye, may deserve some thanks to him that hath taken the pains. It was this that made Flacius Illyricus's Catalogue of the Witnesses of Truth deservedly of such esteem, "that in that work he inserted "very many histories, both weighty and profitable, and "also whole discourses sometimes, which neither in printed "books, nor easily any where else could be found, than in "his book; having been by him searched out, and met "with in hidden and dusty holes and corners [b]."

I must add here, that besides the said large collections in the Appendix, there be digested in the body of the history a great number of other original papers, or the contents of them; and especially letters; some from persons of the highest rank both in Church and State: as the Queen herself, and her Privy Counsellors, chief Statesmen, *viz.* Cecil, when Secretary of State, and when Lord Treasurer, Lord Keeper Bacon, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir John Mason, &c. Archbishops and Bishops, as (besides our Archbishop) Cranmer, Latymer, Thirlby, Boner, Gardiner, Goodrick, Ridley, Cox, Grindal, Scory, Coverdale, Sandys, Guest, Pilkington, Parkhurst, Loftus Archbishop of Armagh, &c. Of other learned and reverend men, as Boxal, Pern, Whittingham, Fox, &c. Besides letters of foreigners, as Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Gualter, Peter Martyr, Flacius Illyricus, &c.

And that credit may be given to my extracts from the said MSS. I do solemnly assure the reader, that I have taken them with all just and exact care, even to the very letter for the most part; and therein have always made use

[b] Illud igitur solum dico, multas gravissimas atque utilissimas historias, et etiam integra scripta hic inserta esse, quæ nusquam alioqui in impressis libris reperiantur, nec facile aliunde, quàm ex hoc ipso scripto, reperiri queant. *Præfat. ad Catal. Test.*

of mine own eyes and hands; except in some few; which the reverend Mr. Lun, Rector of Elseworth in Cambridgeshire, Mr. Thomas Harrison, B. D. Fellow of Sydney Sussex college, and Mr. Thomas Baker, B. D. Fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge, learned and exact transcribers, have favourably transcribed and sent me. Except also the MSS. in Ireland, sometimes belonging to the learned Sir James Ware, Knight; printed in two books, called *The Hunting of the Romish Fox*, and, *Foxes and Firebrands*. And for the credit of the transcripts therein inserted, a very reverend and worthy Dean in Ireland wrote thus to me; "That he did not forget to speak to Mr. Ware, the editor "of those books. Who assured him, that his grandfather, "Sir James Ware, had his collections among the writings "of those eminent persons, Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, "sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir William Cecil, "Knight, Sir Robert Cotton, Knight, &c." And the same reverend person added, "that he had the same account, "many years since, from Dr. Jones, Bishop of Meath, de- "ceased, a man of great learning, and a nephew of Primate "Usher's, [in whose possession the MSS. originally were.] "And that those printed collections from them were ge- "nerally well esteemed among them in Ireland."

Dr. Theophil. Harrison, Dean of Clonmacknois.

I must make a particular remark on one storehouse of MSS. especially, that I have used, for instructing me in the writing of this history; and that is Archbishop Parker's own most valuable treasure, kept in his own college of Corpus Christi. Who, as he was one of the greatest antiquarians of his time, so was a great collector of ancient and modern writings, and took especial care of the safe preserving of them for all succeeding times; as foreseeing undoubtedly what use might be made of them by posterity: that by having recourse to such originals and precedents, the true knowledge of things might the better appear. For as he was a man of unaffected simplicity and truth, so he endeavoured by all means to promote it. And here I cannot but blame Brian Twine, who for the empty glory of gaining the University of Oxford the preference to that of

Cambridge for antiquity, makes unhandsome reflections upon that venerable antiquarian; as though he were either unskilful or unfaithful, or both, in his British Antiquities, and in his edition of Matthew Paris, Matthew Westminster, Thomas Walsingham, &c. insinuating, that he sometimes mistook, and sometimes falsified his authors. As where he chargeth him to relate a false piece of history concerning a synod called at London by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and about a complaint made there by the scholars of Oxford. Where, after the recitation of the history as set down by our Archbishop, he undertakes the refutation of it; setting these big words in the margin; *Refutatio relationis Matthæi Cantuar.* And in another place he thus diminishes the credit of the Archbishop's history, *Si illis standum sit historiis, quas Matthæus Parker Cant. Archiepiscopus edidit.* And elsewhere in the margin appears *Lapsus Matthæi Cantuar.* As it is not a place here to examine Twine's assertions, so upon his sole credit one would not be ready to suspect our Archbishop's skill or faithfulness in antiquities; who was so thoroughly studied in them; and whose truth and conscience none could accuse.

Apol. lib. iii. p. 260.

The abovesaid declaration of my impartiality and truth will, I hope, shield me against the censure of some parties, who, by reason of prepossession, may not like some things they read here, not so agreeable to their espoused principles and inclinations. For I am only an historian, and relate passages and events, and matters of fact, as I find them, without any design of favouring or exposing any side. And to such I speak in the words of Sir George Paul, who wrote the life of another Archbishop. "The "discreet reader will see, that [what I write] is out of in- "structions, records, and authors; and not out of mine "own disposition; who desire as well herein, as in other "my courses, rather to imitate the Archbishop in his mild "and moderate carriage, than wilfully to be offensive or "displeasing to any."

Archbishop Whitgift. Pref. to his Life.

It may be said, I am short and imperfect in some of my

relations, and leave the reader unsatisfied in the conclusions and events of several things. It is true; but this is unavoidable sometimes, when after my searches no more occurs. And yet often what is omitted in one place of the book is reserved on purpose to be related in another. And not seldom, what is briefly told here, may be supplied from some other history which hath before been published by me: and therefore purposely but only hinted, or more succinctly handled in this; that I may not repeat what is elsewhere to be found: as, either in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, or the Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, or in the Life of Archbishop Grindal. To which I must join the Life of Aylmer, Bishop of London, an active Bishop, as those times required. And therefore for whom our Archbishop Parker had a great esteem, and more than once recommended him to the Queen for a bishopric. Thus, where mention is made of the Archbishop's care to have the Puritan book *De Disciplina* well answered; that matter is more fully considered in the said Bishop Aylmer's Life. And where some things are spoken of T. Cartwright, the first broacher of Puritanism, if any require more of his history, and the troubles he fell into afterwards, he may read it there. And such further accounts may be there found of Campion, the Jesuit; who is but touched in this history. Much of the Puritan story and events are shewn in the said Life, which will amplify much what is said of them under this Archbishop. Divers things are read in this history concerning the Clergy of London; and how they were all summoned before the ecclesiastical commission at Lambeth. But we must apply elsewhere, if we are minded to see what the said London Clergy's behaviour was after the Archbishop's decease. And this we shall find in Aylmer's discharge of his episcopal function in the said city; and what concerns he had with them in his visitation. Again, much is spoken here of our Archbishop's actings in the ecclesiastical commission. The proceedings and judgments of this commission afterwards, the said Life of Aylmer will shew, while he was one

Addition, p. 301. 307.

of the chief there, and sat with Parker's next successor, *viz.* Archbishop Whitgift. In short, these histories of the affairs of our Church, and the lives of some of the chief Prelates of it, set forth of late by me, will mutually illustrate and supply one another. And it must be noted, that in the said Annals and Grindal's Life will be found much more of our Archbishop's story, omitted here to avoid repetition. To the reading therefore of them I refer the reader.

There were three great Metropolitans that presided in the province of Canterbury during Queen Elizabeth's reign. The Lives of the two former, *viz.* Parker and Grindal, by God's permission and assistance, I have wrote, and now published to the world. Dr. Whitgift was the third, equal to both his predecessors in right godly and episcopal qualifications and endowments. And so much business occurring in his government, and such difficulties in preserving the Church in its primary constitution, happening; and so great wisdom, diligence, steadiness, courage, (and yet gentleness intermixed,) accompanying all his orders and actions; that it is pity but that (besides those brief notices that Sir George Paul hath appositely given of him) a just account of his life and acts also might be writ by some able pen. Whereby not only a due honour might accrue to that Archbishop's memory also, but that the present and future age might become better acquainted with the chief affairs of this Church of England for the last twenty years of that long and happy reign.

But to draw to a conclusion: what the observing reader sees in this and my other historical volumes, may justly reconcile a high respect and esteem both to the Church of England and its hierarchy of Archbishops and Bishops. The godly Prelates had the toil and trouble of the spiritual government, accompanied with continual discouragement, slander, and detraction. But maugre all envy and opposition, by their vigilancy, and patience, and learning, our reformed Church was happily settled and maintained. And we enjoy the blessed fruits of their labours, *viz.* deliver-

ance from gross superstition, opportunities of Christian knowledge, the freedom of the Gospel, and singular means of grace and salvation.

And all these spiritual advantages are conferred upon us in the communion of this Church of England. The blessings of which Church I choose to express in the words of one of the most eminent and learned Bishops of those times, in a sermon preached at the Queen's chapel; "For "the truth of doctrine according to the word of God; for "the right administration of the sacraments; for the true "worship of God in our prayers, laid down in the Book of "Service; (since the Apostles' age unto this present age "of the restoring of the Gospel;) there was never Church "upon the face of the earth so nigh the sincerity of God's "truth, as the Church of England is at this day." And when Martin Marprelate, taking notice of this passage in his sermon, had called him *flattering hypocrite* for these words; he took occasion, in a book afterwards written by him, to say, "that he would justify what he had said "to be true upon the danger, not of his living only, but of "his life also, against any man that would withstand it. "And that he did think, that not any learned man that "favoured the Gospel, though he misliked some things and "persons now, would reprove it." Though the foresaid foul-mouthed libeller for this called that venerable and godly Prelate *desperate Dick*, and, *shameless*, *impudent*, *wainscot-faced Bishop:* which rude words he meekly bore.

Cooper, Bishop of Winton, an. 1588.

Admonit. to the People of England.

To which I will subjoin the judgment of another later very learned, wise, and good Bishop in our times, now deceased; expressing thus his sense of the Reformation and this Church: "There was no reformation in the world, "that was more orderly begun, more regularly pursued, "and more stedfastly maintained, than ours. It is a "Church, which was watered with the blood of the Re-"formers, and hath for this hundred years [he might "have added many more] been still upheld by the un-"wearied endeavours of those that were in place among "us. Again, it is a constitution that we have had good

" experience of, and have seen how it hath kept its ground,
" and bid such constant defiance to the Church of Rome,
" that they have not been able to run it down with all their
" prowess[c]," [I may add, nor policy.] And a further ample experience of this, to the lasting honour and reputation of this Church, we had some years after this sermon was preached; *viz.* in the trying reign of King James II.

" And further, as to the opinion and esteem this consti-
" tution hath always had abroad among impartial persons
" and learned Protestants, it is looked upon as the top of
" the Reformation; and to which in difficult cases others
" have made their appeals. It hath been honoured by our
" friends, feared by our enemies, and contemned by none
" but ourselves at home."

[c] Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor, October anno 1679, by Dr. Williams, after Bishop of Chichester.

CHAPTERS AND CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

THE INTRODUCTION: containing the author's purpose. P. 1.

CHAP. I.

The Archbishop's nativity, stock, education. His removal to the University of Cambridge; entrance into holy Orders. Studies divinity closely. Embraceth the Gospel. Many now profess it in Cambridge. Ann. 1504, &c. P. 3.

CHAP. II.

Preaches. His first preferments. Made Queen Anne's Chaplain, and Dean of Stoke college: some account thereof. Preaches before the King. Ann. 1533—1535. P. 13.

CHAP. III.

Dean Parker a great preacher. A peculiar grace granted him by the University. Bishop Latymer's letter to him. Made the King's Chaplain. Accused for his sermons, in divers articles preferred to the Lord Chancellor against him. His answer thereto. A Popish Friar undermines his doctrine. Lord Cromwel sends to him to preach at Paul's Cross. Ann. 1536, 1537. P. 19.

CHAP. IV.

Parker created Doctor in Divinity. His good statutes for Stoke college; the Duke of Norfolk sends to him for them. His preferments. Elected Master of Bene't college; by the King's letters recommendatory. His good service to that house. The Bishop of Ely's letter to him, to preach the supremacy. Bishop Boner's letter to him, to procure preachers for Paul's Cross. Benefices conferred on him. Ann. 1538, —1545. P. 25.

CHAP. V.

Dr. Parker Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. His account to the Chancellor (Bishop Gardiner) of an interlude, that gave him offence. The Chancellor's letter hereupon, reprimanding some. His order about pronouncing Greek. Orders to the Vice-Chancellor, from the Chancellor and Privy Council, touching these players. The Vice-Chancellor's regulations of certain matters in the University. P. 35.

CHAP. VI.

Ann. 1547. —1549. Stoke college by his means preserved from dissolution under King Henry VIII. But dissolved under King Edward VI. Hath a pension for it. Parker marries. Hath a son. Vice-Chancellor again. The Archbishop and Bishop of Westminster summon him to preach at Court. Two discourses of his writing. Preaches to Ket, and the rebels in Norfolk. His danger thereby. P. 41.

CHAP. VII.

Ann. 1550. —1558. Dr. Parker in a commission against Anabaptists. Preaches at St. Paul's Cross; and at Court; and at the funeral of Martin Bucer, at St Mary's in Cambridge. Bishop Ridley writes to him to preach again at the Cross. A third son born to him. Made Dean of Lincoln. Tremellius. His friends: his reputation in the University. His writings. His condition under Queen Mary; being deprived of all. P. 54.

CHAP. VIII.

Ann. 1558. Dr. Parker considered upon Queen Elizabeth's access to the crown. Commissions from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Dr. Parker's care now for religion. Nominated to the archbishopric. His reluctancy to accept thereof. Messages to him from Court: with his answers. Petitions the Queen by a letter. Dr. Parker Lord Elect of Canterbury. P. 69.

CHAP. IX.

Ann. 1559. Wherein the Archbishop Elect was now employed. The Secretary consults with him for the new Bishops. His advice for reformation in Cambridge. He informs the Lord Keeper of some present dangerous doctrines. Commissions from the

Dean and Chapter during this interval. Assisteth at the French King's obsequies. His endeavours about the exchanges of Bishops' lands. A fraud in the Church of Dublin, signified to the Elect, from the Archbishop there. His free advice to the Queen concerning the crucifix in her chapel. P. 80.

CHAP. X.

The Archbishop Elect employed. In commission upon Ministers deprived. Divers Romish Bishops and Divines in the Archbishop's custody: Bishop Tonstal; Bishop Thirlby; Dr. Boxal; Dr. Tresham; and Dr. Richard Smith, of Oxford. Some accounts of them. An addition to his coat of arms, given him by Garter. The patent thereof. P. 93.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Archbishop's election, confirmation, and consecration. The rites used. The Nag's Head fable; and confutation thereof. The Act of Parliament, 8vo. Eliz. confirming the consecration. His enthronization: and temporalities restored. His oath. Ann. 1560. P. 101.

CHAP. II.

Consecrations and ordinations of Bishops and Ministers by the Archbishop, or his order. His care for the vacant churches. Lent. The Popish Bishops write to the Archbishop: his excellent answer. And so doth Calvin write to him about the union of Protestants. A metropolitical visitation. His letter to the Bishops of his province. The Bishop of Ely gives him a certificate of his diocese. Visits the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. Makes statutes for two hospitals in Canterbury. P. 125.

CHAP. III.

Divers dioceses visited. Some difference between the Archbishop and Bishop Sandys. The Archbishop makes statutes for Christ's Church, Oxon. Statutes for St. Peter's Westminster. Lands of the see of Canterbury exchanged. Regulates his

courts, and other matters in his church. Moves the Queen to marry. The Archbishop in ecclesiastical commission; makes a reformation of divers matters in the Church. Alteration of the Lessons in the Calendar. Book of Homilies. Bucer and Fagius restored. The Queen dines at Lambeth. P. 151.

CHAP. IV.

The Archbishop takes care of the vacant sees: especially those of the north. His Admonition concerning Matrimony, set forth. An order concerning preaching. A message from the Protestants in Germany. Cosins, Master of Katharine hall, Cambridge, resigns to the visitors. The Popish Bishops in prison: the Council sends to the Archbishop concerning them. The Archbishop writes in behalf of some of the Dutch Church, London, in the inquisition in Flanders. Appoints a special form of prayer for the season. Forbids the ordination of mechanics. P. 171.

CHAP. V.

Ann. 1561. The Archbishop with his *Assessus*. A Declaration to be read by Ministers. Orders for preserving uniformity among Ministers. The Archbishop's interpretation of the injunctions. The Clergy taxed for reparation of St. Paul's church burnt. This fire gives occasion to a Popish libel: answered by the Bishop of Durham. The Archbishop's certificate concerning the Clergy. The Certificate of the London Clergy. Bishop of Hereford's certificate and letter. P. 181.

CHAP. VI.

An address of the Archbishop, and other Bishops, to the Queen, against images. She is offended with a Common Prayer Book with cuts. Articles concerning the Clergy agreed upon in the ecclesiastical commission. An apology of the Church of England, now preparing, by the advice of the Archbishop. The honourable re-burial of Peter Martyr's wife. P. 191.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbishop's doings in his diocese. Restores Eastbridge hospital. Certifies the schools and hospitals in his diocese. Continues his metropolitical visitation. Eton college visited by the Archbishop, and others. A new Provost there. Mag-

dalen college visited. A complaint against the Bishop of Chester; committed to him. Reminds the Privy Council for a Synod. P. 202.

CHAP. VIII.

The Queen in her progress displeased with the Clergy. An order against women's living in cathedrals and colleges. The Secretary's letter to the Archbishop; and the Bishop of Ely's to him hereupon. The Queen declares to the Archbishop her offence at Bishops' and Priests' marriages. The Archbishop's thoughts of it. P. 212.

CHAP. IX.

The Archbishop brings one Rice to subscribe the supremacy. Flacius Illyricus to the Archbishop, concerning collecting ecclesiastical monuments. Application of the Archbishop of Armagh to him. A case of marriage decided by Bishop Jewel. The Archbishop favours Dr. Humfrey for President of Magdalen college, Oxon. John Fox congratulates him that preferment. P. 218.

CHAP. X.

The Archbishop certifies to the Privy Council the schools and hospitals in his diocese. Ann. 1562. P. 224.

CHAP. XI.

Commissions from the Archbishop for visitation of All Souls college and Merton, in Oxford. The University of Cambridge apply to the Archbishop concerning their Chancellor. The Archbishop's sentence against the Earl of Hertford's marriage. P. 228.

CHAP. XII.

A Synod. His doings therein. His character of the Bishops. Oath of the supremacy. The Archbishop's advice to the Bishops for the moderate administering of it. His letter to the Secretary about it. Dr. Ackworth, a learned Civilian, entertained by the Archbishop. The Archbishop's reparation of his palace; and hospitality. P. 236.

CHAP. XIII.

The Council's letter to the Archbishop for St. Paul's. The Archbishop goes down to his diocese. Book of Homilies; both parts. Letter to him from the Council; requiring an exact Ann. 1563.

account of his diocese. His certificate thereof. His metropolitical visitation continues. The ignorance of the Curates. P. 252.

CHAP. XIV.

The Archbishop at Canterbury. His pious motion. An Office of Prayer and Fasting appointed for the plague and other judgments. The Archbishop's concern in drawing it up. The state of the church of Durham. Whittingham Dean there; his letter concerning it. An Office of Thanksgiving. P. 259.

CHAP. XV.

Some of the Archbishop's doings in his diocese. Hears of some writings of Archbishop Cranmer. Searches after them. Recovers them. Visits Sandwich. Furthers the freeschool there. The good behaviour of the strangers settled there. P. 269.

CHAP. XVI.

Bishop Thirleby and Dr. Boxal with the Archbishop at Bekesborn. Queen Mary's Bishops and Divines favourably dealt with. Archbishop Hethe, Bishop Bourne. John Bale, the antiquarian, Prebendary of Canterbury, dies. P. 277.

CHAP. XVII.

The Archbishop judges in a cause of contract of marriage. Fears of a French invasion in Kent. The Archbishop's service, and his letters to Court, on this emergence. The evil condition of the nation at this time. The Archbishop's judgment of *commendams* for St. Asaph and small bishoprics. His care about the bishopric of Landaff, now void. P. 286.

CHAP. XVIII.

Coverdale made Minister of the parish of St. Magnus, London. A message to the two Archbishops from the Assembly of Divines in Edinburgh. Musculus's Common Places translated, and dedicated to the Archbishop. The Admonition prefaced thereto (as it seems) by him. P. 295.

CHAP. XIX.

Ann. 1564. The Archbishop labours an uniformity among the Ministers; in habits and other ceremonies appointed. Dr. Turner, Dean

of Wells, refractory to them. Varieties used in the service of the Church. Information of this to the Archbishop out of the country. The Queen's letters to the Archbishop, for enjoining the habits. The Bishop of Durham's letter occasioned hereby: and the Archbishop's to the Bishop of London. What the Bishops did hereupon; and the Puritans. Dean Whittingham's letter to the Earl of Leicester: and Kingsmil to the Archbishop. P. 300.

CHAP. XX.

The Archbishop and some other Bishops compose the Book of Advertisements. Why so called. The difficulty the book met with at the Council Board. The Archbishop in some heat about it. The Dean of St. Paul's chidden at Court. P. 313.

CHAP. XXI.

The Archbishop's proceedings for uniformity. Excites the Bishop of London. P. 320.

CHAP. XXII.

Sampson and Humfrey of Oxford, summoned before the Archbishop and Ecclesiastical Commission. Their supplicatory letter to the said Commissioners for forbearance: and to the Earl of Leicester. The Archbishop consults with the Secretary about displacing them. They are put up notwithstanding to preach at St. Paul's Cross. P. 322.

CHAP. XXIII.

Queries put by the Archbishop in favour of the apparel; with the answers of Sampson and Humfrey. Replies to those answers. Arguments against the apparel. Answers to them. Arguments against imposing things indifferent: with the Bishop of Rochester's answers. The controversy, as handled by Bucer and Alasco. The Archbishop and Bishops debate this matter among themselves. The Dean of St. Paul's pacification. The form of Humfrey and Sampson's subscriptions. P. 329.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbishop repairs his chancels, and his palace at Canterbury. Assists at the Emperor's funerals. The Archbishop's son at Peter house in Cambridge. Dr. Perne's judgment in a

dissertation giving offence, his account thereof to the Archbishop. P. 345.

CHAP. XXV.

The act for making Wednesday a fish day. The Archbishop dispenseth with Winchester college, and with the University, for that day; and with John Fox, for Lent. Bishop Jewel's Latin Apology. The Archbishop's letter to the Lady Bacon, that had translated it into English. The Archbishop's tract printed at the end. Learned women about this time. Dorman's Proof against Jewel's Challenge: and Nowel's Reproof. Many other Papists write against Jewel. P. 352.

CHAP. XXVI.

The state of the Church in the north parts. And particularly of Rachdale, Whally, and Blackburn, in Lancashire, belonging to the Archbishop. At Rachdale he founds a freeschool. The state of the Church at Canterbury. The certificate thereof sent to the Archbishop. The Bishops of London and Peterborough commence Doctors. P. 361.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Ann. 1565. Proceedings with Sampson and Humfrey. Sampson deprived, and confined. The Archbishop's kindness to him in letters wrote in his behalf. His grave advice to him. Other recusants silenced. Among the rest, Withers of Bury. His letter to the Archbishop of compliance. Some are winked at. P. 367.

CHAP. II.

The Archbishop's orders about licences for preaching, and for Curates. Repairs to Canterbury. Great feasting in his hall. He is godfather with the Queen. Publishes a Dietary. P. 376.

CHAP. III.

The Archbishop moves the Chancellor of Cambridge for regulation of University licences. Withers preaches there for re-

formation of glass windows. Several Heads of the University write to the Chancellor against pressing conformity there. Dr. Hutton and Dr. Beaumont, by occasion hereof, misrepresented. The Chancellor interposeth his authority: and sends them new statutes, framed chiefly by the Archbishop. Disorders in St. John's and other colleges. His advice to the Chancellor hereupon. *Fanatici Superpelliciani* in Cambridge, complained of to him. P. 381.

CHAP. IV.

The Archbishop's care of the University. Withers apologizes for himself to the Archbishop. His compliance; afterwards travels beyond seas. A controversy between Dr. Caius, Master of Caius college, and some of the Fellows, referred to the Archbishop. He is accused to the Archbishop of irreligion and Popery. The Archbishop's displeasure at him. P. 394.

CHAP. V.

The Archbishop's care in providing Lent preachers before the Queen. Deliberates about appointing Dean Nowel to be one; with whom the Queen had been displeased. Reviseth the combination of those preachers. His concern for filling two vacant Welsh bishoprics. Appointeth a visitation for Bangor. Recommends Herle, Master of Manchester college, for that see. The usefulness of that college. His judgment of certain salt works in Kent. P. 401.

CHAP. VI.

The Geneva Bible comes forth. The Archbishop's judgment thereof. The editions of that Bible. A new translation of the Bible set forward by the Archbishop. The Bishops employed therein. Over which the Archbishop hath the chief inspection. The said Bishops' letters and advices. P. 409.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbishop conversant about ancient books. Correspondeth with Bishop Davies, Mr. Salisbury, and Bishop Scory, about British antiquities. A MS. in strange and unknown characters. P. 417.

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbishop's proceedings about the habits: chiefly with the London Ministers. Lever's letter to the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecil, against ejecting preachers. The Archbishop endeavours to have his book for apparel allowed by authority. Tender of proceeding to deprivation. The Queen's proclamation for conformity. The Archbishop's care about the Spital Preachers. How to proceed with the London Ministers. P. 420.

CHAP. IX.

Ann. 1566. The Archbishop in commission. His proceedings with the London Clergy. The book of Advertisements revived, and published. Dr. Humfrey's letter to the Secretary thereupon. P. 428.

CHAP. X.

Some are sequestered and silenced. Crowley, Minister of Cripplegate, one of them. The stir made by him in his church. Sent for and censured by the Archbishop. Some account of Crowley. The Archbishop clamoured against. His protestation and resolution. P. 433.

CHAP. XI.

Endeavour to concern the Parliament in these contests. Books published for and against conformity. The Privy Council's order against seditious books. The Archbishop to Dr. Haddon about these matters. Some Ministers under restraint. John Fox, in this juncture, writes to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. P. 439.

CHAP. XII.

Continuation of the history of the London Ministers suspended. Supply of the vacant churches. The Archbishop vindicates himself. His earnest letter for more countenance from the Court. Becon's Postills printed for the help of Curates. P. 447.

CHAP. XIII.

The judgment of Bishop Cox, in a letter to the Archbishop; and of Bishop Grindal, of these controversies. The Bishops' arguments with the Dissenters. Their practices. A letter to the Bishops from the Church of Scotland. The deprived Min-

isters remitted their first-fruits. A Dominican pretends himself a Puritan. Examined by the Archbishop. P. 455.

CHAP. XIV.

The Archbishop makes inquiry into the Clergy of his province. Appoints public prayers against the Turk. Robinson consecrated Bishop of Bangor. His sermon. The Archbishop receives information where Cranmer's and Ridley's Disputations at Oxford were. Desires of Grafton a sight of certain ancient authors used in his Chronicle. This historian's condition. The Archbishop informed of the misbehaviour of one Day, Curate of Maidstone, who had preached at the burning of certain Protestants there. The Earl of Oxford holds by Knight's service of the Archbishop. P. 461.

CHAP. XV.

A Saxon Homily, with two Epistles of Elfric, set forth by the Archbishop; and a learned Preface. The Great Bible printed. The Convocation adjourned to Lambeth. A Suffragan of Nottingham. Ann. 1567. P. 472.

CHAP. XVI.

Many separate, and withdraw communion. They use the English Geneva book. Some are taken at a private meeting in London. The Council's orders concerning them. The learneder sort will not separate. Beza's advice to wear the habits. Papists declaim against the English Liturgy. The imposture of a Friar, before mentioned, that pretended himself a Puritan Minister. Brought before the Council. Examined there by the Archbishop. P. 478.

CHAP. XVII.

The Archbishop visits Norwich diocese. His commissions, and Articles of Inquiry. The disorders there. The Archbishop's endeavours to rectify them. Blames the Bishop of Norwich. The Archbishop will not dispense with an order for three Priests in Merton college. A conspiracy in that college, against the Archbishop, dispersed. He founds scholarships in Norwich; and sermons anniversary. His ordinances for them. P. 489.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Archbishop's kindness to Petrus Bizarrus. Curwin confirmed Bishop of Oxford. Some account of him. The Bishop

of Bangor sends the Archbishop the state of his diocese; and his pursuit of British antiquities there. The Bishop of Peterborough informs the Archbishop of abuses done to his Clergy. The Bishop of Carlisle moves the Archbishop to prevent the danger of the alienation of a benefice from the Church. Ælmer of Lincoln writes to the Archbishop concerning ancient books there. Dr. Caius sends the Archbishop his book of the antiquity of Cambridge. Contest in Cambridge about the descent into hell. The Clergy makes waste. The Secretary informs the Archbishop of both. The Queen and Lord Keeper offended with the Archbishop. His constancy notwithstanding. His advice of dangers from Spain; and of informers against the Clergy. P. 507.

CHAP. XIX.

Ann. 1568. The Archbishop's care for preserving hospitality at Canterbury. Attempteth to make the river there navigable. Consecrates a Suffragan of Dover. Orders to the Archbishop to inquire into the religion and condition of all strangers. The Archbishop, by letters of the Privy Council, hath the care of records and monuments. The Bishop of Sarum sends up a Saxon book to the Archbishop. Sir John Southworth, a Lancashire gentleman, sent by the Council to be examined by the Archbishop. Committed afterwards to the Bishop of London. The Archbishop repairs Bekesbourn chancel. P. 519.

CHAP. XX.

Corpus Christi college, Oxon, visited by the Bishop of Winton: and more effectually by commission from the Queen. The Archbishop of Canterbury's privilege to visit Oxford. The Commissioners ecclesiastical appoint a visitation of Corpus Christi in Cambridge. The University refuse their visitation on account of their privileges. The Commissioners call the College up to Lambeth. The Archbishop satisfieth the Chancellor of Cambridge of their doings. Papists banished the Court. Some in the diocese of Gloucester officiate without Orders. The Archbishop pacifieth differences in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge. The Queen's appointment of Latin prayers disobeyed in most colleges. The Archbishop's advice to the Chancellor hereupon. Procures new statutes for Corpus Christi college. Gives the advowson of Abb church,

London, to that college. His advice for a Bishop of Chichester. Appoints Lent preachers for the Queen. Tremellius and Corranus apply to him. His brother Mayor of Norwich. P. 528.

CHAP. XXI.

The Archbishop sets out a new edition of the Great Bible; and of a smaller for families. The Clergy find arms. Their taxation put into a method by the Archbishop. Makes a rate of arms for his own diocese. His own taxation of himself. Ann. 1569. P. 540.

CHAP. XXII.

Sherborn house in disorder. Lever's application to the Archbishop for redress thereof. Persons nominated for vacant bishoprics. Consulted with about them. His judgment of Ælmer; Bishop Grindal; and Curteis. Stands up for his Courts. His excellent letter to the Secretary about dispensations. Favours Binniman the printer. P. 545.

CHAP. XXIII.

An edition of Matthew Paris now preparing by the Archbishop. Censured about it; and vindicated. His labour to prevent incestuous marriages. His table of marriage. P. 552.

CHAP. XXIV.

Letters from the Council to the Archbishop, to take account of his diocese. Visits by commission. Visitation of the archdeaconry, certified to the Archbishop. A debate between the Dean and Canons; referred to the Archbishop. Eastbridge hospital visited. The Archbishop makes new statutes for it. P. 557.

CHAP. XXV.

Papists in the Temples; brought before the Archbishop. Interrogatories for some of them. The Council writes to the Benchers. John Alasco dies. Some account of him. Matthew and John Parker have offices conferred on them by their father. By the means of the Archbishop, the Master of Bene't college resigns. Founds certain scholarships and fellowships in this his college. Makes ordinances for them. Provides them chambers and books. Gives a great gilt basin and ewer to the city of Norwich. P. 567.

THE

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

MATTHEW,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE INTRODUCTION;

CONTAINING THE AUTHOR'S PURPOSE.

The Author's purpose.

MY purpose in this undertaking is, according as matters have occurred to me, to display the Reformation of this Church of England, and the transactions accompanying it, as they began and were carried on, next under God and Queen Elizabeth, by the influence, wisdom, and conduct of Archbishop Parker: but with a more especial eye unto his life, actions, manners, and conversation, in his high and holy function.

Cranmer and Pole immediate predecessors to Parker.

He succeeded the next but one to the ever memorable Archbishop Cranmer; Reginald Pole, Cardinal, being the intervening Archbishop, who immediately followed the said Cranmer in this transcendent charge and honour, and was the great instrument made use of for the reconciling and subjecting of this Church and kingdom to the Papacy; and lived but sixteen hours after his royal mistress Queen Mary; she dying in the morning, and he at night. Of him designing to say something elsewhere, I shall refrain my pen from any discourse concerning him in this place; it being my intent to treat only of such of our Archbishops as were reformed.

Nominated by the Queen to succeed.

Queen Elizabeth being at her first access to the Crown to nominate a fit person for the metropolitical see of Canterbury, now void, it was resolved, that he that should fill this chair in this critical time should be a person that might govern the province with great prudence and moderation, and (Popery being abandoned) might promote the true religion by persuasion and gentleness, rather than by other sharp and rigorous methods. Therefore, in that plentiful choice of learned and godly men of sound religion, that then beyond expectation appeared, after long and serious deliberation with her counsellors, she pitched upon MATTHEW PARKER, Doctor in Divinity, as the best qualified in all respects for that office: and whom she knew from her childhood; having been chaplain to Queen Ann Bolen, her mother, King Henry VIII. her father, and King Edward VI. her brother, successively.

The distribution of the work.

My accounts which I have to make of this most reverend Father, and of divers ecclesiastical affairs that fell out during
2 his Primacy, I shall digest under four distinct portions of time: the first whereof shall be from his youth to his consecration; and the fifteen years and some months following, (that is, from his consecration to his death,) being distributed into three equal portions, shall complete the three other parts. In the writing of which, I humbly implore the aid and conduct of the Spirit of truth and peace.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The Archbishop's nativity, stock, education; remove to Cambridge; his entrance into holy Orders. Studies divinity closely. Embraces the Gospel. Many now profess it in Cambridge.

CHAP. I.

WE begin with his birth, parentage, and education; matters, which though the least of those that are worthy to be set down and observed concerning our Archbishop, of whom we have so great things to say, yet do not use to be unacceptable to hear, nor ought to be omitted by one that undertakes to be a biographer. Anno 1504.

He was born in the parish of St. Saviour's, in the ancient city of Norwich, (that gives nomination to a Bishop,) the 6th day of August, in the 19th year of King Henry VII. and in the year of our Lord 1504; which was the year of the splendid enthronization of his predecessor Warham; and the very year also wherein the great light of the Helvetian churches, Henry Bullinger, came into the world. So that he was fifteen years younger than his glorious predecessor Cranmer the martyr, and four years elder than his immediate predecessor Pole, the Cardinal. He had his education in the parish of St. Clement's, near Fibrig, in the same city. Parker born.

His father was William Parker, an honest and free citizen of Norwich aforesaid, and by trade a calendrer of stuffs; if we may believe what a peevish man, and enemy of the Archbishop, notes in the margin of the English translation of the life of the seventieth Archbishop of Canterbury. Which William, being aged forty-eight years, died in the year 1516, when Matthew his son was but twelve years of age; leaving issue surviving, (besides Matthew his eldest son,) Botolph, Thomas, and Margaret. William was the son and heir of John, and John of Nicolas Parker, a man of note His father, William Parker. His great grandfather Nicolas Parker.

BOOK I. in his time, being principal Registrary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and keeper of the registers belonging to his court of Canterbury. The authentic letters whereof still remain (and I have seen them) in the register of Christ's church, Canterbury, entitled, *Literæ de Officio Registrarii Curiæ Cant. concessæ magistro Nic. Parkero, publico authoritate apostolicâ et imperiali Notario, et Curiæ nostræ Cant. Clerico jurato.* By virtue whereof, this Nicolas Parker, being, as is here specified, by apostolical and imperial authority Public Notary, and sworn Clerk of the court of Canterbury, was constituted Public Registrary of the said court, and keeper of the registry, and of all acts, muniments, and registers, belonging to the same office. This place was conferred upon him by John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, January 26, 1450. for of that date are the foresaid letters: wherein the Archbishop bestowed this commendation upon the said Nicolas; "The honesty of your behaviour, and your other gifts of integrity and virtue, where-with we know you to be furnished, do deservedly induce us to have a particular favour for you[a]." In this office he continued three and thirty years, and more, *viz.* to the year 1483, when, by an instrument in the same register extant, dated Febr. ult. he is said to be *senio confractus, ac diversis passionibus ac infirmitatibus detentus;* that is, "broken with age, and hindered from business by many "maladies and infirmities." Which was the cause that Thomas Bourchier, then Archbishop, joined with him Richard Spencer, Public Notary, as his assistant. This Parker's house was in Ivy-lane, in the parish of St. Faith's, London; and there he was alive in June 1484, as appears by an instrument of that date, wherein he is mentioned.

Anno 1504.

Regist. Cant.

3

His family. The family of the Parkers was of ancient standing in the city of Norwich, and allied to other creditable citizens there. One Margaret Parker, who, I suppose, might be the Archbishop's grandmother, had a legacy bequeathed her by one

[a] Honestas morum, cæteraque probitatis et virtutum dona, quibus te novimus insignitum, merito nos inducunt, ut personam tuam favore benevolo prosequamur.

Thomas Aylmer, of Norwich, grocer, in his last will, dated August 13, 1500, therein styling her his aunt Margaret Parker. Which makes it probable, that John Aylmer, being a Norfolk man, and perhaps of Norwich, (sometime the learned and painful Bishop of London, and before that, tutor to one of the learnedest and best women of that age, *viz.* the Lady Jane Grey,) was related to our Parker. One of this name, and I strongly conjecture of this family, (not unlikely to be brother to William,) namely, Thomas Parker, I find living in Colchester, a weaver by trade, and a *known man*, as the earnest professors of the Gospel were called in those dark times. For about the year 1525 (Tonstal being Bishop of London) a strict inquisition was held, in those parts of Essex especially, by the Bishop and his officers, chiefly for the detecting and punishing of these *known men.* This Thomas was then discovered by one that had used great conversation with him; informing, "that he had in divers "places, and at divers times, spoken against pilgrimages, "pardons, and other articles; and that they were not pro- "fitable, and should not be used: and affirming, that "we should worship God only, and no saints; and that "the Sacrament of the Altar was but an host, and not the "body of Christ: that pilgrimages to Walsingham, Ips- "wich, and all other pilgrimages, were nought; and that "those saints so repaired unto were but idols." For which words and doctrines he was afterwards fain to abjure. And yet it seems after his abjuration he could not let go his former opinions: for about the year 1531 I find John Mully the Apparitor certified, "that he had used his diligence per- "sonally to cite Thomas Parker of Colchester, suspected "and detected of heretical pravity, (so the words of the "Acts run,) and, as it is said, abjured; and that he had "sought for him at his house, but could not take him, for "that he fled." (And it was time for him so to do: for, for his relapse after abjuration, he was to expect nothing but burning.) Upon which the Apparitor took his oath. And at this time Dr. Jeffery Wharton, the Bishop of London's Vicar General, gave Margery Parker of Colchester,

Anno 1504.

Tho. Parker of Colchester.

Acta Inquisit.int.Foxii MSS.

BOOK I.

wife, as it seems, to the said Thomas, her oath to make true answer unto articles to be ministered to her.

Anno 1504. His father's quality;

But to return to our William again, father to the Archbishop. He lived in very good reputation and plenty, and was a gentleman, bearing for his coat of arms in a field gules, three keys erected. To which shield, in honour of the Archbishop, a chevron was added afterwards, charged with three resplendent estoilles. This man, besides our Matthew, who was his third son, but the eldest surviving, had a fourth named Botolph Parker, who also was in Orders, and a fifth named Thomas, who afterwards obtained the chief place, magistracy, and honour of his city, and was Mayor of Norwich, when his brother Matthew had acquired the chief dignity and held the highest place of eminency in the Church. He with Alice his wife lie buried in the churchyard of St. Clement's; over whose bodies was erected a tomb, which Matthew his son, when Archbishop, appointed 12*d.* yearly to the clerk of the parish to take care of, and defend from being misused.

and children.

The Archbishop's mother and her family.

His father dying, as was said, while this his son Matthew was young, left him to the care of his mother, as his predecessor Archbishop Cranmer was left to his by his father, dying also while he was young. His mother was Alice, of the worshipful house of the Monins, or Monings, of Suffolk, which also spread into Norfolk. There are now, or lately were, some of that name and blood in Kent, being a stock of long duration and credit in that county. An ancient gentleman of which family, lately living in Kent, told a reverend friend of mine, now deceased, that he had heard his father often say with much complacency, "Good Archbishop "Parker lay in the belly of a Monins:" and that he had seen in a parchment roll belonging to their house, that Monins was married to Parker. There is a private seat in the parish of Bekesburn, formerly an house of Archbishop Parker's, and his son's after him, where is a glass window with the coat of arms of Parker and Monins impaled baron and femme, being the Archbishop's father and mother. William Monins of Norfolk, of whom our Archbishop was descended,

Monins.

Nic. Battly.

4

was several times knight of the shire for the county of Norfolk: which shews his family on his mother's side to have been ancient, and of good rank and quality. Anno 1504.

Of this ancient family of the Monins of Kent, let me add but this further, as I have learned of one who hath deserved well of this work. Of it were three branches. The first lived in Waldershire, a village in East Kent. Of that family was Sir William Monings. And of this house all the heirs male are extinct; the last of them leaving four daughters, coheiresses; the eldest of which is, or lately was, the wife of Sir John Knatchbul in Kent, and knight of the shire for that county. The second branch of the family lived in Lydden, a small village near Waldershire. The third family seemed to have been transplanted into Suffolk or Norfolk, whence the Archbishop's mother was derived. For in her coat of arms, impaled with that of his father, was the mullet, the ordinary distinction of a third house. The family of the Monins. Nic. Battly.

This gentlewoman his mother lived thirty-seven years after the death of her husband, namely, to the year 1553, dying in the month of September, being aged three years above eighty; and had the satisfaction to see her son Matthew advanced to great preferment and honour in the University, Court, and Church; and the happiness likewise to die just before the time when he was stripped of all: to see his prosperity, but not his adversity. But being young, within three or four years after her husband Mr. Parker's death, she married again to one Mr. Baker of Norwich, gentleman: by whom she had John Baker; who afterwards lived at Cambridge, and was one of the witnesses for our Archbishop at his consecration, and whom he made his treasurer, and to whom by his last will he remitted a bond of two hundred pounds, and constituted him one of his executors. His mother marries again to Baker. John Baker, the Bishop's half brother.

We could perhaps more perfectly have set forth these things relating to his parentage, had we that roll and pedigree of the Archbishop's, which is found mentioned in a notebook of John Parker, Esq. his son; where be these words, written with his hand, "My father's birth, and divers pro-" ceedings of his, under seal;" and, "A roll of my father's Roll of the Bishop's pedigree.

BOOK I.

Anno 1504.

"birth and pedigree." These he mentioned as being in his custody: and probably were both written by the Archbishop himself, as willing to leave some memorials of himself to his posterity. The former of these is safely lodged in Parker's MS. library in Bene't college: and of this I have made use occasionally. The other MS. *viz.* the roll of his birth and pedigree, I am afraid is utterly lost. However, to make some amends for it, I have procured somewhat of the Archbishop's family, and the descent from him, found by an inquisition of Kent, made by the Office of Heralds in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; when the coat of arms of John Parker, Esq. son and heir of the Archbishop, was given in and entered into their books: an exemplification whereof was in much favour and readiness communicated to me by Sir Henry St. George, then Clarencieux, now Garter, King at Arms: which may be seen in the Appendix.

Numb. I.

Matthew Parker's education.

Nothing was wanting to the forming of Matthew's tender years; as though he were to be nurtured up on purpose to fill some eminent places in the Church or State: for he had several masters for his education in several faculties. His first masters for *reading* were one Benis, Rector of St. Clement's in Norwich, and one Pope, a Priest. For *writing* he was instructed by one Prior, Clerk of St. Benedict's. For *singing*, Love, a Priest, and Manthorp, Clerk of St. Stephen's, were his masters: of both whose harshness he felt so much, that he could never forget it. But he had amends in W. Neve, his schoolmaster for grammar learning, a man of a more gentle and mild disposition; who was provided to teach him at home.

Anno 1520. Sent to Cambridge.

And being by him sufficiently fitted for the University, thither he was transplanted in the year 1520, a year remarkable for the *theatrum imaginis crucifixi*, i. e. a rood-loft, then first magnificently built in St. Mary's church in Cambridge, and partly gilt: which stood to the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, when, by the means of this sometime young scholar, being now Archbishop of Canterbury, it was for the most part demolished. In this year, I say, about the beginning of the month of September, in Sturbridge fair-time, being

then entered into his seventeenth year, and so of more maturity to set about manly studies, he was removed to Cambridge, and admitted into the college of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin, now commonly called Bene't college: to which house are appropriated peculiar encouragements for such young men as shall be sent thither from the city of Norwich. There he was at first maintained wholly at his mother's charge. His lodging was in St. Mary Hostle, situate within the parish of Great St. Mary's. The title and government of which hostle, though at that distance, belonged to Bene't college, till he afterwards purchased it of the Master and Fellows, as we shall hear hereafter. Through this hostle was a fair way afterwards made to the public schools at the Archbishop's charge, and named University-street, but now commonly called The Regent Walk.

Anno 1520.

St. Mary Hostle.

It hath been observed as no small honour and happiness to the University, that Parker, Bacon, and Cecil, were all contemporary here: who afterwards at the same time also were all advanced to the highest places and dignities in the kingdom; the one to be Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England; the other to be a Privy Counsellor and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; the third to be Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor also, and High Chancellor of the said University, and not long after Lord High Treasurer of England: "who, as they all at the same time "studied at Cambridge, and flourished in their studies there; "so after, at one time were the chiefest statesmen under "Queen Elizabeth. Grave, wise, and sound in their admin- "istrations, and studied to their utmost to be furtherers of "good learning[a]." But to return to our student.

Which received honour from him.

He had the misfortune to be placed under a tutor, one Cooper, of small learning. Yet six months after his admittance, *viz.* March the 20th, he behaved himself so well, that he was chosen a Scholar of the house, called a Bible Clerk;

Made Scholar of the house.

[a] Qui ut eodem tempore Cantabrigiæ omnes studuerunt studiisque floruerunt maxime; ita in administranda rep. sub clementiss. nostra principe Elizabeth, eodem tempore omnes graviter, sane et sapienter præsunt, omnibusque modis prodesse musis student. *De Antiq. Cantab.* p. 173.

BOOK I.

and setting close to his studies, he employed himself in reading and digesting logic and philosophy, till the year 1523, when he determined, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Anno 1523.

Regist. Cantab. Bradford, Ridley.

And at the same time two others, that after proved also very eminent for religion, even to the shedding of their bloods for it, commenced the same degree, *viz.* Bradford and Ridley, both of Pembroke hall. And so also did one Scot, who seems to be he that was afterwards Bishop of Chester, but a zealot on the contrary side.

Bachelor of Arts.

The year following, our Parker was made Subdeacon under the titles of Barnwell and the chapel in Norwich Fields.

Anno 1527.

Anno 1527, in April, he was made Deacon, in June Priest,

Master of Arts, and Fellow.

and in September created Master of Arts, and chose Fellow of the college, being now aged about twenty-four. And minding to inform himself thoroughly in the matters of religion then controverted, he plied the reading over the volumes of the Fathers of the Church, and ecclesiastical writers, becoming an hard student in the sacred science of theology: and that with so great a vehemency of mind, that in a short space he arrived to very considerable knowledge therein, and acquaintance with the truly ancient state and doctrines of the Church.

Invited to the Cardinal's college at Oxford.

Such notice had been by this time taken of him, that he was one of those in this University that should have gone to Christ's and St. Frideswide's college in Oxford, newly founded by Cardinal Wolsey: for after this house was built, care was taken to furnish it with men of the best parts and learning, to study and read there, and to adorn that magnificent foundation. For which purpose, many scholars of ripe wits and abilities in Cambridge were invited thither, with promise of great encouragement and reward. And this business was committed to Robert Shirton, Master of Pembroke hall.

Antiq. Cantab. p. 202.

6 Some went, and some refused. Those that went were, Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely; John Frier, a learned physician; Henry Sumner, John Clark, excellent divines; William Betts, Nicolas Herman, Richard Taverner, Flor. Dominick, John Drumm, John Akars, John Frith, and some

others. But Cranmer, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, John Skip, afterward Bishop of Hereford, Walter Haddon, Public Professor of the Civil Law, and our Parker, all then of great reputation for their wit, learning, authority, or experience, (though these were invited also,) by the persuasion of their friends, went not. Our student therefore stayed where he was, diligently following his studies. Anno 1533.

So that within five or six years, having read over the Fathers and Councils, being now about nine and twenty years of age, he thought fit to go forth out of his more private retirements, and render himself useful to the world, by preaching the word of God unto the people. And the first Sunday in Advent, in the year 1533, he preached his first sermon to the University, being the same year wherein his predecessor Cranmer was made Archbishop. The places where he preached his first sermons, were first at Grantchester, within a mile or two of Cambridge, which belonged to Bene't college; next at Beech, then at St. Benet's, then at Madingly, after that at Barton. So that he preached, and that with good applause, first in the neighbourhood about Cambridge, and in the town, and then afterwards further off, and sometimes in towns and auditories of the greatest eminency and note. And being soon observed for his solid and profitable dispensing of God's word, a thing very rare in those days, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, granted him a licence to preach throughout his province, and King Henry VIII. a patent for the same: it being needful at this time to license and encourage such with public countenance and authority, as could and would undeceive the people in the gross and stupid superstitions that then so much prevailed, and in the excessive encroachments of Popes upon the imperial power of the Kings of this land; exalting themselves over them in their own dominions, and commanding the purses of the people, when they pleased.

Becomes a famous preacher.

Licensed by the King and Bishop Cranmer.

So that our Archbishop was an ancient lover of the Gospel, and embraced the profession of it in his younger years at Cambridge, when Bilney and Stafford and Arthur were there. Besides which most pious and learned men, there

Imbibed the Gospel when young.

BOOK I.

were divers others about the same time, and surviving them in the same cause; as Friar Barnes, and Latymer; by whose means religion and learning (for they went together) did then begin to flourish exceedingly in that University. And of these in Bene't college were Mr. Fooke and Mr. Soude: from whom our Parker, being a scholar of the same college, may be presumed to have first tasted of the truth. And such was the great veneration he had for the said Bilney, that he travelled to Norwich on purpose to see his martyrdom. And out of the honour he had for his memory, and for the vindicating him from the report that Sir Thomas Moore had given out, that he recanted before his death, and read a scroll of paper at the stake to that effect; the said Parker, when Archbishop, having before been a diligent eye and ear witness, gave a large and distinct account of all particulars relating to him, from his condemnation to his death: asserting also, that he had no such scroll or bill in his hand, neither did read any such recantation. This relation of the Archbishop, Mr. Fox hath preserved in his Martyrology.

Anno 1533.

Bilney.

Parker's testimony of him.

Fox.

The dawning of the Gospel in Cambridge.

For Parker's lot was to fall into the University in those days, when learning and religion began to dawn there; when divers godly men resorted together for conference sake; who also oftentimes flocked together in open sight, both in the schools, and at sermons in St. Mary's and at St. Augustine's, where Dr. Barnes was Prior, and at other disputations. Of which sort were several; and of these colleges especially: *viz.* King's college, Queen's college, St. John's, Peter house, Pembroke hall, Gonwell hall, and Bene't college. Their meetings to confer and discourse together for edification in Christian knowledge, were chiefly at an house called The White Horse; which was therefore afterwards nicknamed *Germany* by their enemies. This house was chose, because they of King's college, Queen's college, and St. John's, might come in with the more privacy at the back door. The names of some of these early professors, beside those above-mentioned, were Mr. Cambridge, Mr. Field, Mr. Colman, Mr. Coverdale, BB. D. of the Augustine's, and Mr. Parnel,

Early professors of it.

7

Barnes's scholar; Dr. Farman and Dr. Heins, of Queen's; Dr. Thistel, or Thixtel, of Pembroke, and Thomas Allen Fellow there, who was present at Bilney's burning. Here also were Dr. William Turner, Dr. Nicolas Ridley, Dr. Crome, of Christ's college, I think, Dr. Warner, an old acquaintance of Bilney's at Cambridge, and was with him also at his burning, being then Parson at Winterton, whom Bilney chose to be with him, to comfort him in his extremes; Rodolph Bradford of King's, Dr. Smith of Trinity hall; Simon Smith, Shaxton, Skip, and Segar Nicolson, of Gonvil hall; together with those before mentioned of Bene't college. To which I may add Dr. Edmunds, Master of Peter house, who kept a wife privately, and had a son, if I mistake not much, who was afterwards Mayor of Cambridge, and (somewhat ungratefully) proved a great sider with the Town against the University. Anno 1534.

CHAP. II.

Preaches. His first preferments. Made Queen Anne's Chaplain, and Dean of Stoke college. Some account of it. Preaches before the King.

BUT to return to our Divine. He was commonly appointed to preach in the solemn time of Lent in the most public auditories: an office, for which the best-learned preachers were sought out. On this occasion he preached often before King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless he was a man of modest manners; and though his learning and abilities were so well known, that he was often solicited to take public places, and to go abroad into the world, and make himself more known, yet he was unwilling to be brought thereunto, affecting an University and close life. His first public sermon was preached at Balsham, before the Bishop of Ely in his visitation anno 1534. And when without his seeking, being about thirty- Preaches often at Court. Preaches a visitation sermon.

BOOK I.

one or thirty-two years of age, he was sent for up to Court into the service of Queen Anne, he earnestly declined it. It was in the year 1533 or 1534, that Mr. Betts her Chaplain died, who was one of those selected Cambridge men, that Cardinal Wolsey placed in his new-founded college at Oxford: of whom Fox gave this character, that "he was a "good man and zealous, and so remained." He, with divers other learned students there, being favourers of the Gospel, and readers of the Scriptures, were put into a doleful dungeon in that college for that reason, and endured much hardship, to that degree that many of them died. After some time Wolsey ordered they should be delivered thence. But Betts not long after escaped, and went back to Cambridge; and afterwards became Chaplain to Queen Anne Bolen, and was in great favour with her. In whose room, being dead, Parker was sent for to succeed. For John Skyp, Almoner to that Queen, (afterwards Bishop of Hereford,) from Hampton Court writ two letters to him to Cambridge to come up; and the second, the week before Easter, more earnest, upon his declining the summons of the former: for that (as he wrote him plainly) the Queen was minded upon Betts's death to make him her Chaplain: bidding him bring with him a long gown, and that should be enough.

Anno 1534. Betts, Queen Anne's Chaplain. Acts and Mon. p. 941.

In whose room Parker succeeds.

Mr. Parker soon came in great favour with his mistress the Queen, liking him for his learning, and for his prudent and godly behaviour. Insomuch that not long before her death, he being with her, she gave him a particular charge to take care of her daughter Elizabeth, (afterwards the glorious Queen of England,) that she might not want his pious and wise counsel, with some other private instructions concerning her.

Parker's favour with the Queen.

And as a token of the interest he had with her, I find Cheke, the learned man of St. John's college in Cambridge, (afterwards tutor to Prince Edward,) writ a letter to Parker then at Court, desiring him to acquaint the Queen, that there was a very hopeful scholar chosen Fellow of their college, but so poor that he could not pay some dues required before he entered into that society: and so earnestly en-

Cheke writes to Parker to obtain a favour of the Queen.

8

treated him to obtain some liberality for him at her hand. For it was well known in the University how extraordinary munificent she was towards poor scholars that were studious and virtuous, and how liberal in her exhibitions towards them. She only required some good character from Dr. Skip, or Parker, or some other of her Chaplains, of any scholar that expected or sued for her bounty.

Anno 1534.

After he had spent about eight months or more in her service, having now commenced Bachelor in Divinity, July 14, the college of Stoke by Clare, in Suffolk, fell void, by the death of Robert Sherton, the last Dean thereof. This, the Queen having the right of presentation, preferred her Chaplain Parker to, November 4, being now thirty-two years of age, under the title of Dean of the college of St. John Baptist de Stoke, in the diocese of Norwich: into which he was inducted November 13, 1534, (or, according to a MS. 1535,) and in the 27th of King Henry VIII. This happened to him to his great satisfaction; not so much because of the value thereof, (which was but indifferent, being but 43*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum,) as because it was a pleasant solitary retirement for him, when he pleased to withdraw himself from the Court or the University, from which it was within twenty miles distant. This college, his friend Dr. Walter Haddon used to call Parker's Tusculanum: and in a letter to him from Cambridge about the latter end of King Henry's reign, the plague being then in the University, the said Haddon wanting a retirement, writ his desire to be admitted into some corner of that pleasant college; adding, "how that place seemed in a manner to be "made on purpose for scholars, both to learn themselves, "and to teach others; and that its situation was such, that "above all others it best suited for honest and ingenuous "pleasures[a]."

Is Bachelor of Divinity, and made Dean of Stoke college.

MS. in C. C. C. C.

This college was in former times a priory of Benedictines, but by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, (by whose ancestors it had been founded,) it was changed into a collegiate

This college formerly a priory.

[a] Solus is locus ad delectationes honestas et ingenuas aptissimus, et ad docendum et discendum pœne factus esse videtur. *Int. MSS. C. C. C. C.*

BOOK I.

church, for a Dean and six secular Canons, eight Vicars, two greater Clerks, and five Chorists: which change was ratified by Papal authority of John XXIII. and Martin V. Barneslay being the first Dean, in the year 1422 made statutes for the government of it; which are preserved in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. It was valued at 324*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*

Anno 1534.

Vol. iii. p. 165, &c.

This deanery seems to have been appropriated for the Chaplains of Queens. For King Henry's former Queen, Katherine, procured it to Bekensaw, Professor of Divinity, her Chaplain and Almoner in the year 1517. But to this he had a large accumulation of other preferments, as was customary in those days: for he was Treasurer of the church of Lincoln, Canon of Windsor, Subcentor of the church of Wells, Vicar of Croxton, Rector of Bradwell, (that in Essex, I suppose,) Rector of Chagforth in Devonshire, Master of Queen's college Cambridge, and Fellow of St. Michael college there; as I find them set down by Parker, in a certain MS. shewing the names, titles, and dignities of all the Deans of Stoke, from the first foundation to his own time.

Bekensaw, Dean of Stoke.

In Biblioth. C. C. C. C.

While Mr. Parker was Dean, he laboured to reform the superstitions here used. And for this purpose, within his college, even at his first coming, he founded a grammar-school for children, to be instructed in good learning, and in the principles of Christian religion; and constituted a yearly stipend for a schoolmaster. And here youth were taught not only grammar, but brought up in all other studies of humanity. Thither soon flocked in great plenty the children as well of gentlemen as other poor men: and those of the poorer sort had their schooling *gratis*. The scholars here were taught also to sing, and to play upon the organs, and other instrumental music, with other exercises, according to their ages and capacities: and there were sundry teachers attending accordingly.

Parker founds a school in his college of Stoke.

In one of his papers relating to this college, he made this memorandum concerning his building of this school, and other his works, for the advancing of the college, viz. *Erexit et ædificavit*, &c. *i. e.* "He erected and built a gram-

His other benefactions here.

" mar-school, in the north part of the college near the gate, CHAP.
" and adorned the old house called the Celerer's Hall, for II.
" a hall for the Dean, Prebendaries, and Vicars. He paved Anno 1535.
" it, and decked it with hangings." 9

And to purge the college the more from abuses and superstitions, and to make it serviceable to the realm, he caused new statutes to be made for it, constituting Queen Anne founder. Makes new statutes for it. Biblioth. C. C .C. C. Miscellan. O.

The first whereof was, That the Dean and Canons preach continually, every one of them by themselves, or their lawful deputy; especially once in the year, in every such town and parish where the college have an annual rent or pension. I.

Item, That the money that remains after the whole charges and expenses of the college, be employed in this manner: A reasonable stipend to be made, by the appointment of the Dean and Chapter, for some one that is learned and able, to read a lecture of Scripture four days a week at the least in the college. And the Canons Resident and Vicars shall be bound to be present. The lecture to be read by one of them, or by some chosen out of Cambridge or Oxford; and his commons allowed him among the Vicars of the said college. II.

Item, That the reader endeavour himself unfeignedly to open, and plainly to entreat his lecture the first half hour in the vulgar tongue, for the capacity of those that be not learned; and then the next half hour in the Latin tongue, without curious or superfluous discourses, or invections. III.

Item, That there be one that is able and learned sufficiently, to teach grammar in the said college to the youth of the country about the college. And he to be allowed for his stipend yearly ten pounds. IV.

Item, To be found in the college henceforth a more number of queristers, to the number of eight or ten, or more; as may be borne conveniently of the stock, to have sufficient meat, drink, broth, and learning. Of which said queristers, after their breasts be changed, we will the most apt of wit and capacity be helpen with exhibition of forty shillings, four marks, or three pounds apiece, to be students in some V.

BOOK I.

college in Cambridge. The exhibition to be enjoyed but six years.

Anno 1535.

These statutes Dean Parker procured to be translated into Latin by the elegant pen of John Cheke. We may safely conclude, that these new statutes added unto the ancient ones (which were noted to be very good) made this religious foundation of considerable use and benefit, both to the neighbourhood and those of the college too. And withal, the Dean seemed hereby to have an eye to the securing of his college in these times, when religious houses were in such a tottering posture, being in the greater likelihood of escaping the threatening ruin, as now put under the peculiar patronage of the King's favourite and royal consort Queen Anne, the new founder.

Some law cases put by Parker to Bacon concerning the college.

As he by other ways and means endeavoured the good of this his college, and to promote the credit and usefulness of it, so he was not wanting to preserve its wealth and revenues. Once there happening some contest with the tenants, and among the rest with one Mr. Colt of Clare, a gentleman, as it seems, of worship, the Dean sent Pory, one of the Prebendaries, I suppose, and his man, to Mr. Nicolas Bacon, a great lawyer, and his good acquaintance and collegian, (afterwards Lord Keeper,) with his questions for the said lawyer to resolve, together with the evidences. One case seemed to have been, the detaining of a gift, which Colt, an executor, upon some pretence refused to make good. And another was about a debt, owing to the college by the last Dean deceased; whether they might require it of the tenant, the said Dean having let it to him by himself without the Chapter, or else should require it of that Dean's executors. Bacon returned Dean Parker a letter, giving his opinion at large in the foregoing cases. And beside his own, he had the judgments of two Judges, whereof the one was the Lord Chief Justice, whom Bacon had consulted for the sake of his friend the Dean. And, in conclusion, he advised him not to attempt the law: telling him, that though in common law they had no remedy in this case, yet before the Lord Chancellor they might have remedy in conscience.

But then, by way of postscript, lest Mr. Dean should (as probably he might sometimes have argued about that point with his friend Mr. Bacon) charge the defectiveness of the common law, "he prayed him however to speak well of the "law, till he next met with him, though it appeared by his "letter, that conscience and the law stood sub-contrary *in* "*figura:* adding, that the reason of that required a quire "of paper at the least. And this he left therefore for a "further leisure." But he that is minded to see this letter of this learned Counsellor to Parker, may have it in the Appendix. Anno 1535. Numb. II.

Parker favoured by the King.

And as the Queen had given Parker this college of Stoke, so the King already took notice of him. And as a token of the favour he had at Court, I will set down one thing, how small soever it be, which I find remaining among his papers, namely, a warrant from the King himself in the year 1535, to the Keeper of the forest of Waybridg, for a doe of the season for Mr. Parker, Chaplain to Queen Anne. Perhaps this was a reward for a sermon which he preached before the King this year the third Sunday in Lent. But before this he was brought up this year also, to preach a sermon before the Lady Elizabeth at Hunsdon.

Preaches at Court.

CHAP. III.

Dean Parker a great preacher. A peculiar grace granted him by the University. Bishop Latimer's letter to him. Made the King's Chaplain. Accused for his sermons in divers articles preferred to the Lord Chancellor against him. His answers thereto. A Popish Friar undermines his doctrine. Lord Crumwel sends to him, to preach at Paul's Cross.

ACCORDING to the tenor of the new statutes, the Dean gave a good example to his college, and preached often and excellently well, upon all opportunities, both here at Stoke, Anno 1536. Parker preaches much.

BOOK I.

and at his other residence at Cambridge, and the parts adjoining to either. And it may be mentioned here as the

Anno 1536.

University's great respect to him, and value for his preaching, that a grace passed this year for granting the Dean, that, by reason of a pain in his head, he might preach to the people *cooperto capite*, i. e. with his head covered, notwithstanding the statute; as a learned Fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge hath observed to me out of the University register, together with one or two graces more of the like nature. But though the reverend man was not wanting to put forth his talent of preaching God's word in and about Cambridge, yet he cared not to be known further; affecting thus to lie hid, and to shew his light no further than within these bounds. Whereupon good Latymer, Bishop of Worcester, knowing him and his merits very well, excited him by a letter *to shew himself to the world.* Parker's acquaintance with Latymer commenced, I suppose, in the University: and so it continued afterwards. And Latymer's conversation and events were so well known to him, that long after Dr. William Turner, in a letter to Fox, advised him, that if he wanted further notices concerning Latymer, he might but repair to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (that then was our Parker,) to whom he joined Dr. Lancelot Ridley, and they would sufficiently instruct him. But Latymer's letter to Parker at this time was to this tenor:

Rev. T. Baker, D. D.

Bishop Latymer's advice to him.

Bishop Latymer to Parker. E Biblioth. C. C. C. C. vol. intit. Epist. Principum, &c.

"Mine own good Master Parker, *salutem;* and as I "have devised nothing, nor yet will, till I have spoke with "the King's Grace, or have passed through the next Parlia- "ment: and thus what I shall alter or change, &c." Which words of his relate, I suppose, to the amending some of the superstitious statutes of the University, which Parker might have put him upon: a matter which the Bishop thought not safe to meddle at all in, till he had spoken with the King to know his mind, and had seen how the next Parliament stood affected. And then he adds in the conclusion of his letter, "And do as Master Latymer shall move you to do. "*Ostende te mundo. Delitescere diutius nolito. Operare*

" *bonum, dum tempus habes. Veniet nox, quum nemo poterit* Anno 1537.
" *operari. Notum est quid potes, fac, non minus velis quam*
" *potes. Vale.* " *Tuus of Worcester,*
" *H. Latymer.*" 11

Made the King's Chaplain.

And much longer he could not lie hid. For when he had lost his beloved lady and mistress, Queen Anne, the King soon after, *viz.* March 1, 1537, knowing the worth of the man, called him to the Court, took him into his own service, and made him one of his Chaplains.

Accused for a sermon at Clare.

About the time of the rebellion that fell out this year, our Dean happened to preach on Easter holyday at Clare, near Stoke, a very populous town, and replenished at that time with soldiers for the King; where he took occasion to preach against the superstitions used on the Resurrection-day, and many other superstitions, and against the abusive worship of relics: and withal excited the people to a willing payment of their taxes, to defray the King's charges of war. But soon after, his Popish enemies, namely, Mr. George Colt, and some other inhabitants of the town of Clare, picked out what invidious matter they could from this and other innocent sermons, preached by Parker, and drew all up into articles against him: which they delivered to the Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor. These articles, with the answer under Parker's own hand, were as follow:

Articles againsthim, with his answers. Bibl. C. C. C. C. Miscellan. O.

I. *The manner as they used the Resurrection, with the ceremonies appertaining, was but a pageant, or an interlude.* Then follows the answer made by Parker:

Upon Easter Monday, I had this text of St. Poule to my theam: *Si consurrexistis cum Christo, quæ sursum sunt sapite, &c.* At what time I moved them to consider, spiritually, what was meant by their procession on Easter morning, when they followed the quere about church with *Christus resurgens.* I said, that it was an open protestation of their faith, to believe that Christ died for their sins, and rose again for their justification. And that the ceremony of such following in their procession, was to declare and testifie openly to the world, that they would henceforth follow Christ in their conversation; that as Christ onys died,

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

and died no more, so would they cease and die to sin, no more to live therein: and as he rose from death to life, that so would they rise to a new life. And without this meditation and purpose, their processions, with the solemnities thereof, was to them but a vain pageant, whereof they had no profit.

II. *That cross that Christ died on, was no holier than the crosses which the thieves died on.*

Resp. Upon Relic Sunday, I declared unto them what were the true reliques which we should worship, and moved them not to put their trust and affiance in the holiness and vertue of mens bonys and cotys, [*i. e.* bones and coats,] whereof we have no certainty, whether they were the reliques of saints or no. And I said, that be it in case they were so, as we have been made believe; as if we had indeed some pieces of Christ's cross; yet to forget the mystery of Christ's cross, and fall to the worshipping of the tree of his cross, was a superstitious worship, and reproved of Ambrose. Which saith thus: *Invenit Helena titulum, regem adoravit, non lignum utique. Nam hic Gentilis est error et vanitas impiorum, si* [*non*] *adorent illum, qui pependit in ligno, scriptusque in titulo.*

De obitu Theodosii.

Alii, qui sanctiores se ostendere volunt, partem fimbriæ aut capillorum alligant et suspendunt. O! impietas, majorem sanctitatem in suis vestimentis ostendere volentes quam in carne Christi, ut qui corpus ejus manducans sanatus non fuerit, fimbriæ ejus sanctitatem salvent, ut desperans de misericordia Dei, confidat in vestimentis, &c.

III. *The King, with the money that he gathered of his Commons, bought peace with other realms.*

Resp. In the insurrection time, I considered the resort of soldiers, and of divers others, to the town of Clare, being one of the most people in that quarter of Suffolk. And thereupon I thought it then most expedient to go thither to courage their hearts with God's word, to serve their Prince, notwithstanding such traitors as were then risen. And in my sermon I inveighed against sedition, and declared the authority of a Prince, and what commodities every realm

enjoyed by such authority, instituted by God. And among others, I entreated of peace, what a benefit it was, by the means whereof we had the quiet fruits of our life, goods, and lands: and thereby moved them with good and ready wills to pay their taxes, which was to be levied to some supportation of such charges as our peace was bought with: and said thus: "Think you that our Prince can maintain and "defend us in so long continual peace against foreign realms, "without charges and expenses? And what is this little "which is required of you, compared to the rest of your "goods, which ye do peaceably enjoy, or compared to the "charges that your Prince is at for your protection and de-"fence, &c.?"

Anno 1537.

12

The Lord Chancellor satisfied therewith.

What success this answer of Parker found to the discharging him of this accusation, we may gather from these words following, written by the same hand that the foregoing were, namely, that of our Matthew Parker: "These "articles objected, were thus answered by M. P. and sent "to the Lord Chancellor: which heard, he blamed the pro-"moters, and sent word, that *I should go on, and fear not* "*such enemies.*" So well did our Dean come off in this cause, by giving this true and fair account of his own sermons, and stripping them of the slanderous representations made of them: and instead of reproof gained encouragement from the Court in his labours.

A Prior from Norwich undermines Parker's doctrine.

Upon this countenance, the Dean went on in his doctrine, exciting the people every where to obedience to the King, and informing them out of the word of God about many abuses of religion. So that the knowledge of God was happily sown in these quarters by Mr. Parker's means. But this so nettled Nix, the Bishop of Norwich, and the Popish party thereabouts, that to unravel and disappoint these good beginnings, Dr. Stokes, Prior of the Augustins in Norwich, and one of those that were sent to Bilney, a little before his execution, to discourse with him in prison, this man, I say, is sent now to Clare, (the aforesaid town near Stoke,) pretending to settle there, and to preach out of goodwill, and so he told Parker: but indeed, as Parker easily

BOOK I. smelt it out, it was to supplant his doctrine, and to reduce the people to the old superstitions, and to keep them in their
Anno 1537. blindness and Popery. Whereupon our Divine, soon after Stokes's coming, wrote him a letter, dated from Stoke, telling him boldly and plainly, "that if he came to decoy the "truth, which he had preached, or to make invectives, to "the decay of the King's authority and lawful ordinances; "and to sow schism and confusion among the people, he "must and would, according to his duty, give information "above against him. But that if it were his sincere intention to declare the truth, and edify the King's subjects, "he would promise to join hands with him, and therein their "friendship should consist." But the letter being so well and piously penned, is transferred into the Appendix.

Parker writes to him.

Number III.

He is imprisoned for Popish preaching.

But Friar Stokes, it seems, took little warning by this sober and sound admonition of Mr. Parker's, but followed his first purpose of perverting the people by his preaching against the King's proceedings; and so in the end was laid up in prison, for a complaint made against him to the Lord Crumwel by the King's visitors, who had received some informations against him at Clare. Whereupon they left some precepts with him concerning his preaching, which he observed not. Out of prison he sent a letter to the Lord Crumwel, the King's Vicar General, vindicating himself to have preached up the King's authority against the Bishop of Rome; whom, he said, he did detest and abhor, with all his Papistical factions. That whereas he was accused to have preached against the Dean of Stoke, he said, he commended him in his sermon by name, for declaring of certain rites. And whereas some informed, that he preached seditiously, he referred himself to all the audience, and four persons would testify, that he preached the word of God sincerely. He acknowledged indeed, that he had been much addicted to the old ceremonies; but he intended, by God's grace, to reform himself. And at last he desired that the King would permit him to change his habit. But his letter may be read in the Appendix.

Numb. IV.

About this time, if not before, our Parker was sent for up

by the Lord Crumwel to take a turn at Paul's Cross, by a letter from the said Lord, appointing him to preach a sermon there, "for the honest report (as the letter runs) of "his learning in holy letters, and incorrupt judgment in the "same." And having assigned him his particular day, he added, "preparing in the mean time with such pure sincere- "ness, truly to open the word of God at the said day, as I "may therefore take occasion to think the report made of "you to be true:" meaning, in respect of his favour to the Gospel.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1537. Crumwel summons Parker to preach at Paul's Cross.

CHAP. IV. 13

Parker created Doctor of Divinity. Parker's good statutes for Stoke college: the Duke of Norfolk sends to him for them. His preferments. Elected Master of Bene't college, by the King's letters recommendatory. His good services to that house. The Bishop of Ely's letter to him, to preach the supremacy. Bishop Boner's letter to him, to procure preachers for Paul's Cross. Benefices conferred on him.

IN the year 1538, July 1, Parker was created Doctor in Divinity: and the next year he was sent for into Prince Edward's Court, to give him a sermon: and the next, *viz.* 1540, he preached before the Lady Elizabeth at Hatfield.

Anno 1538, &c. Becomes Dr. in Divinity. Anno 1540.

The good statutes mentioned before, which this our Dean of Stoke college had framed for it, added to the original ones, made this a very good and useful foundation. And the fame of it was so great, that about the year 1540, the old most noble and illustrious Duke of Norfolk sent a letter to our Dean, that he would send him the original foundation of that his college of secular priests, being founded, as he heard, of an honest sort; and that he would but detain it, till he had caused it to be written out, or had taken some notes out of it. Because the monastery of Thetford, being now the King's, upon the Act for Dissolution of Religious Houses,

The Duke of Norfolk founds a college by the statutes of Stoke college. MSS. C. C. C. Epist. Princip. &c.

BOOK I.

having been founded by a Duke of Norfolk, the King had granted it back to this Duke, to turn it into a college of secu-

Anno 1540. lar priests; and so he should have occasion to furnish it with good statutes. Here his father and other his ancestors lay, and here he intended himself also to be buried, as he wrote the Dean.

Anno 1541. Made Prebend of Ely.

In October 1541 he was installed in the second prebend in the church of Ely, by the collation of his gracious master King Henry.

Thus Dr. Parker continued discharging his duty, sometimes in his colleges, sometimes in his attendances at Court, and not seldom in the pulpit, having no cure of souls as yet,

Anno 1542. till the year 1542, when he was presented to the rectory of

Presented to the rectory of Ashen.

Ashen in Essex; so conveniently situated both for Cambridge and Stoke, in respect of the easy distance from either, that he might the more frequently be upon his living, and take the better care of his flock.

Anno 1544. Made Master of Bene't college.

December the 4th, 1544, by the King's letters commendatory to the college, dated November 3, he was, in the room of the last Master of Bene't, named Sowde, or Sowode, made Head of the said house, and was the fourteenth Master from the first foundation, to the great honour as well as benefit of it. In the said letter, the King styled him his *beloved Chaplain*, and declared to the Fellows of the house,

E Collect. T. Baker, Soc. D. Joh. Cant. MSS. C. C. C. C.

"that it was for the zeal and love he bore to the advance-
"ment of good letters, that he desired to see them furnished
"with such a governor, as in all points might seem worthy
"of that room. And that therefore he commended the said
"Dr. Parker unto them, both for his approved learning,
"wisdom, and honesty, as for his singular grace and indus-
"try, in bringing up youth in virtue and learning. And
"that he was so apt for the exercise of the said place, that
"he thought hard to find his like in all respects. And that
"therefore his trust was, that at the contemplation of him,
"they would with one assent elect him for their Head, whom
"he judged worthy for that office; and finally, that he
"doubted not they would have cause to think themselves
"furnished with such a Master, as appertained." But the

whole letter of the King may be found in the Appendix. Upon the foresaid letters he was elected immediately, and received by the Fellows with all the greatest alacrity and readiness possible, as knowing well his merits. And to this his college he was ever after an extraordinary friend and benefactor: and even when he was Archbishop, took as much care of it as though the members thereof were his own children.

As soon as Parker became Master of the college, he began to think of doing good service to it. So he with the Fellows had a serious meeting together, to consult for the good of it. And on the 15th of December, he and the rest of the Fellows made certain acts concerning *Billingford hutch*, which were entered down and subscribed accordingly by him and the Fellows. They began thus: *Quoniam ratio dictat, &c.* i. e. in English, "Since reason dictates, and ho-"nesty persuades, that what any one hath received from "ancestors, he deliver again in as good measure to posterity; "and whereas it is commanded by the sentences of the wise, "in matter of giving and receiving, that he that hath given "a benefit should forget that he gave it, but he that receiveth "ought always to remember it: moved with these reasons, "we, Matthew Parker, Master of the college of Corpus "Christi and St. Mary in Cambridge, and the Fellows of "the same, treating seriously among ourselves of the affairs "of our college, by unanimous consent have thought fit, that "some deeds of our ancestors should be called to mind, that "those things may be for the time to come more diligently "observed by us and our successors, which our ancestors "have ordained for our profit; we have therefore caused to "be ratified and established certain statutes which follow, for "us and our successors, &c."

14

Makes acts for Billingford hutch,

The particulars of which statutes were, That whereas Ric. Billingford S. Th. P. formerly Master of the college, had left a chest in the college, in which he would have 20*l.* to be kept for the aid of the college; and that his appointment, how he would have the same sum be kept and disposed, was wanting; they by conjecture of the will of the said

BOOK I.

Anno 1544.

Richard, thought convenient to make this order: that every year after the accounts of the college were despatched, there should be chosen keepers of the said chest or hutch; to whom two keys should be delivered. And that the said sum should by them be left whole and entire to the following *custodes*, or keepers. And that so suitable a distribution be made of it among the Fellows, that all might be partakers, as much as might be, of the same aid.

It was furthermore appointed, that if any debtor to the foresaid chest should depart from the college before he had given some suitable pledge of his goods to the keepers of that year, and found some convenient sureties for the restoring of what was taken out and borrowed thence, then that they or either of them might distrain on his goods for pawn: and the keepers to be answerable to the college.

It was appointed, that in the laying out and calling in of money, and in renewing the register, that form of counsel be always observed that was described by them in a certain new book by them made for that purpose.

That whosoever should hereafter borrow money out of the said chest, presently upon the opening of the chest, say with the keepers that verse, *Adoramus te Christe*, and the *Paternoster*, with some other pious and grateful remembrance of the worshipful name of Richard Billingford, the founder of that chest.

Gratefully to remember him,

That whereas the Lady Elizabeth, sometime Duchess of Norfolk, had been munificent to their college out of her goods, and those of her sister Eleonore Butler, as appeared more largely in some of their orders; that the memory thereof might be also preserved gratefully, it was ordered, that whensoever any Fellow or Bible-Clerk was to be admitted, presently after his admission, the foresaid ordinance be read, and a copy thereof to be always left with him who last should be admitted into the fellowship of their house.

And Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk.

That whereas Peter Nobis, S. Th. P. formerly Master of the college, among other his charitable gifts to the college, gave a great number of books, as appeared more fully in the register; of which books many were chained, but others scat-

Care to be taken of books given by Nobis.

tered about in the library without any safe keeping, not without danger of losing; therefore they appointed, that the keepers of the said Billingford hutch should diligently oversee that library, to be kept safe and clean: and that if by chance any chains of the books were broke, or any other damage happened there, it should be made good at the cost of the college. And the said keepers were to take care that none should carry home any of those books that were chained. Anno 1544.

That whatever goods belonged to the college should be inscribed into inventories: wherein should be most exactly written the qualities and quantities of all the moveables: the copy whereof to be kept in the common chest: and from three years to three years to be overseen and renewed by the Master and Fellows. 15

That the yearly Steward answer for the things committed to his trust: and that the butcher and other servants, in their admission, swear to keep safely and without fraud, all things which should be delivered to them.

These orders were signed by Matt. Parker the Master, and John Pory, Tho. Cob, Edmund Flaunce, Ri. Lusher, Ri. Maddi, Andrew Peerson, Fellows. So carefully, discreetly, and so much to the good estate of the college, did Dr. Parker begin his government.

Likewise in the first year of his Mastership, he reformed the accounts of the college; wherein was such confusion, that the society could not come to know the true state of it, by reason of their want of knowledge of the things relating to it. Add, that the particular receipts and expenses were wont to be committed to writing only in their books, whose office it was to give in their accounts. Whence this inconvenience fell out, that when any such, or any bursar of the college died, or by chance was called away elsewhere, oftentimes the college was at a loss to know the state of their accounts; and so sustained damage thereby, when there was nothing left to direct them for arrears of rent, or other debts due. For the remedying of this, he devised a way advantageous to the college, whereby the accounts of the house should be fully and completely rendered; as might be seen The further good services he did the college. Hist. de Fundat. Coll.

BOOK 1.

Anno 1544.

in a form (perhaps yet extant) which he first wrote with his own hand, with the engrossing of the same in parchment to be made every year. So that by comparing the rentals, the particular receipts and expenses, with the arrearages of the whole year, might clearly appear to every eye. He also writ out with his own pen all the rentals of the college, and expressed the nature of the rents of the farms, and the times of payment. All which he signed by the letters of the alphabet set to them. He also recovered divers rents (before denied) in Cambridge, in Landbeach (where he was parson), in Ovir, and Histon. And for the better preserving the remembrance of the foundation and history of his college, and the Masters thereof, he appointed a book to be made, and compiled out of divers writings and monuments of the college. Which is still preserved in the college; and was some years ago favourably lent me to peruse, by the reverend Dr. Spencer, late Dean of Ely, then Master of that college; out of which I have collected divers things already, and more that shall be hereafter written: it is entitled, *Historia de Fundatione et Statu Collegii Corporis Christi;* or, *Historiola:* and reacheth to the year 1569. A good pattern for those of that foundation to continue the history of their ancient college. And great pity it is, that there are not such histories composed of all the rest of the colleges in that University of Cambridge, and in that of Oxford too. And it seems to lie as a great blot upon University-men, and to be charged on them as a piece of sloth and ingratitude, that persons, who by the favour of their founders enjoy so much learned ease and leisure, should bestow none of their spare hours in preserving the antiquities of their colleges, and in framing some brief history of their foundations, benefactors, heads, and learned men, and the accidents of remark that have befallen their respective houses.

Historiola.

A platform of the college-rents by him ordered.

But to proceed in our relation of the good deserts of this Master towards his college. When King Henry VIII. commissioned him, about the year 1544 or 1545, being then Vice-Chancellor, together with Dr. Redman and Dr. May, that they should diligently make a view of the state and con-

dition of the University, and all the particular colleges, and were ordered to see it accurately written down; at that time he caused to be committed to writing briefly, the whole state of the rents of the college, and the order of the same. Anno 1544.

Compiles a new book of statutes for the college.

In King Edward's reign, he put the college book of statutes in that form wherein it appeared long after, under Queen Elizabeth, being drawn for the most part out of the old statutes; using herein the help of William May aforesaid, a pious and learned civilian, and at that time one of the said King's visitors for the University. And for the greater confirmation and authority of the said statutes, Dr. May, and the others joint commissioners with him, (whereof Dr. Parker himself was one,) subscribed their hands thereunto. 16

Easeth the college of a payment to the Crown.

While he was Master of the college, one that farmed the rectory of Grantchester did endeavour to defraud the college, by putting upon it the burden of a rent of six and twenty shillings and eight pence, for a portion of the monastery of St. Neot's, (now payable to the King by reason of the dissolution thereof,) which by right the farmer ought to have paid, because he farmed of the college all the tithes of that portion of St. Neot's, besides the rectory of Grantchester. But the Master finding at last the cheat, made the farmer, as right and justice was, to pay the rent, and eased the college of the charge of it for the future. Many other good services he did for his college, while he was Archbishop, and at his death was a great benefactor to it, as we shall see in due place.

The Bishop of Ely sends to Dr. Parker to preach up the King's supremacy.

Near about this time (as I conjecture) the King, being resolved to maintain his supremacy against the Pope, (who was now stirring up the neighbouring potentates against him,) gave command to his Bishops, as they had lately themselves signed a declaration against the Pope's pretensions, that they should enjoin all the Clergy in their respective dioceses, to preach up the supreme power of the King in his own dominions; and that all incumbents of livings, on Sundays and holydays, should make conscience to preach the word of God sincerely to the people, and declare their just renunciation of that pretended jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop in this

BOOK I.

Anno 1544.

kingdom; that the people might be truly informed in this matter; and that sermons should be made to the same purpose in the Universities. Accordingly, Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, sent a letter to Dr. Parker, to take this order for his college; and particularly, that he and his Fellows, having a parish church in Cambridge, (perhaps St. Benet's by the college,) should observe the same order there. For thus did the said Bishop write to him from Somersham, June 27:

Epist. Illust. Viror. in C. C. C. C.

"Mr. Doctor,

"In my most harty wise I commend me unto you. These "be to signify unto you, that I have received the King's "most honourable letters, commanding me to charge all "Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, and other ecclesiastical per- "sons, abiding within the precinct of my diocese, to preach "every Sunday and solemn feast the very sincere and true "word of God; and to set forth his title, dignity, and stile "of Supreme Head; as the truth thereof may be thorowly "shewn, and appear to his people and subjects: and to de- "clare also unto the same his just renunciation of the Bishop "of Rome's usurped authority, and all other foreign poten- "tates.

"I therefore do charge you, on the King's behalf, as you "wol aunswere unto his Hyghness for the same, not only to "preach in proper person, but also to commaund the Fel- "lows of your house to do the same, in order, every Sun- "day and solemne feast, in your parish church in Cam- "bridge; so that the parishoners thereof may have, every "of the said festival days, the word of God, and the other "things abovementioned, either by you or by any of your "Fellows, shewed unto them. Thus the Lord keep you. "From Somershome, the 27th of June.

"Thomas Eley."

Bishop Boner writes to Dr. Parker for Preachers to supply Paul's Cross.

The University was now grown very backward in something, which in former time was more commonly practised; and that was, in sending up their most florid and learned men to preach at Paul's Cross. But now few cared for that

office, upon what account I know not; whether it were occasioned by the great decay of the University, which upon the late spoiling of the Church and religious houses declined much, or because they bore little affection to Boner the Bishop, or by reason of the danger that might incur, if they should, in those public sermons, chance to say any thing that might give exception in those ticklish times. But hereby the Bishop seemed to be under some straits in procuring Preachers for the Cross. Whereupon he addressed a letter to Dr. Parker, in the month of October, without date of year; but I suppose, it being of a public concern, was while he was Vice-Chancellor; *viz.* anno 1543, or 1544: in which letter he complained of the scarcity of Cambridge men to supply that audience, and wondered thereat; and incited him very earnestly to move the learned Preachers to spend their pains at the Cross sometimes, as heretofore they used, both for God's honour and the advancement of the Gospel: for about this time politic Boner gave out himself for a favourer of the Gospel, and got his preferment by that means. The Bishop's letter ran to this tenor:

Anno 1544.

17

" Right Worshipful,

" In my very harty manner I commend me unto you: The Bishop's letter. MS. C. C. C. Epist. Princip. &c.
" and where, contrary to the accustomed usage of your Uni-
" versity, there of late hath not been many here at Paul's
" Cross to preach the word of God, to the edifying of the
" King's subjects, and the honour of the said University,
" beside the exercise of themselves, and demonstration of
" their learning; whereof I greatly marvel, and suppose the
" same rather to proceed for that they have not been spe-
" cially incited thereunto; either else for that their zeal is not
" now as heretofore it hath been, to the commendation of
" the University: I thought it good for the honest love
" particularly I bear to you for your good qualities, besides
" the love I bear to you for your brother's sake, and also
" for the very harty affection I bear to your University, to
" write unto you hereby, that ye will exhort such as ye
" know apt and meet for that purpose; being both of good

BOOK I.

Anno 1544.

" learning, virtue, and good discretion, both in your name " and also in mine, and especially for God's honour and the " advancement of his Gospel, to take the pains to come and " preach here, as heretofore hath been accustomed. And in " their so doing, they shall do both honour to the Univer- " sity and themselves, and also unto me thankful pleasure, " to be recompensed unto the best and utmost of my power.

" I promise you, I take it strangely that they have not " heretofore more often come. And if they object the fault " unto me not desiring them, I now provoke them by you " and these my letters, to do the thing which many ways is " honourable. And thus ye will very effectually set these " things forth with the Heads of your University, making " my very harty, and most harty commendations unto them " all; and certifying me of your gentleness and their to- " wardness herein, with the conformity of others, I very " hartily desire you. Thus committing you to God, as well " to fare as mine own self. London, the 9th of October, " by the running hand of,

" Al-hartily your own,

" Edmond London."

Presented to Birlingham.

Having now held the rectory of Ashen not full two years, he resigned it on the 30th of April: and the next day took the rectory of Birlingham St. Andrew's, in his own country of Norfolk, being presented thereunto May 1.

Chosen Vice-Chancellor.

January 25 he was first chosen to the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Anno 1545. Becomes Rector of Landbeach.

September the 22d, in the year 1545, he obtained the rectory of Landbeach in Cambridgeshire; a living whereof the college was patron; the manor of which place being also in the college, he made a terrier of all the lands therein with his own hand, described in various distinct tables or plats, for the use and benefit of the said college: that in no times after, any part or portion thereof might be lost from the lordship. He did also recover divers rents in the said parish of Landbeach, formerly denied: taking all occasions to render himself useful.

To this living of Landbeach he was presented by John Pory, Clerk, one of the Fellows of Bene't college; and John Mere, Gent. one of the University Beadles, if I mistake not; the college granting them the advowson for that turn; and he was admitted Rector there by the Bishop of Ely, December 1, in which church of Ely he had now some time been Prebendary. Anno 1545. 18 Regist. Elien.

CHAP. V.

Dr. Parker Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. His account to the Chancellor (Bishop Gardiner) of an interlude, that gave him offence. The Chancellor's letter hereupon, reprimanding some. His order about pronouncing Greek. Orders to the Vice-Chancellor from the Chancellor and Privy Council, touching these players. His regulations of certain matters in the University.

IN this year 1545, Dr. Parker continuing Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, being their Chancellor, a matter fell out there, which gave the said Chancellor great disgust, and made a great dust for some time in that University; and likewise created the Vice-Chancellor no small trouble to execute the orders sent him down from his Chancellor. The cause was this. An interlude was played at Christ's college publicly, (but, as was suggested, against the mind of the Master and President,) wherein the Popish manner of Lent-fasting and the ceremonies were exposed. Somebody soon carried the tale unto the Chancellor; and he made a heavy do about it. He would have come down himself, as he said, if his occasions had permitted him, to examine into the matter. But he required Parker, his Vice-Chancellor, to assemble the Masters and Heads of colleges, with the Doctors of the University; and declaring this matter, he should require them to assist in the trial of the truth concerning the said tragedy; that what order was established in the Church, might not by any be presumed to be contradicted, nor that to be reproved which by the King's Majesty was allowed. He added, The Chancellor sends to Parker, Vice-Chancellor, concerning an abusive interlude.

BOOK I. Anno 1545.

" that it was a lamentable case, that such as by the King's " privilege and supportation be there preserved in quiet to " learn all virtue, should presumptuously mock and scorn " the directions of their Prince in matters of religion. That " their obedience should be example to all others in public. " That if learning now should be an instrument to stir up " dissension, and trouble the common quietness, their opin- " ion should be confirmed, which not many years past " laboured to prove in books printed in English, that the " Universities be the corruption of the realm." He added, " that Oxford lived quietly with fewer privileges, and that " there were that would that Cambridge had as few as they."

The account the Vice-Chancellor gives of it.

All this stir did the Bishop make upon this business; jealous of any attempt upon the old superstitions. But in obedience to the commands aforesaid, the Vice-Chancellor falls upon the business; and in fine, makes no great matter of it. For (as he related it, after examination, to the Bishop) he found, that it was not against the mind of the Master and President, as was given out. The President told the Vice-Chancellor, that it cost the college nigh twenty nobles, allowed by the Master and company. That there were indeed in the play some slanderous cavillations and suspicious senses; but the Master and Seniors took care, that all such speeches should be wholly omitted in the acting of the play, whereby offence might justly have risen. That he had not spoke with any that was present, that shewed himself grieved, albeit it was thought the time and labour might have been spent to a better purpose. And this was all the prudent Vice-Chancellor made of it; for which some bigots would have made a flame in the University, by aggravating it before one who was apt soon to be heated.

19 But the business ended not so; nor would the Vice-Chancellor's account serve the Chancellor's turn; but, in a second message, he commanded him to examine what the words were indeed that were spoken. In obedience to his commands, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads agreed, that every President should assemble their companies, to know what they heard, and wherewith they were offended. So all the

Further order about this affair.

colleges forthwith underwent examination. And at the next meeting all the Heads gave in this answer; That none of their companies had declared to them, that they were offended with any thing that they remembered to be then spoken; and that very many indeed, whether of purpose or by chance, were absent. And for a further trial, what was uttered in the interlude, Parker sent to the Bishop a book of the said tragedy; and all therein noted and cancelled that was unspoken, the rest being then uttered: which had been delivered him by the Master and all the Fellows of the college: and conventing all the Fellows of that house, he found but two that were offended. Of which one was Scot, the same, I suppose, that was afterwards under Queen Mary made Bishop of Chester. And this Scot was he that was the informer, and had told all this tale to the Chancellor. And hereupon the rest of the society were grieved with him. The case between him and the rest, the Vice-Chancellor and some others had the hearing of: which was thus in short; When the Master and Fellows were consulting about playing this tragedy, Scot, being against it, cried out, that it was poison thrown abroad. Whereunto Crane, a Fellow, and one that acted, replied, that they intended nothing, but to rebuke the Pope's usurped power. But Scot said, that under that pretence they would destroy all godliness; and some other words he spake in his heat, that reflected upon the government. The conclusion was, that the Vice-Chancellor caused them all to be bound with sureties, till they should hear from his Lordship, and know his pleasure. And of all this the Vice-Chancellor gave the Chancellor to understand, and together sent him the play itself, as was said before.

Anno 1545.

Examinations hereupon.

Scot of Christ's.

The answer that this produced from the Chancellor was as followeth:

"Master Vice-Chancellor,

"After my harty commendation, I perceive by your "letter, which I have received with the book of the tra- "gedy, that ye have assembled the sage of the University,

The Chancellor's letter to Parker, Vice-

BOOK I.

Anno 1545. Chancellor, concerning the former matter. MSS. C. C. C. C. Miscel. Cantab.

" to know, by their inquisition severally in their houses,
" what was uttered that might and ought to offend godly
" ears in the playing of the same. Wherein, as appear by
" your letters, report was made unto you, that no man is
" offended; and yet, perusing the book of the tragedy,
" which ye sent me, I find much matter, not stricken out,
" all which by the parties' own confession was uttered very
" nought. And on the other part some things not well
" omitted, where allowing and rejecting should proceed of
" judgment, and that to be taken for truth which was ut-
" tered, and that for untruth, which they note as untrue,
" to be omitted and left unspoken. So that this book de-
" clareth the parties to be double offenders, both in denying
" that is true, and also approving that is false, as in some
" part by their notes doth appear. And in that tragedy,
" untruth is so maliciously weaved with truth, as making
" the Bishop of Rome, with certain his abuses, the founda-
" tion of the matter, the author's reproach whereof is true;
" so many abominable and detestable lies be added and min-
" gled with the other truth, as no Christian ear should pa-
" tiently hear, and cannot, in the process of the matter,
" without a marvellous alteration, other than now was used,
" be dissevered asunder. By means whereof, where all other
" proof faileth, there the book maketh an undoubted proof
" of their lewdness to me here: and that which so many of
" the University being present heard, and offended them
" not, do deny. But it is now worn out, and they be no
" longer offended, the same is by exhibition of the book so
" notified unto me, and so grieveth me, being absent, as
" how soon soever I forget the offence upon their reconci-
" liation, I shall hardly of a great while forget the matter.
" And if often and notorious faults, which the offenders in
" pomp and triumph so utter, as they would have men
" know them and mark them, shall from henceforth without
" all reformation be neglected and forgotten, or so by si-
" lence hidden as they shall not appear to be corrected,
" there is small hope of conservation of good order, and a
" marvellous boldness given to offenders, the means of re-

" formation thus taken away. Wise men have noted truly, " that it is *caput audaciæ impunitatis spes.* Which must " needs grow where open faults be thus neglected and pre- " termitted. Wherein they be chiefly to be blamed, that " forbear to make report of that they have heard, when " they be required.

" I would not be over-curious, unless the crime were " notable, to bring to light his fault, that himself hath used " means to hide from the world. But if the offender be so " destitute of all fear and shame, as these players were, why " should any man forbear, when they walk in the street " naked, to point them with his finger, and say, *There* " *they go?*

" I hear many things to be very far out of order, both " openly in the University, and severally in the colleges, " whereof I am sorry: and among other, in contempt of " me, the determination of the pronunciation of certain " Greek letters, agreed unto by the authority of the whole " University, to be violate and broken without any correc- " tion thereof. The matter is low, and the contempt so " much the more. I was chosen Chancellor to be so ho- " noured (although without my deserts) of them; and I " have given no cause to be despised. I will do that I can " for the maintenance of virtue and good order there, and " challenge again of duty to be regarded after the propor- " tion, not of my quality, but mine office: requiring you, " Master Vice-Chancellor, to communicate these my letters " with the Masters, Presidents, and Doctors; and on my " behalf to desire them gravely to consider of what moment " the good order of youth is, and to withstand the lewd " [attempts] of such as have neither shame, nor fear of pu- " nishment and correction. The lesson of obedience would " be well taught and practised, and I will be more diligent " to know how men profit in it than I have been.

His decree for the pronouncing of Greek neglected.

" I have shewed the whole Council the words spoken by " Mr. Scot; from whom ye shall shortly receive answer in " that matter. And as touching those that were chief play- " ers in the tragedy, I hear very ill matter; and I pray

BOOK I. Anno 1545.

" you call them unto you, and know whether they will " acknowledge and confess their fault or no; and to signify " the same to me. And so fare ye well.

" Your loving friend,

" Stephen Winton."

At London, the 12 *May.*

The Council's order to the Vice-Chancellor.

So that to make the more of this business, besides these his own animadversions, he brought it before the Privy Council. And in fine, the Lords of the Council thus far concerned themselves by the Bishop's instigation in it, that May the 16th they wrote, by a secretary of his, to the Vice-Chancellor. The sum of which was, " That he should " call the parties before him, and admonish them to endea- " vour to employ their wits and studies in knowledge of " that is good, true, and wholesome; and that nothing " might be meddled withal that might offend the law and " quiet of the realm. That those that were the Heads and " Governors should have such special cure and care, as if " any misorder were among the youth, they return it from " time to time, and do that might be for their discharge in " that behalf. And discharging Mr. Scot, that had been " noted for the speaking certain words, they exhorted him " to do for the reformation of those that had misused them- " selves in the playing of the tragedy, as to his and their " wisdoms should be thought requisite." And no further did the Council think fit to espouse the Chancellor's mighty quarrel. And with what moderation and prudence our Dr. Parker put an end to this business, we may conjecture.

Things set down by the Vice-Chancellor to be reformed.

I have but one thing more to add concerning our Doctor in his office of Vice-Chancellor. And that I gather from what was writ with his own hand on the back-side of the Chancellor's letter aforesaid. Which, I suppose, were minutes of matters that he intended to reform, and give his orders about; *viz.*

21

" Raiment, gowns, beards, crowns, [which two last were " to be kept shaven, and not allowed to grow,] habits, " lawyers, and Masters of Art.

" Sitting at divinity disputations and at sermons, &c.
" Coming to congregations and common dirges. King's
" dirges.
" Matriculation to be had by the Presidents.
" Pronunciation of the Greek tongue. [About which was
" great controversy about this time.]
" Revelation of secrecies."

CHAP. VI.

Stoke college by his means preserved from dissolution under King Henry VIII. But dissolved under King Edward. Hath a pension for it. Parker marries. Hath a son. Vice-Chancellor again. The Archbishop and Bishop of Westminster summon him to preach at Court. Two discourses of his writing. Preaches to Ket, and the rebels in Norfolk. His danger thereby.

Labours the preserving his college of Stoke against the act.

IN this same year, being the 37th of the King, all colleges, chantries, hospitals, &c. were granted by Parliament to him. This act struck full at Stoke college, which caused the Dean to bestir himself, if it were possible to prevent the dissolution of a place which he had laid out so much of his pains about, to make it useful for the service of the King, the Church, and commonwealth. And he applied himself particularly unto good Queen Katherine and her Council, (she being patroness, as it seems,) to try, if by his arguments to them he might prevail to stop this ruin impending over so good a foundation. He shewed them, how he had improved the college above the first institution: how he had formerly refused to comply with certain, who would have persuaded him to surrender the college, with promise of considerable advantage to accrue to himself by pension and otherwise. But now the continuance thereof being in such danger, as it was out of his ability to prevent, he laid the consideration thereof before them, who in other matters consulted for the Queen's honour and commodity. He urged to them, " how small a matter of profit it would

Applies to Queen Katherine's Council,

BOOK I.

Anno 1545.

"bring to the King, *viz.* but 300*l.* and chiefly consisting in "spiritual rents. That the house was so situate, that the "Queen's tenants were round about it: whence they did "use to receive alms and hospitality, and had good instruc- "tions from the Dean and Prebends there out of God's "word preached to them: and that the Queen's tenants' "children had their education there *gratis*. Then he also "laid before them, how convenient the house was for the "entertainment of the Queen's officers and servants, as often "as they should have occasion to come down among her "tenants, (a part of her revenue lying thereabouts,) as in "former times, upon surveys, her Council had been re- "ceived there sometimes eight days together, with resort "of the most part of her farmers thither at the same time." These things the Dean recommended to them, to acquaint the Queen with, that she might accordingly inform the King; and that by her suit unto him, he might grant a continuation of this said college.

And to the Queen.

And as he wrote this to the Queen's Council, so he likewise made suit to the Queen's Grace herself, with his declaration of these things aforesaid. But the whole letter, whereof these are the short contents, may be found in the Numb. VI. Appendix. And lastly, he made use of the interest of Sir Anthony Denny, a learned and worthy Knight, and one of the Privy Chamber to the King: who made his application to the King in the said behalf; shewing the King withal the great merits of the Dean himself, and of his honest and virtuous using of that college.

22 Anno 1546.

And to Sir Ant. Denny.

The college stands as yet.

All these together moved the King to suffer the college yet to stand: but it was but for a little while longer, that is, during his life, as we shall see by and by.

Anno 1547.

But soon after dissolved.

The college of Stoke then remained until the first year of King Edward VI. In which year it was suppressed, and the members were dispersed, by virtue of an act of the Parliament, that began to sit November 4, 1547. By which act (as there had been such an act before under King Henry) all colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, guilds, were given to the King, to convert the be-

nefits of them, with the colleges and chapels themselves, to his use; and the right and title thereof to the King, to commence at Easter next following. Now the Dean again tried what he could do to rescue his college, by soliciting the Commissioners to respite the ruin of so useful a foundation. But when he saw there was no remedy, he bethought himself to part with it upon as good terms as he could. So he applied himself to his friend Sir Anthony Denny, to use his interest with the Commissioners, for the settling a good pension upon him for his loss of his college. Who therefore wrote thus to them:

Anno 1547.

Sir Anth. Denny to the Commissioners about the Dean of Stoke. MS. C. C. C. C. Miscell. O.

"Besides most harty commendations; for that heretofore "I have been a suitor to the King, our late sovereign Lord "deceased, on the behalf of Mr. Parker, Dean of Stoke, "whose honest and virtuous using of that college much "also moved the same late King, in such wise as his Ma- "jesty clearly resolved to permit the same to remain undis- "solved; I am much at this present stirred to require you "to be favourable towards him. And albeit I mean not to "have the said college to endure in his former plight, know- "ing that of necessity it must now ensue the course of "others, being in like state; yet that it might seem good "unto you to consider the man's worthiness above the com- "mon sort: and that as he in all points hath shewed him- "self not like to the rest, so likewise to be esteemed, and ac- "cordingly rewarded to his deserts; that is, in having an "honest and convenient pension. Which although perad- "venture it shall seem the greater, yet may the King's Ma- "jesty be soon thereof discharged by redemption of some "other spiritual promotion, and the man nevertheless wor- "thily advanced. Thus much I have thought good to "write in his commendation and favour, whose worthiness "I much esteem and tender. Trusting thereby, both for "his deserts sake, and this my simple contemplation, ye "will the rather have respect towards him, as the cause "and person require; and my thankfulness for the same

BOOK I. Anno 1547.

" may deservedly ensue. Fare ye right hartily well: from " my house at Chesthunt, the last of February 1547.

" Your own assured,

" Ant. Denny."

And no question Sir Anthony Denny's request, (being of the Privy Chamber to the present King, as he was also to his father,) especially considering the great deserts of the man, so much insisted on by him, had a favourable answer; and that a good pension was settled on the Dean, until the said pension was redeemed, according to Denny's phrase, with the dignity of the deanery of Lincoln, afterwards conferred on him, though that was not till some years after. And April 1. he resigned his deanery.

A pension settled on him.

When the college therefore was now to be dissolved, Nicholas Bacon, the great lawyer, (afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,) Christopher Peyton, and Ambrose Gilbert, these being some of the Commissioners appointed by the King, together with Sir Roger Townsend and Sir Arthur Hopton, for the surveying of colleges, and doing divers things in the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk; the three former sent the Dean a letter to bring in, against such a day, a perfect rental of the lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments appertaining to his college; and a certain inventory of all the ornaments, plate, jewels, goods, debts, cattals, due unto the said college: which accordingly he did. This was exactly the method observed under King Henry VIII. when monasteries were dissolved.

The Commissioners for dissolution of colleges send to Parker.

23 This college at length fell into the hands of Sir John Cheke; who with Walter Moyl purchased it, together with all the tenements and messuages in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney, London, belonging to the college of Corpus Christi, near that church. But herein Sir John made use of the friendship, counsel, and direction of Dr. Parker, the Dean. Which kindness so affected him, that he promised him his pension should be first settled; as appears by Cheke's letter to him, wherein he mentions the kindness

The college devolves to Sir John Cheke.

King Edw. book of Sales.

Epist. Viror Illust. int. MSS. C. C. C. C.

and friendship he received from him; and that when the Commission was come forth, "you and yours," said he, "shall be the first to whom pensions shall be appointed; "and for your part, I trust, so rewarded, that no pensioner "better." CHAP. V. Anno 1547.

Thus, until the first year of King Edward, did Parker hold this college against some that often sought it. And he had a pension for it of forty pounds per annum allowed him, paid out of the Exchequer. And thus was this house, and all the good uses Parker made it serviceable to, (in great pity,) put to an end. And when he could not save the college any longer, he saved at least the remembrance of it, by conveying away thence a small square of glass, painted with the coat of arms of the founder, the Lord Mortimer, being three lilies, which he set up in his lodge at Bene't college, and remains there unto this time; which was shewn me, when I was there in the year 1690, by the reverend Dr. Spencer, then Master. It bespake Parker's good affection to that religious foundation, over which he had presided, and which he had made so useful to the country. Thus did the superstition of such foundations draw this, though so well purged, and made so useful, into the same calamity with the rest; nor would the private covetousness of those times be persuaded to spare so public a good. The pension allowed. Dr. Spencer.

I meet with one of the scholars bred in the school of this college of Stoke; whom the Dean removed thence to his college in Cambridge; and afterwards took care of him there for divers years. He was afterwards preferred at the Court in the Signet Office. Who, when his patron was preferred to be Archbishop of Canterbury, came not long after to congratulate him at Lambeth, and to offer him his service, and to acknowledge his former great favours. But for his delay in the mean time, he made his apology, and did his duty by letter. His name was Thomas Bowsly. In which letter he acknowledged to the Archbishop, "how he bred him a "scholar, first at his school of Stoke, then sent him to "Bene't college, and placed him in the room of a Bible "Clerk; permitted him, for his better conveniences in A scholar of Stoke college school grateful.

BOOK I.

"learning, to have a key to the library; took him some-
"times abroad with him to Norwich, [his native city,] to
Anno 1547. "Ely, [where he had a prebend,] and other places, besides
"manifold other benefits." Such countenance, favour, and furtherance did he use to afford his scholars that were studious and ingenious. "He excused himself, that he had "not before now offered himself to his Grace, and acknow-"ledged his former favours; that the reason was a fit of "sickness, that brought him to a consumption: and after-"ward, being recovered of that, he served in the office of "the Queen's Signet, which required such continual at-"tendance, by reason of the absence of his master, that he "could not have convenient time to acknowledge his bound-"en duty to his Grace. But that he had been often at his "Grace's house, to have done it at Lambeth." And this was the return of one of the Dean's grateful scholars to his obliging master: and no doubt many other such there were, that owed their education, and their after-preferments, both in Church and State, unto him and this his school.

Tithes of Melford, formerly belonging to this college.

Some little part of the endowments of this college, after many years, became appropriated again to a religious use. For Sir William Cordel, Master of the Rolls under Queen Elizabeth, by his will founded an hospital in Long Melford in Suffolk, for a Warden and twelve brethren; a part of the endowment whereof was a parcel of tithes in Melford, formerly pertaining to Stoke college.

Dr. Parker marries Harlestone.

June 24, in this year 1547, Dr. Parker, in the forty-third of his age, entered into the state of marriage, and took to wife Margaret, aged twenty-eight years: she was the daughter of Robert Harlestone, of Matsal in the county of Norfolk, gentleman; and sister of Simon Harlestone, who lived sometime at Mendlesham in Suffolk; a man eminent both for his piety and sufferings, being an earnest professor of religion in Queen Mary's days, and in Orders. He was a great dissuader of the people against Popish superstitions; and such was his authority and influence upon them, that *they mightily built upon his doctrine.* Which was the very information that was given to Bishop Boner against him,

Simon Harlestone her brother.

24

by one Ty, a Priest, and Commissary to that Bishop in the parts about Dedham in Essex; whither, in the year 1556, this Harlestone was fled, and abode some time, upon a severe inquisition made by some officers of the Bishop of Norwich in the town of Mendlesham, where were a great many zealous professors of the Gospel: which inquisition was occasioned by the information chiefly of Sir John Bradish, the parish priest; who caused many in that place to recant, and do against their consciences. A great persecution was raised against this town; a chief instrument wherein was Sir John Tyrrel, of Gippinghall, a Justice of Peace, and a great Romish zealot. There was one Adam Foster of this town, who for his religion was sent by this man to the Bishop of Norwich, and there condemned and burnt. In this persecution many were taken up, and forced to abjure; and many were scattered, and fled away from their habitations, whither they could. Then did this good man, with his wife Katherine and five children, convey themselves away from Mendlesham. One of whose sons, named Samuel, was afterwards a student in Cambridge; to whom the Archbishop, his uncle, gave a legacy of books. The said Simon was also another time in great danger of falling into the hands of the Bishop's officers, by the intention of one Robert Blomefield, constable of Little Stanfield in Suffolk, to inform against him, had not God about that very time cut him off by death.

Anno 1547.

Mendlesham.

The family of the Harlestones seems to have been anciently placed in those parts. There is a town in Suffolk, upon the borders of Norfolk, called by this name, famous for a rising intended to have been made in the year 1570, by certain gentlemen of Norfolk at a fair there, for the deliverance of their beloved Duke of Norfolk, then in prison upon the Queen of Scots' cause; by the sound of a trumpet to gather the multitude together, upon pretence of driving the Netherlanders out of England. The same family seems likewise to have been of good quality and wealth, there having been an ancient hostle in Cambridge built by one

The family of the Harlestones.

Camd. Hist. Eliz. p. 148. edit. 1675.

Caius Antiq.

BOOK I.

of that name, and called Harlestone's Hostle, situate in Harlestone-lane, on the east of St. Clement's church.

Anno 1547.

The Harlestones of Essex.

There were of the Harlestones also in Essex. Sir Clement Harlestone, living not far from Cogshal, was present with the Abbot of Cogshal, when he opened an old urn found by a ploughman not far from the said town. In which urn were small bones found wrapped up in silk: which the Abbot supposed to be some saint's relics, and laid them up in his vestry. There was an ancient family at South Ockingdon of the Bruins, and of great repute, a coheiress of which a Harlestone married. And from her and her sister were descended many great families besides the Harlestones, as the Tyrils, the Berniers, the Hevininghams, and especially Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, as we are taught by Camden.

Cam. Britannia.

Margaret Harlestone his wife.

As for Margaret Harlestone, our Divine affected her for her virtues, being a person accomplished in all good endowments both of body and mind, and towards him of great tenderness and observance. He loved her seven years before he married her, with a conjugal love and faithfulness, being dear to one another; but they abstained from wedlock by mutual agreement, for the avoiding danger, King Henry having made it felony for persons in Orders to marry. In the mean time she wanted not for importunate suitors; but would never yield herself to any, but faithfully kept her promise to her first lover, and chose rather to remain single than to violate it. But when that King died, and under the reign of King Edward VI. matrimony being allowed to Priests, the time and laws permitting, they entered the sacred bonds of marriage. She proved an excellent wife, as well as an excellent woman, very obedient, indulgent, and observant of her husband; and her behaviour such, as it became much taken notice of: and Bishop Ridley is reported to have asked if Mrs. Parker had a sister; as though he should have been willing to have married, if he could have found her fellow. And in a certain letter which that Bishop wrote to our Doctor, in the conclusion,

Her qualities.

he sent his commendations to Mrs. Parker; "whom al- Anno 1547.
"though I do not know," as he wrote, "yet, for the fame
"of her virtues, in God I do love." And Dr. Sandys, (soon after Bishop of London,) in a letter to Dr. Parker 1559, 25 calls her, for her gravity, chastity, discretion, and piety, *Parker's Abbess.* While Parker was in a private capacity, she shewed her discretion in her good housewifery and frugality; and yet for her husband's credit, she had all things handsome about her. But when he was advanced to the high place of Archbishop of Canterbury, she ordered her housekeeping so nobly and splendidly, (her family also being enlarged,) that all things answered that venerable dignity. And her domestic affairs she managed so discreetly, and yet so exactly to the mind of her husband, that is, creditably and honourably, (for he had a generous spirit in him,) that he was taken off from caring for these more private concerns, and the more wholly gave up himself to the affairs of the Church and commonwealth.

By her, May 5th the next year, he had a son, named John. Which name I guess he had given him by Sir John Cheke, Dr. Parker's learned friend. Hath a son.

Febr. 7, Dr. Parker was chosen Vice-Chancellor the second time, there being but two years past (in both which Dr. Madew served that honourable office) since he was Vice-Chancellor before. And this election Walter Haddon signified to Mr. Cheke, then at Court, as part of his University news: giving this character of him, (whereby we may infer of what high account he then was among the best,) *Cujus tu gravitatem, consilium, literas nosti, nos etiam experimur:* adding these words, *Catonem aut Quintum Fabium in illo renatum putes.* That is, "How grave, "how prudent, how learned he was, Cheke had formerly "known, [when he lived in the University with him,] and "they who still were there very well knew: and that one "would think that Cato or Quintus Fabius lived again in "him." Anno 1548. Vice-Chancellor again.

In Lent, Archbishop Cranmer writ to him to preach before the King; advising him, that it was the Lord Pro- Archbishop Cranmer sends to him

BOOK I.

tector's order for him so to do on a certain Sunday in the Lent season by him appointed: "having good opinion," as the Archbishop added, "of your learned knowledge and "godly zeal in the advancement of God's word." This letter of the Archbishop's was seconded by another from Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, for the same purpose, to this tenor:

Anno 1548. to preach at Court:

And the Bishop of Westminster. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist. Princ.

"After my right harty commendation to you: where my "Lord of Canterbury his Grace hath appointed you to "preach before the King's Majesty the third Sunday of "this Lent, and hath written unto you for the same pur- "pose, and yet hath received no answer from you again; "theis shall be to desyre you both to prepare your self to "accomplish his request; and also to advertize his Grace, "by your letters, of your determination herein. Thus I "bid you hartily farewel. From Westminster this fourth "day of March 1548.

"Your assured frende,
"Thomas Westmon."

According to these summons our Doctor discharged this office the third Sunday in Lent, preaching before the King at Westminster out of the Gospel for the day. And then probably, being the second year of the King, he was admitted one of the King's Chaplains, if it were not done before.

Two learned discourses made by Dr. Parker.

Among Parker's MSS. preserved in his college at Cambridge, I have met with two pretty large discourses of his. The former, *De Conjugio Sacerdotum; i.e.* "Concerning the "marriage of Priests:" under this question, *An liceat Sacris initiatus contrahere matrimonium;* that is, "Whether "it be lawful for such as are entered into holy Orders to "marry." The title of the latter discourse is, *Non debere res Ecclesiasticas, ad publicum sacri ministerii usum destinatas, ad alios usus, aut ad privatas hominum commoditates transferri. Et proinde, non posse bona cum conscientia Episcopum aliquem designatum aut designandum,*

hujusmodi alienationibus consentire. That is, "That the "possessions of the Church, which are appointed for the "public use of the sacred ministry, ought not to be trans- Anno 1548. "ferred to other uses, or to the private commodities of any "men. And moreover, that none, appointed or to be ap- "pointed a Bishop, may with a good conscience consent to "such alienations." There is a large and learned exercitation of Parker's own hand-writing upon this argument, which I have cast into the Appendix. But these discourses under Numb. VII. his own hand I do conjecture he made before the Convocation, in the year 1548. In which the question of Priests' marriage, I am sure, was at large disputed and allowed of. Which is the reason I place these discourses here.

In the next year, *viz.* 1549, was a royal visitation of the Anno 1549. University: and on Tuesday, May the 21st, the Visitors 26 came to Corpus Christi college, where it seems (all things being kept in such good order) "they soon made an end," as it is set down in the college MSS. "and supped there, "Dr. Parker, then Master of the college, and supplying "the room of the Vice-Chancellor in his absence, for the "most part of the visitation." Royal visitation of Cambridge. MSS. C. C. C. C. C. Miscell. P.

About the time of the breaking out of Ket's dangerous rebellion, in the parts in and about Norwich, Dr. Parker happened to be retired from Cambridge to his friends and relations there; where the great service he did at that time deserveth to be mentioned. For he was one of those Divines that used now to go up into the pulpits of the city churches, exhorting the citizens (many of whom were actually in this insurrection, and many more too much disposed thereunto) to leave off their wicked attempts, and to return to peace and quietness, and their obedience to their Sovereign. And that was not all the service he and they did, but a-nights would, with the rest of the townsmen, be upon watch armed. Parker was one of the chief of their Preachers, who was much esteemed for his prudence, fatherly integrity, and gravity: and, out of compassion to his country, that he saw now lying under all the miseries that fury and violence Parker preaches to the rebels. Alex. Nevyl. de Ket. Rebel.

BOOK I.

could bring it into, he did shew himself both stout and honest, in a free reproof of their courses. And one day, Anno 1549. with his brother Thomas and some friends, did adventure himself into Ket's mad camp, resolving to bestow his good counsel upon them, and to try to reclaim them from their evil course: but, observing the camp then everywhere drowned in drunkenness and luxury, and all in the confusions and disturbances of excess, he thought not convenient to talk soberly to such a mad rout, and so went back into the city. But the next day in the morning, not having any rest in his own mind till he had discharged his conscience, and spoken his mind; and supposing now the heat of wine and madness were somewhat abated, he went again to the camp with his said brother: and now he found them in quite another posture than they were in the day before; for they were now all at their prayers under the *oak of reformation*, (as they called the tree under which Ket and his party exercised their justice,) and one Thomas Conyers, Vicar of St. Martin's in Norwich, (whom they had made their Chaplain,) was saying the Litany among them. Dr. Parker judging this a very fair opportunity, ascended the oak, and there preached a sermon to them of prudence, sobriety, and moderation. He distributed his discourse into three parts chiefly:

The sum of his sermon.

I. He admonished them to temperance and sobriety, and that the provisions they had brought into their camp, being God's gifts, they would not consume and spend in luxury and ungodliness: secretly hereby reproving their yesterday's excesses.

II. Next, That they should not pursue their private enmities, nor lift up themselves in anger, or study of revenge, nor imbrue their hands in civil blood, nor restrain in custody and bonds those that they had taken as enemies, nor cruelly deprive them of their lives. Which things they were notoriously guilty of.

III. And lastly, That, consulting for the common profit, they would desist from their purpose; and that they should

not withdraw their faith from the King's heralds and messengers, but give the King's Majesty his honour even in his tender age.

His great danger.

While he preached these things to them, he was very earnest; and all heard him with much attention and good will, the Doctor being a most charming preacher, till one of the most wicked and loosest sort of them said, "How "long shall we bear this hireling teacher, who, being hired "by the gentlemen, is come hither with a tongue, that is "sold for money, and tied up for a reward. But, for all "his prating, let us bridle their intolerable power, and bring "them under our law." Upon this a tumult was made, and the Preacher was threatened. One was for bringing him 27
down, as he said, with arrows and javelins. And presently there was heard a clattering of weapons under him; so that he looked for present death. Yet those that were next him under the tree were quiet, and none of them made the least stir or murmur against him, but rather defended him. But, in this juncture, Conyers, with some others, on purpose to divert the mischief, fell to singing the *Te Deum*; whereat the rabble was composed into some quiet; which gave opportunity to the Preacher to convey himself away. But, before he was got into the city, some of the gang overtook him, and began to question with him about his licence to preach. He might have told them he was sufficiently licensed, both by King Henry VIII, and the Archbishop of Canterbury; but he, knowing how vain and dangerous it was to talk to such a pack, hastened away slightly, and left his brother, who was then in his company, to hold them in discourse. And so our Doctor got free from them for that time.

How he preserved his horses.

But the next day, in St. Clement's church, where many of the rebels were present, he made an exposition out of one of the Lessons; where he spake against these wicked hurly-burlies. Coming out of the church, some of these fellows, who were put into great displeasure by what he had said, followed him: and knowing that he had three or four good geldings, charged him that they might be ready in the af-

BOOK I.

ternoon to serve the King; that is to say, to serve themselves with them. But, to prevent this, he cunningly bade his groom pull off the shoes of some of his horses, and pare their hoofs to the quick; and to rub others of them with nerve oil, as though they had been lamed with travel, and so to have them to pasture. The rebels afterwards coming for his horses, and seeing in what a case they were, forbore meddling any further with them. But the Doctor, apprehending his danger here, resolved to go back to Cambridge: and so soon after, walking two miles on foot, as though he took a walk in the fields, met his horses at the place appointed, where he mounted, and got safe to his journey's end.

Anno 1549.

CHAP. VII.

Dr. Parker in commission against Anabaptists. Preaches at St. Paul's Cross; and at Court; and at St. Mary's in Cambridge, at the funeral of Bucer. Bishop Ridley writes to him to preach again at the Cross. A third son born to him. Tremellius. Made Dean of Lincoln. His friends: reputation in the University. His writings. His condition under Queen Mary; being deprived of all.

Anno 1550. WE are come to the year 1550; in which, Octob. 1, the Archbishop resigned his living of Birlingham, after he had now held it six years and upwards: not caring, as it seems, any longer to be a pluralist; or thinking he could not frequently enough inspect that cure, being at such a distance.

Dr. Parker resigns Birlingham.

Many now there were in the kingdom, who, though they were not Papists, yet differed from the doctrine and usage of religion now established. They would not baptize their children; held as the Arians in the doctrine of the Godhead, and as Pelagius in the doctrine of free-will and predestination: all these came under the denomination of Anabaptists. Many also there were that administered the Sa-

Parker in a commission against Anabaptists.

craments in other manner than was prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, lately set forth by public authority. For the prevention of the spreading of these people, a commission was issued out in the month of January to one and thirty persons, empowering them to correct and punish these men. Of which number was the Archbishop, and four other Bishops, and divers other Protestants and learned men of the Court; and of the King's Chaplains, Redman, Latymer, Coverdale, Eyre, and among the rest our Dr. Parker.

Anno 1550.

28 Bishop Cranmer calls him to Paul's Cross;

Archbishop Cranmer wrote to him a letter to preach, March the 16th, at Paul's Cross; praying him "purely and "sincerely to set forth God's word there, and to exhort his "audience to due obedience to the King's Highness' laws "and statutes."

And to the Court, to preach before the King. MS. C. C. C.

And again, he had a command to preach before the King four days after. For thus the same Archbishop wrote to him:

"I commend me hertily unto you; and wheras the "Kings Majesty, by th'advise of his most honourable "Counsail, hath appointed you to preach one sermon be-"fore his Highnes person at the Court, upon Sonday the "XXth of March next coming, being the VIth Sonday in "Lent, and hath commanded me to signify unto you his "grace and pleasure in this behalf; thes therefore shalbe "to requyre you to put your self in a redyness in the mean "time to satisfy the day and place to you appoynted, ac-"cording to the King's Majesties expectation, and not to "fayle in any wise. Thus hertily fare ye wel. From my "mannour at Lambeth, the XIIth of February 1550.

"Your loving frend,

"T. Cant."

"To my loving frend

"Mr. Doctor Parker."

Bucer dies.

February 28, Parker lost his great friend Dr. Martin Bucer, the King's Professor of Divinity in Cambridge.

Greatly acquainted with him.

He, with Dr. Sandys, Master of Katherine hall, Grindal

BOOK I.

Anno 1550.

and Bradford, Fellows of Pembroke hall, held a more particular converse and acquaintance with that great learned foreign Divine. And with these men Bucer held some communication concerning his writing that book *De Regno Christi*, dedicated to King Edward; as Sampson, a man of note, then in Pembroke hall in that University, conjectured. But that they had an high esteem for the book, after it was written, was certain, by certain private talk that Parker and the rest had among themselves: which Sampson was privy to, as he once signified in a letter to the Lord Burghley. And in the controversy that reverend Professor had with Yong, in a public disputation at Cambridge, begetting great heats and parties, (insomuch that he was fain to appeal to Bishop Ridley, and sent up his disputation in writing to him,) our Doctor, together with Dr. Sandys, adhered firmly to him. Which he signified in a letter he wrote to Grindal, then with the foresaid Bishop; *viz. Fidelissime agere Christi et meam causam D. Parkerum et D. Sandes.* The friendship between Bucer and our Parker grew so intimate afterwards, that a little before his death he constituted him, and Dr. Haddon, Professor of the Civil Law, the executors of his last will and testament; as appeared by the codicil to his will, wherein are these words, *Testamentarios appello hic eximios Dominos Doctores, Parkerum et Haddonum.* A transcript of which codicil Parker sent to Strasburgh to Ulrich Chelius, and Conrad Hubert, the tutors and guardians to his children.

Preached his funeral sermon at St. Mary's.

And, as the last respects they could pay to this their highly honoured friend deceased, both Haddon and Parker were the orators at his funeral at St. Mary's. The former, being University Orator, pronounced, very moving, a Latin speech, in his commendation, before that solemn assembly of the town and University that attended his funerals. And then, the corpse being interred, Parker ascended the pulpit, and preached a sermon in English, in such a strain of melting oratory, as was to the admiration of the auditory: taking his text out of the Book of Wisdom, chap. iv. beginning

at ver. 7. *But though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest. For honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years. But wisdom is the gray hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is old age. He pleased God, and was beloved of him: so that living among sinners, he was translated. Yea, speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul,* &c. and so on to ver. 19. The sermon was afterwards printed; and some years after translated into Latin; and is still to be seen in the volume of Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana.* In his discourse, "having mentioned the happiness "of the deceased person, and of all saints departed, and "relating the rewards of a well spent life; he forbad his "auditors to lament the death of so holy a man. Because "it fell out well for him, who, having finished a most pain-"ful life, and passed through abundance of troubles, was 29
"gotten now out of the waves to the port; out of the rout "and sink of men, into eternal peace, and the company of "the blessed. Then he proceeded to relate the punish-"ments which God inflicts upon impious and disobedient "men for their wickednesses: and then giving his hearers "a view of their own slackness and neglect in the enter-"tainment of such a saving messenger as Bucer was; from "whose most dissolute manners he was snatched away for "the heavier punishment of the succeeding times: this, he "said, was a most just cause of sorrow and weeping. And "that if they should suffer it to slip away, and turned not, "both in their minds and senses, to mourning and tears, "and sighs and groans, God would not endure their har-"dened hearts: but as he had made them to shake by the "great fall of Bucer, so he would afterwards chastise them "with heavier punishments. He added, that God had "placed him among them as the chief master workman; "who omitted no day, no hour, in bringing somewhat "which seemed fit for the building of God's house. But "they of Cambridge, part of them, complying with the "times, were drawn to join in the same work, but hardly

BOOK I.

Anno 1551.

"moved a hand to reach one stone: and part overborne "with envy, blindness, and the old dregs of superstition, "raised tumults, and prepared strength to undermine the "foundation, and to throw down the walls and roof of the "building. Therefore God could bear no longer the dis- "sembled industry of the one part, and the infinite hatred "of the other. And thus he applied this, as a punishment "of their wickedness, if they persisted; but as a medicine of "their error, if they returned and were sorry." This topic did Dr. Parker copiously and accurately handle; moving his auditory to congratulation in regard of Bucer's happiness, and to lamentation and tears in regard of their own misery. And so he descended largely into the praises of the excellent virtues and incomparable learning of the deceased.

See Nic. Car's Ep. to Sir J. Cheke upon Bucer's death.

Bishop Ridley calls him to Paul's Cross.

Our Doctor's abilities for preaching being so well known, Ridley, the Bishop of London, sent to him, July 22, to preach again at St. Paul's Cross: which he declined, and earnestly desired to be excused. Wherefore the good Bishop, being minded that none but learned and discreet preachers should officiate there, July 25. wrote a very pathetic letter to him to give a sermon there, and would take no denial: and the rather, because several came up unfit for such an audience: some wanted learning, and some judgment, and some a good conversation, and some discretion. All which accomplishments the Bishop judged to meet in him. Whose letter therefore was as follows:

Bishop Ridley's letter. C. C. C. C. Epist. Princip.

"Mr. Doctor, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, I pray "you refuse not to take a day at the Cross. I may have, "if I would call without any choice, enow: but in some, "alas! I desire more learning, in some a better judgment, "in some more virtue and godly conversation, and in some "more soberness and discretion. And he, in whom all "these do meet, shall not do well to refuse, in my judg- "ment, to serve God in that place. Of which number, "because I take you to be, therefore (leaving at this time "to charge you with answering for the contrary to the

" King and his Council) I must charge you to take a day, CHAP. VII.
" as ye will answer for the contrary to Almighty God at
" your own peril. If the day be thought not commodious Anno 1551.
" for you, I shall appoint another for it. But if I should
" discharge you for that place for the time hereafter, in
" good faith, my conscience should accuse me, and tell me,
" that I should rather go about to satisfy your request,
" (whom the truth is, as your kindness hath bound me,
" I would be glad to gratify,) than to set forth God's cause.
" Thus fare you well. From my house at London. And
" I pray you commend me to Mrs. Parker, whom although
" I do not know, yet, for the fame of her virtue in God, I
" do love. 25 of July.

" Yours in Christ,
" Nic. London."

The first of September this year was born to our Doctor a third son, named Matthew, after his own name; having had also a son of the same name the last year, born August 27, and died in January ensuing. This Matthew the Archbishop lived to see matched with Frances, the virtuous daughter of another Bishop, *viz.* Barlow of Chichester. But Matthew died before his father, in the year 1574. A third son born to him.

This was the son, I suppose, for whom the Doctor chose Immanuel Tremellius the foreigner (and then the Hebrew Professor in the University) to stand godfather, to give the greater countenance to his learning and piety. For the Doctor was so well pleased with this man, that there was maintained a great familiarity between them; as there seemed to be between their wives also. In July the next year, I meet with a letter wrote by Tremellius from London to Parker; wherein salutations are sent from his wife to Mrs. Parker, and she sends a kiss to the little infant also. Tremellius supposed his godfather.

This Lent Dr. Parker preached before King Edward two several Wednesdays, if not three, Harly, his fellow chaplain, supplying by course the other days.

A great controversy happened about this time between John Madew, D. D. plaintiff, and Rowland Swinburn, de- Anno 1552. Made a commis-

BOOK I.

fendant, about the Mastership, I suppose, of Clare hall, whereof Swinburn had got possession. For which they appealed at length to the King and Council. Swinburn was a Papist, or that way affected, whatsoever his pretences and compliances now were: Madew, a great promoter of the Gospel, a good preacher and disputant, and had been one of the King's Commissioners in the royal visitation, 1547, and of good service in the University. Upon the appeal aforesaid, the King and Council issued out a commission, dated April 8, directed to Dr. Parker, Walter Haddon, LL. D. Master of Trinity hall, and the King's Professor of the Civil Law, Tho. Lever, S. Th. B. Master of St. John's college, and Ralph Hensworth, [Aynsworth,] Master of Peter house, or to two or three of them, to determine, or to certify the matter in a certain competition between them. The issue was, that Madew obtained the Mastership, and Swinburn was laid aside. Yet the next year, upon the change of the government, Madew was thrown out, and Swinburn came into the Mastership again.

Anno 1552. sioner in the business between Madew and Swinburn.

Had a prebend and deanery given him.

A presentation from the King was granted to our Doctor this year to the canonry and prebend of Corringham, in the church of Lincoln. His patent bore date at Westminster, June 21. And now the King sent his letters to the President and Chapter to admit and choose him to the deanery also. For John Taylor, Dean of the said church, being advanced to be Bishop of this see, June 8. Dr. Parker was nominated to succeed him in the deanery. And July 9. he was installed into his prebend; and the 30th elected Dean; and October 7. installed into the said deanery of Lincoln in his own person.

Dear to Bishop Goodrick.

It was said before how King Henry gave him a prebend in the church of Ely. By which means probably he came to be the better known unto the Bishop of that see, Dr. Goodrick, Lord Chancellor in the latter part of King Edward's reign. To this Bishop our Parker was dear, and in the number of his friends: yet, according to the temper of the man towards his friends, when he came to be advanced, he was not forward to shew such kindness to this his friend

CHAP. VII.

as he expected, and sometimes sued for at his hands, and used too much sourness and passion towards him. Which character Parker afterwards, when Archbishop, gave of this Bishop in one of his letters. "More and Audley," said he, "for wit, eloquence, and law; Goderick for his sincerity "towards justice. But they all had their faults. The third "a dissembler in friendship; who used to entertain his ill-"willers very courteously, and his very friends very imperi-"ously; thinking thereby to have the rule of both; where-"by he lost both. For while his ill-willers spread, how "he would shake up his acquaintance, they gathered there-"by the nature of his friendship towards his old friends, "and therefore joyed not much of his glorious entertain-"ment; and his friends indeed joyed less in him for such "his discouragement that they felt at his hands. *Expertus* "*loquor*."

Anno 1552.

Parker's observation upon him. MSS. G. P. Armig.

Tremellius had borrowed of Dr. Parker some ancient curious copy in MS. of the Bible, (in the original Hebrew, I suppose,) and now in July returned it from London to him to Cambridge, by the hands of Brian Wade, the incumbent of Sauston.

Tremellius restores the Doctor his Bible.

In this King's reign also he was nominated to two things; to a bishopric, and to be Master of Trinity college in Cambridge: which he either declined, or others stepped in before him. But I rather incline to believe the former; at least concerning the bishopric.

Nominated to preferments.

Dr. Parker was known to the King, the Lord Crumwel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Goodric, Lord Chancellor, Ridley Bishop of London, to Sir William Cecil the Secretary, Sir John Cheke, the King's tutor, and Mr. Nicolas Bacon, a profound lawyer, and many others of the best rank and name for virtue and religion: and all that knew him valued him. Cheke he styled, "His "entire good friend and patron;" Cecil he called, "Of a "long time my special good friend and master;" and to Bacon his countryman, he used these words in one of his letters, "In confidence of your good old heart to me."

31 His friends.

In the University, whereof he was one of the venerable

His credit in the University.

BOOK 1.

Heads, he carried it with great gracefulness, and as much serviceableness; assisting very much in the promoting of
Anno 1552. learning, and in detecting and bringing men off from the Popish superstitions. And such an high opinion had the learned and best men there concerning him, that, in the second year of King Edward's reign, they chose him Vice-Chancellor, though he had borne the same office but two years before: which office he bore with a very becoming grace. Roger Ascham, being Secretary to Morison, King Edward's Ambassador to Germany, wrote a letter from Lovain to a friend of his of St. John's college; where, speaking of his meeting the Vice-Chancellor of that University in the streets, attended with his Beadles, saith, "That he was more like in apparel and port to our "Priest of Horningshie, than to the comeliness of Master "Doctor Parker and his Beadles."

His writings in King Edward's reign.

Among his miscellaneous volumes in MS. I meet with a large tract in one, entitled, *Defensio Reformationis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;* which, whether writ by himself or Bucer,
Miscell. D. I cannot say: but I suppose the latter. There be also in the said volume rules for the French and Dutch churches, drawn out by Dr. Parker's own hand: which perhaps might be his own doing, set on work by some of the Bishops, or by the Convocation in this King's reign, to serve as a model for the churches of the foreigners fled over hither. But, whatever the design thereof was, I will not
Num. VIII. think much to transfer it into the Appendix, being his writing.

Anno 1553. His condition under Queen Mary.

As our Doctor passed through this reign, not without great reputation and esteem of all good men in country, Court, and University; having made himself beloved for his great serviceableness and true zeal for God and his pure worship; so, upon the arrival of Queen Mary, being of another religion, he endured much, and was stripped of all capacity of doing good to the Church and to the nation any more; and, having made such a figure in the former reign, was glad to conceal himself the more in this. And though he was sought for, yet, by shifting from place to place, (but

keeping himself within the kingdom,) he escaped those bloody times: and God reserved him to better days, for further service of the Church and his country. He was despoiled under that Queen of all his preferments and benefices; and then retired into Norfolk among his friends, with his wife and family. And even then he had sufficient for his maintenance, by God's gracious care of him, as he after told the Lord Keeper Bacon, who had been acquainted with him from his youth. "Your Lordship knew with what "patrimony I began the world, and yet have hitherto lived "well enough. Yea, when all my livings were taken away "from me, yet God, I thank him, ministered to me suffi- "ciently above the capacity of my understanding or fore- "seeing."

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1553.

Letter to Lord Bacon.

For in the second year of Queen Mary, he was thrown out of all, for being married: and so were all the rest of the married Clergy, and turned out into the wide world to shift for themselves and their families. Although the marriage of Priests (as well as others) were allowed by the word of God, and also by the laws, made in two Parliaments under King Edward: yet the Papists, with whom nothing gentle and moderate is wont to take place, and who equal their own decrees with the sacred Scripture, or prefer them above it, discharged them all without difference thenceforth from their offices and benefices.

Deprived. Matthæus.

Then Dr. Parker "lurked (to use the words of the col- "lege MS.) secretly in those years within the house of one "of his friends, leading a poor life, without any men's aid "or succour: and yet so well contented with his lot, that "in that pleasant rest, and leisure for his studies, he would "never, in respect of himself, have desired any other kind "of life, the extreme fear of danger only excepted: and "therein he lived, as all other good men then did. His "wife he would not be divorced from, or put her away, all "this evil time, (as he might, if he would, in those days, "which so rigorously required it,) being a woman very "chaste, and of a very virtuous behaviour, and behav-

His private life. Historial.

32

BOOK I.

" ing herself with all due reverence toward her hus-
" band [d]."

Anno 1553. Thus was he thrown out of all his places and benefices, without receiving any single benefit, recompence, or annual stipend. Which calamity was common with him to all the Clergy almost in the whole realm, for the cause of religion, and withal because they had married wives. Which nevertheless, in two Parliaments, was allowed under King Edward, and permitted by the eternal word of God. *Supra quod* (saith the abovesaid MS.) *mortalem hominem sapere et summæ est dementiæ, et intolerabilis superbiæ.* " And " for frail man to be wise above that, is the highest mad-
" ness, and an arrogance not to be suffered."

The reason of his loss of his preferments.

A fall received in his flight.

One time in this reign narrow search was made for him to take him, which he having some notice of, fled in the night in great peril, and got a fall from his horse so dangerously, that he never recovered it. Which made him complain to the Lord Bacon, when he was nominated for Archbishop of Canterbury, that he was in body so hurt and decayed, that his painful infirmity would not suffer it; namely, to accept of that preferment.

But how he was spoiled of all his places and preferments, and in what contentment and quiet of mind he lived in this bare and naked condition, I shall represent out of the Doctor's own MS. being a parchment scroll of his own writing, which Dr. Tenison, then the right reverend Bishop of Lincoln, (now the most reverend Father in Christ, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,) procured and gave into the hands of Dr. Stanley, then Master of Bene't college, to be reposited in the library there among the rest of Archbishop Parker's MSS. I do only translate thence what he wrote in Latin.

Resigns the Mastership of Bene't.

" December , 1553, I resigned the Mastership of Cor-
" pus Christi college to Laurence Moptyde, whom, in a
" kind of necessity, I chose for my successor.

" April 2, 1554, I was deprived of my prebend in the

[d] Fœmina integerrima morigeraque, et suum virum reverens.

" church of Ely; and deprived also of my rectory of Land- CHAP. VII.
" beach. To be presented to which church I procured
" William Whalley, a Canon of Lincoln; whom I chose Anno 1554.
" my successor; and he was instituted September 30." [To Deprived of his rectory and prebend of Ely;
the prebend succeeded Dr. Yong, a complier. Of both these preferments Dr. Parker was said, in the register of Ely, to be canonically deprived; that is, no doubt, for being married. For these are the words of the said register, as they were friendly communicated to me by the Reverend Mr. Tho. Baker, Fellow of St. John's in Cambridge, who transcribed them: *Anno* 1554, *Apr.* 12. *Mr. Johannes Young, S. T. P. admissus fuit ad prebendam illam in eccles. Eliensi per canonicam deprivationem Rev. viri Matthæi Parker, vacantem, quam idem Matthæus nuper obtinuit ad præsentationem Mariæ Reginæ.*

Anno 1554, *Septemb. ult. Dominus Wilhelmus Whalley admissus fuit ad ecclesiam paroch. de Landbeache, &c. vacantem per canonicam deprivationem Rev. Matthæi Parker, S. T. P. ultimi incumbent.* But now to go on with the Archbishop's relation.]

" May 21, I was spoiled of my deanery of Lincoln: and And of his deanery and prebend of Lincoln.
" so I was the same day of my prebend of Coringham in
" the same church. To which Mr. George Pierpoynt was
" presented by force of the advowson of the same, not
" granted by Tayler, Bishop of Lincoln. The deanery was
" conferred upon Francis Malet by Queen Mary.

" After my deprivation I lived so joyful before God in His pious meditation upon occasion whereof.
" my conscience, and so neither ashamed nor dejected, that
" the most sweet leisure for study, to which the good pro-
" vidence of God recalled me, created me much greater
" and more solid pleasures, than that former busy and dan-
" gerous kind of living ever pleased me. What will here-
" after happen to me, I know not; but to God, who takes
" care of all, and who will one day reveal the hidden things
" of men's hearts, I commend myself wholly, and my godly
" and most chaste wife, with my two most dear little sons.
" And I beseech the same most great and good God, that
" we may so for the time to come with unshaken minds bear

BOOK I.

Anno 1554. 33

"the reproach of Christ, that we may always remember, "that we have here no abiding city, but may seek one to "come, by the grace and mercy of my Lord Jesus Christ. "To whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be all "honour and empire, Amen. 26. Octob. A. D. 1554."

Anno 1556. Continues well contented.

And in this cheerful and contented condition he still continued, how obscurely and dangerously soever he passed these *Marian* days. For, in the year 1556, this was another of his meditations: "Hitherto I have lived before God so "glad, being contented with my lot, that I have neither en-"vied my superiors, nor despised my inferiors; directing "all my endeavours to this, that I may serve God in a "pure conscience, and that my better may not despise me, "nor my underling be afraid of me. 14. Octob. An. Dom. "1556."

Another son born to him.

This year, in the month of September, he had a fourth son born, named Joseph. Calling him so perhaps for the same reason that Jacob so called his son of that name, because God had *added* another son to those several others born to him before: as also, to parallel his present condition to that of Joseph, who suffered much for preserving a good conscience: which nevertheless God in time amply rewarded with great honour and prosperity; as it also happened to this our pious confessor. But this his son Joseph died within the year.

Anno 1557. Contented and cheerful still.

Again, on his birthday the next year, his mind was still in the same constancy and good frame; which he thus described: "And still this 6. August, An. Dom. 1557, I per-"sist in the same constancy, upholden by the grace and "goodness of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By "whose inspiration I have finished the Book of Psalms "turned into vulgar verse; and I have wrote a Defence "of the Marriage of Priests against Thomas Martin's book, "wrote February An. Dom. 1552." Whereby we see in what studies he spent some of his leisure. What became of his Psalms I know not; but his book of Priests' Marriage he printed soon after he came to be Archbishop, yet concealing his name: taking his occasion of writing from another

Books by him made during this time.

imperfect tract of a learned man [Ponet, late Bishop of Winton] deceased in exile, concerning the same subject.

Anno 1557. Cheerful in his conscience still.

And once more we read under his hand his faith and perseverance in the sentence following, which seems to have been his contemplation after his fall from his horse in his flight, whereby his body was sore hurt and endangered: "And yet I am joyful, contented with my lot, trusting in "the testimony of my conscience in the Lord, and relying "upon his living word, expecting the redemption of my "body through Christ my Saviour."

This parchment roll (whence I have extracted what is written above) being our Archbishop's own private journal of events happening to himself, and his pious meditations thereupon, will, I dare say, be acceptable to many that esteem his memory: and therefore I have transcribed it faithfully, to preserve it in the Appendix. Numb. IX.

His observation of the times under Queen Mary.

And as in this dark and dismal time he silently, but with tears, observed the fearful persecution of many honest pious men, and the overthrow of the Gospel; so he likewise took notice of the hand of God, how remarkably it was now stretched out against Mary the Queen and the realm in judgment. Which take from his own pen in the Preface to the aforesaid book, which he wrote in this doleful reign, though he published it under Queen Elizabeth. "He re- "commended it deeply to be considered, with what plagues "Almighty God revenged the contempt of his holy insti- "tution in the foresaid [Queen Mary's] reign, too much "apparent, and in too much fresh remembrance to be de- "nied. The discourse thereof, as it were worthy, if any "indifferent learned man should take in hand to set out in "story, with the circumstances thereof, would rise to a "huge volume; to the wonder of the godly and wise heads "of other countries, to see what we felt in these days here "in the realm. But it is not like that the notability thereof "will be forgotten to be transmitted to our posterity here- "after in writing. Surely the brief remembrance of things "chaunced may appear lamentable to be considered. As, "what immoderate rains and tempests raged in one year?

BOOK I. Anno 1557. 34

" What intolerable heats and droughts in another year? " What penury and scarceness of corn and victuals, what " hunger and famine thereof followed? What sickness, " what agues, what strange mortalities reigned and raged, " wherewith the eldest and gravest personages of all de- " grees and conditions were in great numbers wasted and " consumed? What misfortunes commonly fell to women " with child in their delivery? What fires happened far " above the wont of other years of princes' reigns? In " many places wasting whole villages, towns, and churches. " Again, what cruelty was then executed by firing old men " and women, young men and maids, without choice, whe- " ther the women were with child, or free from children? " What proscriptions and banishments of learned men out " of the realm? And such as tarried within the realm, how " they drove into corners, spoiled and impoverished? And " such as could be gotten, shamed openly by vile penances " and shameful recantations? And furthermore, what rapes " and villanies committed, above the common practised dis- " order, by strangers and foreigners? What impunities soon " purchased to that unchaste generation, to recourse again " to their old trade of lewd living, after they had con- " founded the Priests' chaste matrimonies, so established " and authorized by the high laws of the realm? Then at " the last, what dishonour and loss the realm suffered by " losing that notable borderer Calais, aforetime so valiantly " won and gotten by King Edward III. Add to these " unfortunate days, of resuming the great adversary of all " Christian realms, the Pope of Rome again, and relin- " quishing the supremacy, politicly and chargeably main- " tained and defended in good and sure possession, to the " comfort of the whole realm, and to the terror of all our " foreign enemies: I say, consider all these particularities, " as they might deserve to be set out at length, what English " heart could forbear tears, and not inwardly sigh and la- " ment the misery? Which heavy infelicities the English " children, yet unborn, shall weep at and wail to consider " the same. If these be not severe tokens and proofs of

" God's heavy displeasure towards England, for so vilely CHAP. VII.
" despising his word, his light, his religion, his sacraments,
" his institutions, what can be shews of his wrath and in- Anno 1557.
" dignation?"

Queen Elizabeth coming to the crown, our good Doctor issued out, as did many more learned and conscientious men, from his lurking hole with his wife and two children.

CHAP. VIII.

Dr. Parker considered upon Queen Elizabeth's access to the crown. Commissions from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Dr. Parker's care now for religion. Nominated to the archbishopric. His reluctancy to accept thereof. Messages to him from Court: with his answers. Petitions the Queen by a letter. Dr. Parker Lord Elect of Canterbury.

AND now we have brought our Divine to the fifty-fourth Anno 1558.
year of his age: when, as there happened in the nation a great and happy change in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs, so there fell out as great and unthought an one in relation to him; namely, from being a poor, obscure, absconding, persecuted Clergyman, to be advanced to the very top of ecclesiastical honour and trust in the English Church; though altogether without his seeking, and with much reluctancy: the height of all his desire being to be restored to his former preferments: or if not so, yet he could gladly have contented himself to have lived and died Master of his old beloved college, and to have foregone the rest. Change of Dr. Parker's circumstances.

But as yet the see of Canterbury was void since the 17th of November, on which day, or early the day after, the last Archbishop, Cardinal Pole, expired. In this vacancy Dr. Nicolas Wotton, Dean of the church, (according to ancient privilege and custom,) issued out divers commissions for visitations: which, with other visitations, *viz.* Commissions to visit from the Dean of Canterbury.

BOOK I.

that of the Queen and of the Diocesan, that followed so close, oppressed and impoverished the Clergy. There were two commissions, both dated December 1, 1558. The one to Laurence Huse, LL. D. Dean of Shoram and Croyden, to visit the churchos and chapels within the said deaneries. The other to John Nowel, [or Newal,] S. Th. B. Rector of the church of Hadley, and Dean of Bocking, (who succeeded Dr. Rowland Taylor, the holy martyr,) to visit that deanery. Another commission was dated February 16, 1558, to Thomas Packard, LL. D. Dean of South Malling, Pagham, and Terring, to visit those deaneries.

Anno 1558. Regist. Decan. et Cap. Cant.

Dr. Parker employed in the settlement of religion.

Thus destitute of the comfort of a pastor, that see remained for near a twelvemonth, namely, until our Doctor entered on that weighty office. In which interval nevertheless he lay not by useless. But his abilities and parts being well known, he was appointed one of those who, in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, were selected to contrive the book of prayers and religious worship to be publicly used instead of the superstitious Mass-book; that it might be ready against the meeting of the next Parliament, to be presented unto them to be allowed and confirmed. These persons sat close this winter at Sir Tho. Smith's house about this business. But Dr. Parker was detained in the country the most part of this season by a quartan ague, (a disease very rife and mortal about this time,) and so was absent. Yet, upon a summons from the Court, he came up in the month of January, and was in London in February. But the relics of that distemper still hung about him; so that before February was expired he was fain to go home again. But though he could not assist in this work in person, yet was he not idle in his retirement, but contributed his counsel and judgment in writing for setting the matters of the Church in good accommodation, as we shall hear by and by.

Dr. Parker preaches before the Queen.

But while he was here in town, he was chosen to preach this first Lent before the Queen. Which he did on Friday the 10th of February, being the first week in Lent; Dr. Cox, (sometime Dean of Westminster and Christ Church,

Oxon.) preaching the Wednesday before, being Ash-Wednesday; and Bishop Skory the Sunday following; and Mr. Whitehead the Wednesday ensuing: all eminent reformed Divines in King Edward the Sixth's days.

Parker concluded on for Archbishop.

In these beginnings and dispositions toward a reformation, the Church wanted a pious, grave, wise, and suitable Metropolitan: which therefore was necessary in the first place to provide. The Queen left the ordering of Church matters, for the most part, to the two brothers-in-law, Secretary Cecil, and Sir Nicolas Bacon, before mentioned. Who, in serious debate between themselves, concluded on Dr. Parker, as the fittest man to be preferred to the archbishopric; after Dr. Wotton, the Dean of Canterbury, Whitehead, and some other, are said by some to have been under their consideration.

His fitness and character.

For their purpose and full intent was to provide such a person for Archbishop, who might govern his province with that discretion and moderation, as might abolish Popery, and promote the Gospel; yet not by methods of severity or sharp contention, but by persuasion rather than force. There was now before them a greater choice of learned and godly men, than any age ever before produced in this land. The lot in these two wise counsellors' judgments fell upon the foresaid Doctor, who had in him an admirable mixture of gravity and honesty, learning and prudence, gentleness and obliging behaviour.

Sent for to the Lord Keeper:

Therefore, December the 9th, Bacon, Lord Keeper, summoned the reverend man, then (as it seems) at Cambridge, to come up to him at Burgeny house in Paternoster Row, London, for matters touching himself; which (as he wrote to him) he trusted would turn to his good; or that if he, the Lord Keeper, were gone out of town, then he should repair to the Secretary. But our modest learned man suspecting by those words some public high honour in the Church designed him, endeavoured earnestly to put it by; choosing much rather in his own mind to be employed in some more private capacity.

But earnestly declines it.

For the good Divine pleaded at large his excuse, by his

BOOK I. Anno 1558.

answer wrote from Cambridge, where he was with some relations. He pleaded a quartan ague, that then afflicted him, and so distempered the state of his health, that without apparent danger he could not as yet commit himself to the adventure of the air. And prayed Bacon to signify as much to such as sent for him. And then, more than suspecting what burden was intended him, he sued
36 to him, "in confidence, as he said, of his good old heart "to him, to decline this intended dignity in the Church "from him. He said, he should be inwardly heavy and "sorry, that his favourable affection should procure him "any thing above the reach of his ability, whereby he "should but dishonest himself, and disappoint the expec- "tation of such as might think that in him which was not. "But especially that he might clog and cumber his con- "science to God-ward, before whom he looked every day "to appear to make his answer, which he thought and "trusted was not far off. Notwithstanding, that though "he would most fain wear out the rest of his life in private "state; yet concerning that small talent credited unto him, "he would not so unthankfully unto God ensue his quiet, "that he could not be content to bestow it, so it were there "whither his heart and conscience afore that time, and "daily yet did incline him; namely, to be further enabled, "by the revenue of some prebend, without charge of cure "or of government, to occupy himself to dispense God's "word among the simple strayed sheep of God's fold in "poor destitute parishes and cures; more meet, he said, "for his decayed voice and small quality, than in theatrical "and great audience. Which walk he wished and would, "to be near those quarters, [*viz.* Norfolk,] where they "both [Parker and Bacon] were born, that he might have

Desires an University life above all:

"opportunity to wait other while on him at Redgrave.—If "he might yet be bolder with him, to disclose his desire, "of all places in England he would wish to bestow most "his time in the University. The state whereof, he said, "was miserable at that present, as he had intelligence from "time to time thereof. And if in any respect he could do

" service, as a weak member of the commonwealth, he " thought he might do it with them, having long acquaint- " ance, and some experience in the doings thereof.——And " to tell Bacon his heart, he had rather have such a thing " as Bene't college, and a living of twenty nobles a year at " the most, than to dwell in the deanery of Lincoln, which " was two hundred at the least. And so he prayed him " to insinuate these things to Mr. Secretary. And at the " reverence of God he entreated him, either to help that " he be quite forgotten, or else so appointed, that he were " not entangled now of new with the concourse of the " world, in any respect of public state of living."

Anno 1558. And Bene't college there.

Again, December 20, he wrote again to the Lord Keeper, in answer (as it seems) to a second summons of that Lord; importing, that he would wait upon him either at Burgany, or at New Market in his return down into Suffolk. And that Lord being at that time afflicted with a quartan ague, (which about this time cut off a great many people,) he prayed God to restore his strength, that he might be the sooner restored to the commonwealth, which, in that apparent danger of worthy persons, he feared felt God's hand in this his visitation. And added his advice, that he should not stir much abroad in that distemperance of the air, so contrarious to the state of men's bodies, once pierced with that *insolent quartan*, (as he called it,) as experience shewed. And he thought the spring-time in natural respects must be expected, though Almighty God, he said, was bound to no time.

Writes again to the Lord Keeper.

Thus hitherto had Dr. Parker delayed coming up, choosing rather (if he might) to stay till the Lord Keeper went down, that he might have opportunity to deal the more effectually with him, to help him to avoid the great burden that he feared was to be laid upon him.

In the mean while another letter, dated the 30th of December, comes to him from Court; which was more peremptory. Wherein the Secretary wrote to him in the Queen's name, that she was minded presently to use his service in certain matters of importance; and therefore that

A letter from Secretary Cecil, to summon him to Court;

BOOK I. Anno 1558.

he [the Secretary] was commanded so to signify to him: to the end, that he should forthwith, upon the sight hereof, put himself in order to make his undelayed repair unto London: and then he would declare unto him the Queen's further pleasure. But our Doctor made use again of his indisposition and want of health, to retard his coming so speedily.

And another from the Lord Keeper.

It was but four or five days after, *viz.* January the 4th, that the Lord Keeper sends again to him, mentioning the Secretary's letter, and requiring him to come up immediately, if his health would suffer, for certain weighty matters touching the Queen's service: adding, that he had been willed to hasten his coming up.

37 Appointed Archbishop.

At these last summons the reverend man comes up, and understands more perfectly that the archbishopric was intended for him: and therefore that he should accordingly prepare himself. Which message held him in such carefulness all the time of his being at London, with the recurring of a dull distemperance in his head by the dregs of his quartan, and some other displeasant cogitations of the state of the time, that made him take so little joy of his being at London, as he never had less in his life; and glad he was when his back was turned thereunto, as his own words were. And hoping yet he had half got himself off from this honour, in an excellent letter to Bacon, dated the beginning of March, at his return home, gave his advice what sort of man the Queen should make choice of for this place: and the rather, because the office being bestowed well, they might care the less for the residue. "He prayed God then to grant that "it chanced neither on an arrogant man, nor a faint-hearted "man, nor on a covetous man. The first, he said, should "both sit in his own light, and should discourage his fellows to join with him in unity of doctrine, which must be "their whole strength. For if any heart-burnings be amongst "them, if private quarrels stirred abroad be brought home, "and so should shiver them asunder, it might chance to have "that success, which he feared in the conclusion would "follow. The second should be too weak to commune with

Returns back again.

Describes a fit man for this see.

Parker to Lord Bacon. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 357.

" the adversaries, who would be the stouter upon his pusil-
" lanimity. The third man not worth his bread, profitable
" for no estate in a Christian commonwealth, to serve it
" rightly."

Resolves to endure imprisonment rather than to accept any bishopric.

Then again as to himself, as conscious of his own abilities, he thus bespake both Bacon and Cecil: " that except
" they moderated and restrained their over-much good-will
" in the former respect towards him, he feared in the end he
" should dislike them both; and that their benevolences
" should, by occasion of his obstinate untowardness, jeopard
" him into prison. Yet he had rather, he said, suffer it
" in a good conscience, than to be intruded into such a room
" and vocation, wherein he should not be able to answer the
" charge to God nor the world: and wherein he should not
" serve the Queen's honour, nor live to the honour of the
" realm. And in fine, he said, by God's favour, and their
" good helps, he never intended to be of that order, [of epi-
" scopacy,] better or worse, higher or lower." So far was he from affecting the archbishopric, that he resolved against being the meanest Bishop. He shewed likewise his own poverty, " that he was worth thirty pounds when he came up
" to London, and then wasted a good part. And what would
" that do to furnish his household? He gave an instance in
" Hopton, the last Bishop of Norwich, lately deceased, that
" upon his departure was so in debt, that the creditors seized
" his goods to answer his debts to them; and then straight-
" way came the Queen's officers and discharged them all;
" [sweeping all from the creditors, to satisfy his debts to the
" Queen.] So that for all his spare hospitality, he was not
" able to pay half he owed." Then Parker shewed Bacon another of his imperfections, as he called them, namely, his painful bodily infirmity, taken by a fall from his horse in his flight once, under Queen Mary in the night time, from such as sought for him: whereby he was so dangerously hurt, that he should never recover it: and in his late journey to London it was increased, to his greater pain. " So that he
" was fain, he said, sometimes to be idle, when he would
" be occupied, and to keep his bed, when his heart was not

BOOK I.

Anno 1558.

" sick. And, in a word, he prayed his Honour not to think " that he sought hereby his own private gain, or his idle " ease; for his heart would right fain serve his Sovereign " Lady in more respects than that of his allegiance; and bid- " ding them to put him where they would else; [excepting " the place of a Bishop;] and if, as far as his power of " knowledge and of health of body would extend, he did not " apply himself to discharge his duty; let *me*," said he, " *be* " *thrust out like a thief*."

Parker's judgment of prophecies.

Bacon, it seems, had given him some hint, as though one reason of his declining to accept this preferment, was his fear of sad times, conceived from some prophecies, that then went about, of Nostredame and others. Whereat he wrote thus in answer: " I pray you think not, that the prognostication " of Mr. Michael Nostredame reigneth in my head. I esteem " that fantastical hodge-podge not so well as I credit Luci- " an's book *De veris Narrationibus:* nor yet all other vain 38 " prophecies of Sands, more than I regard Sir Tho. Moor's " book of *Fortune's Answers upon the Chance of Three* " *Dice casting*. I would I saw no more cause to fear the " likelihood of God's wrath deserved for dissolute life, to " fall upon the realm, by the evidence of the true word, and " by God's old practices."

The Bishop's unwillingness to take this charge.

Indeed well might our Doctor shrink at the undertaking of such a weighty province, at this particular juncture especially, when the greatest prudence, courage, conduct, learning, and experience, would be required to assist in that reformation that was now to be set on foot, and carried on: the national Church being at this time generally corrupted in doctrine, discipline, and manners; and the correction thereof requiring so much skill and audacity. Besides, he was conscious to himself of an excess of natural bashfulness, and want of experience for government, his spirits having been much depressed under the hard reign of Queen Mary. Of which he complained, not long after his acceptation of the archbishopric, in a secret letter to the Secretary, a great instrument of his promotion: " that it grieved " him, that he was not able to answer his friendly report of

His mean conceit of himself.

" him before time, [meaning when he recommended him to " the Queen,] whereby, to his much grief of heart, he pass- " ed forth his life in heaviness, having been thus intruded, " notwithstanding his reluctation by oft letters to his friends, " to be in such room: which, he said, he could not sustain " agreeably to the honour of the realm, if he should be too " far tried. And that with passing those hard years of Ma- " ry's reign in obscurity without all conference, or such man- " ner of study, as now might do him service, and what with " his natural vitiosity of over-much shamefacedness, he was so " abashed in himself, that he could not raise up his heart and " stomach to utter in talk with others, which with his pen " he could express indifferently, without great difficulty: " which made him [in an over-much misconceit of himself] " request of the Secretary to decline from him such opportu- " nities, wherein he might work a lack to his promoters, and " a shame to himself," as he modestly expressed it. CHAP. VIII. Anno 1558.

But whatever his low esteem of his own abilities were, others were well satisfied concerning his great endowments: nor did the Queen make an ill choice; but as great things were expected from him, so he failed not in that expectation: which he shall be convinced of, that diligently observeth in what state the English Church stood at Parker's first entrance upon the government of it, and what advances it made under him.

Dr. Parker now seemed to lie still for a month or six weeks, till May 17, when the Lord Keeper writ again to him, " That by a resolution made that day in the Queen's pre- " sence, he perceived that his friends would hardly deliver " him of the charge written in former letters: and so he " thought to make him privy thereunto, and to advise him " to commit to the judgment of his friends his ability or dis- " ability, to serve where and when he should be called: " that if he knew a man in whom the description made in " the beginning of his letter might more justly be deferred " than to himself, he would prefer him before Parker; but " knowing none so meet indeed, he took it, he said, to be " his duty to prefer him before all others: and the rather, Summoned again to Court. Letter to Parker, in Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 361.

BOOK I. Anno 1558.

"because otherwise he should not follow the advice Parker "had given him: and added, that it was like ere long "he would receive letters subscribed by him and others "jointly;" meaning the Council. And accordingly, two days after, that is, May 19, a short letter was sent him, "that for certain causes the Queen's Majesty intended to "use his service; and her pleasure was, that he should re- "pair up with such speed as conveniently he might." This was signed by the Lord Keeper, and the Secretary, from the Court. But Parker, such was his extraordinary unwillingness to be a Bishop, gave no answer, nor took his journey for some days after the aforesaid letter came to him: so that May 28, they both writ to him again, that it was the Queen's pleasure that he should repair up with all speed possible; leaving him not to his *convenient* speed, as they had done in the former letter.

Coming up now to the Court, no other endeavours succeeding to divert this place, so much dreaded by him, his 39 last application was unto the Queen herself; addressing an excellent letter to her, upon his being nominated by her to the archbishopric, and disabling himself: which letter, though already published, yet containing such a character of the wisdom, goodness, humility, and self-diffidence of this venerable man, I will here present the reader with the substance of it.

Petitions the Queen to be excused. Collect. of Rec. in the Hist. Ref. vol. ii.

He addressed to her by way of suit; which, as he said, "extreme necessity compelled him to make; both in respect "of his constrained conscience to God, and in regard of his "duty which he owed to her noble estate. That calling to "examination his great unworthiness of so high a function, "and his disability he might allege in particular, but for "molesting her most weighty affairs; he was bold to ap- "proach by writing to her Honour, to discharge him of that "so high and chargeable an office: which required a man "of much more wit, learning, virtue, and experience, than "he saw and perfectly knew could be performed by him "worthily; to occupy it to God's pleasure, and to her "Grace's honour, and to the wealth of her loving subjects.

" He urged to her many other imperfections in him: as, " temporal abilities for furnishing thereof, as was seemly to " the honour of the realm; as also infirmity of body, which " would not suffer him to attend on so difficult a cure, to " the discharge thereof in any reasonable expectation.

" And where, besides his duty of allegiance to her " princely dignity, he was otherwise for the great bene- " fits which he sometimes received at her Grace's ho- " nourable mother's benevolence, (whose soul he doubted " not but was in blessed felicity with God,) most singularly " obliged above many other, to be her most faithful beads- " man, both in thanking God for that fatherly protection " hitherto over her noble person; and furthermore, to pray " for the continuance of her fortunate reign; so he was right " sorry, and lamented within himself, that he was so basely " qualified inwardly in knowledge, and outwardly in extern " sufficiencies, to do her Grace any meet service, as he could " wish could be acceptable to her Grace's expectation: as- " suring her noble estate, that in any other smaller vocation " under the degree of such chargeable offices, and more " agreeable to his infirmity, if it should so seem to her high " wisdom and merciful liberality, he should endeavour him- " self to attend thereon: referring yet himself wholly to her " Grace's pleasure, rather than by just allegation of his un- " worthiness, the loyal duty of his faithful heart should be " any ways suspected by her reverend Majesty. Subscrib- " ing himself,

" Her Grace's poor subject,

" Matthew Parker."

Fixed for Archbishop.

But nothing would do, and Dr. Parker must be the man pitched upon, for his admirable qualities and rare accomplishments, to fill the see of Canterbury. And in his cares and preparations for this high office, we leave him for a while, six months passing away before his consecration. Yet in the mean time not unemployed in the service of religion and the Church, as we shall see by what follows.

BOOK I.

CHAP. IX.

Wherein he was now employed. The Secretary consults with him for the new Bishops. His advice for reformation in Cambridge. He informs the Lord Keeper of some present dangerous doctrine. Commissions from the Dean and Chapter during this interval. Assisteth at the French King's obsequies. His endeavour about the exchanges of Bishops' lands. A fraud in the church of Dublin, signified to him from the Archbishop there. His free advice to the Queen concerning the crucifix in her chapel.

Anno 1559. FOR one thing wherein he was consulted by the Secretary, 40 (in this interval, as it seems,) was about filling of the sees, and in what method it was customary, and might be convenient in this critical juncture to proceed, many difficulties appearing: as now there being no Archbishop at all, and hardly four Bishops remaining; and whether the Popish Ordinal should be used, or that of King Edward VI. which was abolished under Queen Mary, &c. But Dr. Parker being one of the best skilled in ecclesiastical rites and usages, Cecil desired to be assisted with his advice and judgment; for whom the said Doctor drew up this paper of instructions, for entrance into the bishoprics, which I met with in the Paper House.

Dr. Parker's directions for the bishoprics.

Copy of this would be sent hither. Cecil's hand. Paper Office.

I. Suit is to be made for the Queen's letters patents, called *Significaverunt*, to the Archbishop of the province, for the confirmation of the elect, and for his consecration.

II. When the archiepiscopal see is vacant, then after election, like letters patents for the confirmation of the elect, are to be directed to any other [a]Archbishop within the King's dominions. If all be vacant, to [b]four Bishops; then they to be appointed by the Queen's letters patents, declaring her

[a] There is no Archbishop, nor four Bishops now to be had; wherefore *quærendum, &c.* [Cecil's hand.]

[b] Anno 25. Henry VIII. that order is set out at large; so that the restitution of the temporalties is done after the consecration, as it seems to me by the said Act. [Dr. Parker's hand.]

Grace's assent royal, with request for the consecration and pall.

Anno 1558.

III. The fealty for the temporalties of the see is to be made to her Majesty: the oath also to be given: the ordinary fees to be paid to her Majesty's officers.

IV. The consecration is to be done on such a Sunday as the consecrator, with the assent of the consecrated, shall accord: and in such place as shall be thought most requisite.

V. The order of King Edward's Book is to be observed: for that there is none other especially made in this last sessions of Parliament.

This book is not established by Parliament.

And the new Bishops that were to be made, were to sign obligations, binding themselves in several articles, for preserving the revenues and good estate of the bishoprics, and for preventing the mischiefs and ill turns that had been done to them by the late incumbents: and this also seems to have been by the direction and counsel of Parker. The articles of these obligations were:

Cecil's hand.

I. That they make no leases in any manner in gross for years, or fee-farm; nor any lease of the demesne of any manor, above one and twenty years: wherein the accustomed rent is reserved.

Obligations for Bishops to sign.

Nor that they make any lease of any land, used by the Bishop for his household; nor of any of his parks, with the herbage, to endure after the time of the ———.

Nor that they make sale or gift of great timber, nor take any thing thereof, but for repairs of their houses, tenements, farms, and parks.

Nor that they charge the bishopric with any annuity, 41 longer than they shall continue Bishop there.

Nor that they make any grants of office, longer than for their life times; except it be for offices that have had continuance, and have been ordinary.

Item, That they grant none advowsons of any parsonage or prebend, before the same shall be void.

And that order be taken with the Dean and Chapter, that they confirm no grants made contrary to the said articles.

BOOK I.

Anno 1558. Gives advice concerning Cambridge; Paper Office.

Another thing wherein our Divine a little before this time concerned himself, and shewed his care for the public welfare, was concerning the University of Cambridge. He was now in February returned from London, whither he was sent for, to come to the Court. And his family being at Cambridge, hither he came, driven (as he told the Secretary in his letter) to this place by divers necessities, as not able by otherwhere dwelling to maintain a double charge: for that his purse, after his late persecutions, was but low. The University was now in ill case, being in danger to have its revenues embezzled by the Popish Heads of the colleges: who, upon the passing of the act for the Queen's supremacy, in the Parliament now sitting, concluded upon relinquishing their places; but before they departed, to make their advantages by spoiling the revenues: and the better to cover that, to get such to succeed them who might wink at their doings. Of this, secret notice was brought to Dr. Parker: who, to prevent this mischief to learning as much as he could, by a letter dated the 1st of March, acquainted the Secretary with this affair: and the rather now upon his acceptation of the Chancellorship, the highest office there, for the stay of the University: telling him, that he heard divers colleges were much disordered, as well in regard of their possessions, as in other respects, not so maintained as they were left to them of late: and that they were awhile in fear, by a visitation, to be answerable: but that now they had gotten intelligence of no visitation to be purposed. He shewed the Secretary further, that upon passing of the Primacy, [*i. e.* the bill of Supremacy,] they gathered the sequel, [that is, that they the present Masters were like to be turned out, if they refused to take the oath,] whereupon some of them were about to resign to their friends chosen for their purpose, peradventure to slide away with a gain. And in the conclusion, to hint a way to prevent this, he imparted to the Secretary what was done when Queen Mary first came to reign: which was, that she gave out authority to Bishop Gardiner, Chancellor of that University, [as Cecil now was,] who forthwith sent his Chap-

To Cecil the new Chancellor.

lain Watson with instructions to every college; and as then he [Dr. Parker] could gather, to report to him [the Chancellor] in what state every college stood. And further peradventure, upon cause to have the Masters and others assured *de coram sistendo, et interim bene gerendo*, until a further order. And that the said Chancellor, Sir William Cecil, might the better know the *precedent*, Parker sent him the copies of these letters; and added, he should be loth that in his first entry to his office, colleges should sustain hurt by any slight, he [Cecil] not understanding the likelihood. The rest of the matter he committed to his prudent oversight. And finally, he prayed God to grant so good luck of his election, that the University might joy to be raised and restored none otherwise than his zeal thereunto had been long perceived: *ut amputetur malevolis omnis occasio improbitatis et querulationis.* And he informed him further, that if he should intend any thing of this nature, Dr. Cole had both counterpanes of the whole statutes of every college, so found at the last visitation. Anno 1558.

Queen Mary's and the Chancellor Bishop Gardiner's letters, for visiting the University, follow.

Queen Mary to the Chancellor of Cambridge, for enjoining the old statutes.

"Mary the Quene. Right Reverend Father in God, "Right Trusty, and Right Well-beloved; we grete you "well. And where among divers other inconveniences and "disorders, brought in and set forth in that our University, "one of the greatest and chief occasions of many of the said "misorders, is, that without sufficient authority, only upon "the sensual minds and rash determinations of a few men, 42 "the ancient statutes, foundations, and ordinances of the "whole University, the colleges, and other places of students, have been much altered, broken, and almost utterly "subverted: whereby not only the last wills of many good "men have been broken, and many wise, polite, and godly "ordinances, confirmed by Parliaments, and by sundry our "progenitors, fondly and unreverently contemned, but the "conscience of many honest men, which by their oaths were "bound to the observation of the said statutes and foundations, have been much encumbered; and youth loosely and

BOOK I.

Anno 1558.

" insolently brought up, to the great discredit of the Uni-
" versity; and no small hindrance of the commonwealth of
" all our realm:

" We therefore, knowing it our bounden duty to Al-
" mighty God, to whose own goodness we acknowledge our-
" selves called and placed in the royal estate of this realm,
" to travel by all the ways we may, that his glory and holy
" will being truly declared to all our subjects, he may of all
" sorts, in their several vocations, be reverently feared, serv-
" ed, and obeyed; have thought good that for a beginning,
" to wish that the examples hereof may first begin in our
" Universities, where young men, and all sorts of students,
" joining godly conversation with their studies in learning,
" may after, as well by their doings as by their preachings,
" instruct and confirm the rest of our subjects, both in the
" knowledge and fear of Almighty God, in their due obe-
" dience towards us, our laws, and all other their superiors,
" and in their charitable demeanours towards all men. And
" because we know where order is not kept, all things go to
" confusion, we have therefore thought good to will and re-
" quire you our Chancellor, and all other the Heads and
" Governors of the colleges, and other houses, that both
" yourselves, for your own parts, do exercise your offices,
" and live, and cause all scholars, students, servants, min-
" isters, and others living under you, of what sort, state, or
" condition soever they be, to live and frame themselves,
" their studies, conversations, and manner of living, in such
" form and order, as by the ancient statutes, foundations,
" and ordinances of that our University, and of the colleges
" and other houses, is to you severally appointed. Which
" statutes and foundations we will to be inviolably kept and
" observed, according to the ancient foundations and ordi-
" nances of the founders, and grants of our progenitors.

" And therefore do eftsones require and charge you our
" Chancellor, whom we do authorize by these presents for
" that purpose, to see the same well and truly observed,
" as you will answer for the contrary; notwithstanding in-
" junctions or new ordinances made, set forth, or delivered

" by any Visitors or other, sithence the death of our Father CHAP.
" of most worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, (whom IX.
" God assoyl,) or any other new device to the contrary here- Anno 1558.
" of. Geven under our signet at our manor of Richmond,
" the 20th of August, in the first year of our reign.

The Chancellor's letter to the University, in pursuance of the Queen's, (which Dr. Parker sent with the former,) was to this tenor: Chancellor Gardiner's letter to the University.

" *Doctissimis viris, Vice-Cancellario et Senatui Canta-*
" *brigiensi.*

" Quàm multæ causæ sint (viri Doctissimi) quæ animum
" meum, ut ad vos hoc potissimum tempore accederem,
" permoverent, totidem ferè occurrunt impedimenta, quæ
" corpus [quominus] vobis adsit, justissimè prohibent. In-
" terim autem, dum occasionem capto commodiorem, qua
" vos ipse inviserem; hunc Sacellanum meum, vobis non
" omnino ignotum, et mihi notissimum, cujus fidem perspe-
" ctam, et exploratam habeo, mandare volui, eidemque de-
" mandare, ut meo nomine referat quæ vos ex me cuperem
" intelligere. Cui ut credatis, oro: et benè valete. Lon-
" dini ex ædibus meis, octavo calend. Septembr. 1553.

" Vester Cancellarius Steph. Winton.
" Cancell."

And it may not be unworthy to observe of our Divine fur- 43
ther, that being in Town in January, as was before said, he Anno 1559.
took notice with grief of certain books, (and now in his re- Dangerous doctrines against Princes, noted by Parker.
cess complained to the Lord Keeper Bacon thereof,) that went then about London, being printed and spread abroad, and their authors Ministers of good estimation. The doctrine of one was, that a lady woman cannot be by God a governor in a Christian realm. [Knox, and Christopher Goodman, had published tracts to this purpose.] And in another was matter set out to prove, that it is lawful for every private subject to kill his Sovereign, *ferro*, *veneno*, *quocunque modo*, if he think him to be a tyrant in his conscience; yea, and worthy to have his reward for his attempt. At which, said

BOOK I.

Parker, *exhorrui cum ista legerem.* Adding, "if such prin-
"ciples be spread into men's heads, as now they be framed,
Anno 1559. "and referred to the judgment of the subject to discuss
Letter to the Lord Bacon. "*what is tyranny*, and to discern whether his prince, his
"landlord, his master, is a tyrant, by his own fancy and
"collection supposed; what Lord of the Council shall ride
"quietly minded in the streets among desperate beasts?
"what Minister shall be sure in his bed-chamber?" This reverend and wise Divine well saw the devilish tendency of these doctrines: and it grieved him the more, that they were set forth by such as were Ministers of the Gospel: and that their pens and labours should be diverted from opposing and confuting Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Free-will men; "against whom he thought Ministers should have needed "only to have fought, for unity of doctrine: (for as for "Romish adversaries, their mouths, he said, might be stop-"ped with their own books and confessions:) but he never "dreamed that Ministers should be compelled to impugn "Ministers." The adversaries, as he added, would have good sport to prognosticate the likelihood. More of these books, and the authors of them, and the recantation that one of them made afterwards, by means of this our Doctor, may be read in the Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth.

Chap. ix.

Parker one of the visitors of Cambridge.

Dr. Parker, who we heard a little before had such a concern now for the University of Cambridge, was in the summer following appointed one of the Queen's visitors there; having had long experience in the affairs of it. The visitors consisted of two learned Knights, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Anthony Cook; two Doctors of Divinity, our Parker, and William Bill; two Doctors of the Civil Law, William May, and Walter Haddon; one Doctor of Physic, Dr. Wendy; two Professors of Divinity, (as they are styled,) Robert Horn, and James Pilkington: all persons of great integrity and learning, and that had formerly been members of the said University. The citation of the heads and members of all the colleges, halls, and hostles, before them, to undergo the visitation, bore date at Westminster the 21st day of June, 1 Elizabeth. Therein the day of appearance appointed was

E Collectan. Rog. Gale, Armig.

the 7th day of September ensuing: and the place, the church or chapel of King's college. The visitors are styled in the said citation, the Queen's *General Commissioners* to visit that University. The transactions, and how matters were now managed, I do not find: as what *detecta* were found, what regulations, what corrections, what deprivations, what restitutions were now made. Fuller saith something concerning the two last: but he must be read warily, making two errors in one line concerning the change in Clare hall; *viz.* that Swinburn was put out master there, and Madew put in: whereas both the one and the other died under Queen Mary. But this undoubtedly was the chief business of the visitors, to purge the University, by swearing the heads, and chief members and officers, to the supremacy, and by depriving the refusers. Dr. Parker (though nominated) had hardly any hand in this visitation, being about the very time of it at London, attending the solemnization of the funerals of the French King, and his own weighty affairs, being by this time elect.

Anno 1559.

Hist. of Cambridge, p. 135.

I find little done by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury this year, (who had now all the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, while the see remained vacant,) except it were granting several commissions: as to Nicolas Harpsfeld, LL. D. Official of the Court of Arches, to admit Richard Mitche to be Advocate of the Court of Arches. This commission bare date the day of April 1559. Another to the same, to admit Thomas Yale, LL. D. Advocate of the Court of Canterbury, dated the day of April 1559. Another to William Mowse, LL. D. Vicar General, admitting him to take cognizance of causes in the Court of Audience, dated the 30th of May. Another to the same, and of the same date, constituting him Official of the Court of Canterbury. And yet another commission to him, the said Mowse, dated June 13, to constitute him Dean of the Arches. This Dr. Mowse was a man that always light upon his legs, and would be sure to hold in in all revolutions: being first preferred by Archbishop Cranmer in King Edward's reign, and complying with all changes afterwards. Yet he was a good scho-

Commissions from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

Regist. Decan. Cant.

Dr. Mowse.

44

BOOK I.

lar, and a good benefactor to Trinity hall in Cambridge, whereof he was Master.

Anno 1559.

Parker, Archbishop elect, assists at the obsequies of Henry, the French King.

It was but two months after the giving forth these commissions, that our Divine became Elect of Canterbury. When the first thing I find him employed about, was assisting, in the beginning of September, at the funeral solemnities of Henry II. of France, celebrated in St. Paul's church, together with the Elects of Chichester and Hereford, appareled in their surplices and Doctors' hoods; having the *Dirige* said in English.

Labours to stay exchanges with the Queen;

But it was a greater matter at which he assisted the next month, or thereabouts, or indeed was the chief agent; which shewed his zeal and his care for learning and religion, and the welfare of the Church, over which he was to be constituted. The late Parliament had made an act to enable the Queen upon the vacation of any bishopric, (and there were now many vacant,) to convert the temporal revenues, or part thereof, unto herself, settling in exchange church-lands in lieu thereof; such as impropriations, formerly belonging to monasteries dissolved, and tenths: taking into her own hands good old lordships and manors for them. The inequality of which exchanges was, that to these impropriations were oftentimes considerable charges annexed, by necessary reparations of houses and chancels, and yearly pensions payable out of them: and tenths would often fall short and be unpaid by reason of the poverty or inability, or death of the poor Curates and Ministers. Nor could the Bishops have any good title to them; it being doubtful whether they could be alienated from the Crown, having been by act of Parliament given to it. The Archbishop elect therefore joining with him the four other elects, *viz.* of London, Ely, Chichester, and Hereford, consulted seriously what was to be done in this case: and resolved for this purpose to make an humble supplication to the Queen, to make her sensible of the evil that might hereby accrue to the revenues of her Bishops; and to stay her, if possible, from making the benefit she might of the said act, to offer her a yearly pension for favouring them in this request: which was a thousand

marks for the province of Canterbury, in consideration of her great and manifold charges daily sustained; offering moreover to declare at large to her in writing, if she would permit it, the great inconveniences that were like to ensue the execution of this act, upon many good grounds and reasons.

And for her grant of divers things to the Clergy.

But if this might not be obtained, then they sued and prayed, that she would grant these reasonable favours following, *viz.* that the vicarages of these impropriations that were to be exchanged and conveyed from the Queen to the Bishops, might be made competent livings and subsistences: that chancels and mansion-houses decayed might be considered: that yearly pensions might be reprized out of the parsonages: that the manors being withdrawn from them, they might not be charged with setting forth men to war, as the Bishops had done before such alienation: that equivalent recompence should be made for the perquisites of courts and wood-sales, and such other casual profits arising from the manors exchanged with the Queen: that parks and woods might be valued: that corn-heaps, fish and fowl, with carriages and other commodities, might remain to the Bishops for hospitality: that parsonages appendant to the manors exchanged, might be referred to the Bishop's see: that the Bishops of the new erected sees might have the bestowing of the prebends of those churches, as in others was used, to maintain learned men and preachers: that if any of the exchanged tenths or rectories were evicted from them by law, recompence might be made them: that they might have remedy by law to recover tenths denied or delayed: that no rents be returned for spiritual possessions: that bishoprics might be discharged of arrearages of subsidies and tenths, and other incumbrances past in the days of their predecessors: to be discharged of subsidies the first year of their paying their fruits: that the Queen would continue the new erected sees: (which it seems some were looking with a greedy eye upon:) that the benefice of Cliff might be annexed to the see of Rochester: and that the benefice lately annexed to the see of Chester might not be dismembered: that they might receive the half year's rent last past at Michaelmas,

BOOK I.

in consideration of their charge in necessary furniture of their houses, and discharge of fees paid before and at the restitution of their temporalities: that their first-fruits might be abated and distributed into more years, for the better maintenance of hospitality: and without the grant of this they should not dare to enter into their functions, which she had nominated them to, being too importable for them. But this whole address is preserved in the Appendix.

Anno 1559.

Numb. X.

But however humble and reasonable these requests were, which the Archbishop elect and his brethren then made in their own and the Church's behalf, the Queen, pressed by some greedy courtiers and other back-friends to religion, was not over favourable in granting.

The Archbishop receives a letter from Dublin concerning a weeping crucifix.

It was not long after this, that a letter came from Hugh Corwin, Archbishop of Dublin, to our Archbishop, upon a very remarkable occasion, and in very good season for the setting forward the taking away of images out of the churches, that were now replenished with them; and the Queen somewhat indifferent and unresolved about it. The case was this.

At the coming of the Earl of Sussex into Ireland, (who was lately sent over by the Queen her Lieutenant there,) the Litany was sung in English at Christ's church in Dublin. This gave great offence to some of the Popish zealots, reckoning aright, that the use of the Mass was in danger of being laid aside in that cathedral. Something therefore was to be done, now or never, to keep up the reputation of the old superstition; and a miracle was to be shown in the said church the next Sunday, when the Lord Lieutenant, the Archbishop, and the rest of the Privy Council were there at service. There was in that cathedral an image of Christ in marble standing with a reed in his hand, and the crown of thorns on his head. And while service was saying before this great assembly, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the crucifix. The people did not perceive it at first; therefore some who were in the fraud, cried out to one another, and bade them see, how our Saviour's image sweat blood! Whereat several of the common people fell down with their beads in

Cecil's Memor. in Hunt. Rom. Fox. p. 85.

their hands, and prayed to the image. Vast numbers flocked to the sight. And one present (who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of this cathedral) told the people the cause, *viz.* That *he could not choose but sweat blood, whilst heresy was then come into the Church.* The confusion hereupon was so great, that the assembly brake up; but the people still fell upon their knees, thumping their breasts: and particularly one of the Aldermen and Mayor of the city, whose name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the English service, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the rest before the image. The Lord Sussex and those of the Privy Council hasted out of the choir, fearing some harm.

The cheat discovered.

But the Archbishop of Dublin being displeased, caused a form to be brought out of the choir, and bade the sexton of the church to stand thereon, and to search and wash the image, and see if it would bleed afresh. The man soon perceived the cheat, observing a sponge within the hollow of the image's head. This sponge one Leigh (sometime a monk of this cathedral) had soaked in a bowl of blood: and early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the said sponge, so swoln and heavy with blood, over the image's head within the crown: and so by little and little the blood soaked through upon the face. The sponge was presently brought down, and shewed to these worshippers; who began to be ashamed: and some of them cursed Father Leigh, (who was soon discovered,) and three or four others that had been the contrivers with him.

The Archbishop the next Sunday preached in the same church before the Lord Lieutenant and the Council, upon 2 Thess. ii. 11. *God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie:* exposing the cheats, who openly stood there, with Father Leigh, upon a table before the pulpit, with their hands and legs tied, and the crime written on their breasts. This punishment they suffered three Sundays; were imprisoned for some time; and then banished 46
the realm. This converted above an hundred persons present, who swore they would never hear Mass more.

BOOK I.

Anno 1559.

And further, upon the 10th September 1559, the Archbishop caused this image to be taken down, although he himself had caused it to be set up at his coming to that see, after it had been pulled down once before by George Brown, the former Archbishop in King Edward's time.

Archbishop of Dublin writes to our Archbishop about it.

The contents of all this did Archbishop Corwen write in a letter to Archbishop Parker: who was glad thereof; by reason that the Clergy were debating at this present, whether images should stand in the churches, or no; the Queen herself being indifferent in the matter, and rather inclinable to them. But this letter which the Archbishop shewed her, wrought on her to consent for the throwing of images out of the churches; together with many texts of Scripture, which our Archbishop and other Divines had laid before her, for the demolishing of them.

He adviseth the Queen to remove the crucifix out of her chapel.

Another of his applications to the Queen about this time must not also be forgotten. The Queen had been prevailed with, that images, and lights, and crucifixes, should be enjoined to be taken away, to prevent that gross idolatry and superstition that the common people had been brought into by means thereof. But she retained nevertheless in her own private closet a crucifix and lighted tapers in divine service. This being so contrary to her own injunctions, and savouring so much of superstition, and that example being so dangerous, the Archbishop elect had the assurance and the honesty to advise her Majesty not to permit these things any longer in her presence: which he did with that gravity and freedom becoming his office, that Sir Francis Knollys sent him a letter, October 13, 1559, "wishing him prosperity in all godliness; namely, in his good enterprize against the enormities "yet in the Queen's closet retained. Although, said he, "with the Queen's express commandment these toys were "laid aside till now a late." But though Parker did thus discharge his duty, she, I doubt, continued these furnitures of her oratory: which gave such an offence to another of her Bishops, that he could very hardly be induced to minister there before her: as may be read more largely in the History of the Reformation under that Queen.

Sir Francis Knollys to him hereupon. MSS. C. C. C. C.

Chap. xiii.

CHAP. X.

The Archbishop elect employed. In commission upon Ministers deprived. Divers Popish Bishops and Divines in the Archbishop's custody. Bishop Tunstal; Bishop Thirleby; Dr. Boxal; Dr. Tresham; and Dr. Richard Smith; some accounts of them. An addition to the Archbishop's coat of arms; given him by Garter. The patent thereof.

PARKER, Archbishop elect, remained now in London, or rather at Lambeth, there being great need of him both at Court and elsewhere, with the rest of the Bishops elect and other Divines, to consult with, concerning matters of the Reformation that was now at hand. Anno 1559. The Archbishop elect at Lambeth.

Among other weighty matters the Archbishop was now employed in, one was in doing justice to such as had been wrongfully deprived and thrown out of their places in the Church under Queen Mary. One of these occurs, namely, William Turner, Doctor of Physic, and a zealous Divine, who under King Edward VI. had been Dean of Wells, but outed in the next reign, and became an exile. He was now restored to his deanery by the judgment of the Archbishop and some others, joined in commission with him. But after his restitution in the year 1560, John Goodman, the last Dean, had procured a commission to certain special persons, named and chosen by himself, and (as it was thought) very partial, to convent the said Dr. Turner, and to remove again him from the said deanery. Whereupon he made supplication to the Queen to inhibit the said commission to proceed against him. Nevertheless, that justice might be indifferently ministered to both parties, she willed and commanded the Lord Keeper, by her letters, to call both parties before him, and to direct a commission in her name, as he was accustomed to do upon appeals, to such indifferent persons as he should think fit, or as they both should accord upon: and in the mean season to take order, that Dr. Turner might remain Dr. Turner restored to his deanery. 47

BOOK I.

in quiet possession: and so he did to his death; which was in the year 1568, being buried in Crutched Friars church, London: where he hath a monument yet remaining.

Anno 1559.

Bishop Tonstal with him there;

Now were committed unto the Archbishop's custody divers Popish Bishops, as Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, having been deprived in July; who died in the Archbishop's house at Lambeth in November following, being eighty-five years of age. But before his death, by the Archbishop's means, he was brought off from Papistical fancies. And he declared it his judgment, that the Pope's too far distended power ought to be restrained within his own diocese of Rome. Letters to which purpose he had long before written to Cardinal Pole. Unto which mind he now returned again, after his compliance with the Pope under Queen Mary. And not above fourteen days before his death, while he lived with the Archbishop, he testified to him and others, those letters to Pole to be his; one of which is extant in Fox's Monuments, writ about 1534, and others of them be in MS. in the Cotton Library. Tonstal also allowed of the marriage of Priests, as permitted by the word of God. To all which I may add his judgment in point of justification, which was according to the doctrine of the Reformed: as appears by a book that he wrote and published ann. 1555, in quarto, *Contra Blasphematores Johannis Redmanni de Justificatione.* Which learned Divine, Dr. Redman, did on his death-bed declare freely his judgment for justification by faith. For which, it seems, several Papists had railed against him after his death; and occasioned this learned Bishop, even under Queen Mary, to take his part in the said book: which is, or was, among our Archbishop's books, by him given to the public library of Cambridge. Of this man Erasmus speaking, gave this character of him in his younger years, before he was Bishop: "That he was a man of a most "unblameable life, exactly skilled in both kinds of learning, "and not unversed in any good discipline[g]."

Matthæus.

Besides Tonstal, (whom the Archbishop caused to be de-

[g] Is homo est vitæ inculpatissimæ, utriusque literaturæ ad unguem doctus, nec ullius honestæ disciplinæ rudis. *Erasm. Ep.* xvi. *lib.* 15.

cently buried under a fair stone, with an inscription in brass, in the parish church of Lambeth,) he entertained Thirlby, first Bishop of Westminster, late Bishop of Ely; and Boxal, D. D. of New college, Oxon. and late Dean of Peterborough and Windsor; a man, who though he were so great with Queen Mary, yet had the good principle to abstain from the cruel blood-shedding of the Protestants, giving neither his hand nor his consent thereunto. Thomas Tresham, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, was also sent to be with the Archbishop in custody. But he giving sureties, that he would neither by word nor deed attempt any thing against religion in the behalf of the Papacy, was set at liberty. To his custody also was committed Dr. Richard Smith, once Public Professor of Divinity in Oxford, a very fickle man, of whom some things have been spoken in Archbishop Cranmer's Memorials. Being with Archbishop Parker this year, he convinced him of many errors that he had divulged in a furious book by him writ against the marriage of Priests: insomuch that Smith now pretended to some detestation of it; and declared openly this his detestation of his book at Oxford, in the same schools in which he once read divinity: and he acknowledged there, that it was writ by him out of a vain ostentation of his wit and parts. And that if any doubted of those doctrines which he recanted, he desired such to come to him, and he was ready to satisfy them with very good reasons.

Anno 1559. And Bishop Thirlby, Dr. Boxal,

And Dr. Tresham,

And Dr. Smith.

Book ii. chap. 7.

Of this Smith I have something more to add: namely, that at the visitation at Oxford, (the Queen's visitors being, among many others, the Lord Williams of Thame, Dr. Richard Cox, Elect of Ely, Sir John Mason, and Dr. Walter Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford,) he did, it seems, refuse the oath of supremacy, required of him. Upon which he was sent up to the Council, and the Council remitted him to the Archbishop, and the Bishop of London, to whom they writ their letters to deal with Smith, to take the oath to the Queen: and the Archbishop was successful therein, and persuaded him to take it, and to make a subscription with his hand to the same purpose. Concerning which, the Archbishop writ a letter to the Council, together with Smith's

Who was sent up from Oxon. by the visitors.

48

The Archbishop writes to

BOOK I.

subscription inserted; signifying, "that he and the Bishop "of London had spent some time with Dr. Smith in con-
Anno 1559. the Council concerning his conformity; MSS. C. C. C. C. Ep. Princ. &c.
"ference; and what partly by our allegations, and he "more pressly weighing the form of the oath of the Queen's "supremacy by the exposition inserted in the injunctions, "is contented to take it, as he saith, with a full persuaded "conscience: and saith further, that if he had so understood "it afore, as he seeth cause at this present, he would never "have departed from Oxford. And now to some declara-"tion of his conformity, I offered him to consider the form "of a subscription, which we devised to be used in the order "of visitation: whereunto he hath, as your Lordships will "see, subscribed gladly." And so desiring to know their Lordships' further pleasure concerning him, &c. The issue was, that they took bonds of him, and had others bound for him, and then let him go to Oxford, to be ordered by the visitors there; that is, to take his oath, and make his recantation. But Smith obtained so much favour, by his crafty dealing, at the hands of the good Archbishop, that he wrote a letter to the visitors, which Smith was to be the bearer of, that they would deal favourably with him, and expose him not too publicly. Smith having told the Archbishop, that he might thereby be so discredited as not to be able to do that service in the University that otherwise he might and would. Therefore the Archbishop signified in his letter to
And to the visitors at Oxford in his favour.
Sir John Mason and Dr. Wright, the visitors, "that the "Queen's Counsellors willed him to take sufficient bonds of "Dr. Smith to repair to their presence, to declare before "them his subscription to the articles of the Queen's supre-"macy, for the order of service received, and for the author-"ity and lawfulness of the injunctions, to be confessed also "before them. Now forasmuch as the said Dr. Smith fear-"ed, that if ye should *summo jure* order him, and produce "him too much openly, he should too suddenly discredit "himself for any good doing, as he promised to do to his "utmost power, as may be used with prudence. And there-"fore he offereth himself to me [as the Archbishop pro-"ceeded] that he will gladly travel at your commandment,

" to reduce any wilful or stubborn person, *bona fide*, to the " like conformity. Whereupon this shall be to pray you, " upon the trust I have in his sincerity, that ye use him the " more indifferently, as may stand with your commission.

" Your assured loving friend,

" Mat. Elect Cant."

This letter, thus kindly writ for him by the Archbishop, Smith, upon some crotchet or other, took not with him when he returned to Oxford, either not liking some passage in it, or thinking to shift well enough without it: and so he left it behind him.

How Smith over-reached the Archbishop, and discharged his sureties. Epist. int. MSS. C. C. C.

Now after this job was over with him at Oxford, he used his wits to get clear his sureties that were bound for him; which he also compassed by his craft and lying, and herein over-reached the unwary Archbishop again. For this purpose he addressed a letter to the Archbishop, thanking him for his charitable entreating him, when he was with him; and then went on to tell him this formal story: " that the " wife of one of his sureties named Roger Smith, his cousin, " did so sore trouble her husband, because he was bound for " him in such a great bond, that she would not continue " in house with him, except he were discharged: and that " were pity," added Smith, " for that they had many goodly " witty children: and that she had in her keeping a cap- " case of his [Dr. Smith's] with gold in it and money, which " she would not deliver to him until her husband were out " of that obligation: and that he had no money but that to " pay his debts; and so should be constrained to sell his " books, bedding, and apparel, and to give up the studying " divinity, to teach children; which would be not only his " undoing, but some hindrance to his setting forth of God's " word, and the truth of it. That his tarrying there in 49 " Oxon was very chargeful, as he had no living: and there- " fore that, except his Lordship would grant his petition, he " must depart straight away. That his other surety was his " own sister's son; to whom he gave thirty pounds to set up " his craft; which he did so dearly love, that he would not

BOOK I.

Anno 1559.

" undo him in no case; as he said he should, if he should " depart out of the realm: because the obligation would " be broken thereby.

" And so he desired that his Grace would let only him and " his said nephew stand bound; and that he would never " break that bond, if death should follow thereof. *Deum* " *testem invoco in animam meam, si mentior.*" And much more he writes to the Archbishop to this purpose. And yet, as it is written by the Archbishop's Secretary in the midst of the letter, " notwithstanding this earnest promise and bond, " yet this good Father fled into Paris; such was his faith."

And overreached him again on another occasion.

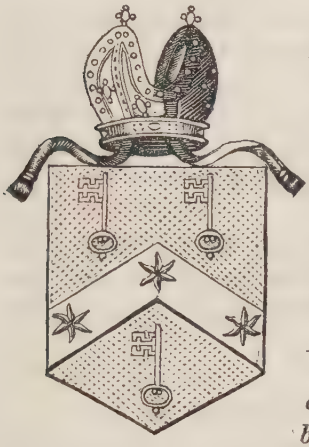
I cannot here omit another piece of Smith's fraud, to conceal his purpose of flying, and to make the harmless Archbishop believe his sincerity: which was thus compassed; in a letter which he wrote to the Archbishop, he prayed him, that he would order his Chaplain Mr. Perse [Peerson I suppose] to write out a few of the best authorities and reasons, which his Honour had gathered to prove the marriages of Priests to be lawful: that he might use them, when he should either speak or write for the defence thereof. Both which, he said, he minded to do, as soon as he could conveniently. But we have said enough, and too much of this man, contemptible and infamous for his shifting falsehood and inconstancy. He was afterwards preferred in the college of Doway, and made Dean of St. Peter's there, and died in the year 1563.

The King at Arms gives an addition to the Archbishop's coat.

The time of the Archbishop elect's consecration drawing near, as a mark of greater honour, and that his seal for his offices and courts might be ready, Sir Gilbert Dethick, Principal King of Arms, called Garter, added to his paternal coat on chevron argent, the three estoils, gules. Confirmed by Garter's patents, an authentic copy still remaining in the Heralds' Office, bearing date November 28, 1559. Therein he gave the Archbishop his testimony, " to " be a gentleman of a good family, bearing arms; and that " he was a person that merited in all places to be admitted " and received into the number and society of illustrious " persons. And that for his laudable merits, excellent en-

Præclara familia ortus.

" dowments of mind, and great dexterity in managing affairs, " he [the said Garter] had given him that addition to his " arms." But behold the patent, favourably communicated to me by Sir Henry St. George, then Clarencieux, now Garter: CHAP. X. Anno 1559.



The patent. Ex Offic. Fœcial.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus has præsentes literas inspecturis, visuris, vel audituris, Gilbertus Dethick, alias Garter, miles, Principalis Rex Armorum Anglicorum, salutem, cum debita et humili commendatione. Æquitas vult, et ratio postulat, quod homines virtuosi, laudabilis dispositionis, et vitæ honorabilis, sicut per eorum merita honorati et remunerati in suis personis existentes in hac vita mortali tam brevi et transitoria, et in quolibet loco honoris præ cæteris exaltati, demonstrando signa et exempla virtutis, honoris ac etiam humanitatis, ea intentione ut per eorum exempla alii magis conentur eorum vitam in bonis operibus et factis clarissimis exercere; et ideo ego prædictus Rex Armorum ut supra, non solum ex divulgata fama, verum etiam ex meo, cæterorúmque nobilium fide dignorum testimonio, sum veraciter instructus et informatus, quod Reverend. in Christo Pater Dom. Matthæus Parker, *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, est præclara familia ortus, gerens arma vel insignia, ac diu in virtute claruit, ac veri et Christiani Præsulis officio functus est, ac in dies fungitur; adeo ut mereatur, et dignus sit in omnibus locis honoris admitti, numerari et recipi in numerum et consortium aliorum veterum et illustrium virorum. Quapropter cum mecum ipse perpendere laudabilia ipsius merita, et egregias ipsius animi dotes, magnúmque in rebus gerendis dexteritatem, aliquod in eum affectionis signum, virtutis testimonium exhibere volui. Igitur additione in ipsius arma; quibus antecessores sui ab antiquo tempore utebantur, in hunc ut sequitur modum decoravi, viz.* Sur unge chevron d'argent trois

BOOK I.

Anno 1559.

estoilles, geules, *ut latius in scuto hic depicto apparet; habendum et gaudendum prædicta arma unà cum additamento prædict. dicti Reverend. Patri Matthæo Parker Archiepiscopo, ut supra, et ut ipse in his ornatus sit ad ejus honorem in perpetuum.*

In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum ad arma præsentibus apposui, ac manu mea propria subscripsi. Dat. Londini, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo nono, Die vero xxviii *mensis Novembr. ac anno regni Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, Fidei Defensoris, &c. secundo.*

Verses explanatory of these arms.

And here I may subjoin an ingenious copy of verses made in those times; being a poetical, but apt signification of the *keys* and the *stars* in our Archbishop's coat of arms aforesaid, with the motto.

So God it would, that he in shield should bear
The *keys*, his sign of ancient gentle race,
By God's decree, by whom appointed were
The heavenly keys of skill, and eke of grace.
Thereby to shew, O England, plain to thee,
The treasures great which thou art blest to see.

So God it would, that he whose prudent sight
Disclosed is, by using well the keys,
Should jointly bear the *stars* of heavenly light,
In word to teach, in life to shine always.
For *stars* give light, and beautify the sky;
So learning shines with life accordingly.

So God it would, that men of worthy fame,
By noble acts, by wit and learning tried,
Should honour have, deserving so the same;
That in their arms, their name should still abide.
Yet they, the world, both reason, will and lust,
With man himself, at length must turn to dust.

END OF BOOK I.

THE

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

MATTHEW,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Archbishop's election, confirmation, and consecration. The rites used. The Nag's Head fable: and confutation thereof. The Act of Parliament, 8th Eliz. confirming the consecration. His enthronization: and temporalties restored. His oath.

NOW I shall proceed to the investing of Dr. Parker with his spiritual honour and charge in the metropolitical church of Canterbury: for this, being one of the great and primary acts of the Reformation, in the constituting of an orthodox and able Metropolitan, will require some more particular and careful relation; since it was the ground on which stood the validity of the rest of the consecrations and ordinations of the succeeding Bishops and Clergy of this church; and likewise since this very matter hath been, with so much ridicule, malice, and falsehood, represented by divers later Popish writers; as though the consecration of this Archbishop, and other his fellow Bishops, were performed at a tavern or

Anno 1559. The Archbishop's election.

BOOK II. inn in Cheapside, London, as we shall mention more particularly hereafter.

Anno 1559. Several previous things were done in order to the instating our Divine in his high office. First, the said church having been now without a Pastor and Archbishop from the death of Cardinal Pole the last Archbishop, (who died in the night succeeding the day of Queen Mary's death,) the Dean, Dr. Nicolas Wotton, and the Chapter, had by their letters certified the Queen of the same, and humbly besought her to license them to elect a fit person to fill the said see.

Registr Parker.

52 To which petition and request the Queen condescended; sending to them her letters patents (commonly called *congé d'élire*) dated at Westminster the 18th day of July, in the first year of her reign, granting them licence to go to election, without naming any person in the said letters, but only requiring them to elect such a person for their Archbishop and Pastor, "who should be devout to God, and useful and "faithful both to her and to her realm."

The tenor of which letters of licence being short, I will here exemplify.

The letters of congé d'élire.

Elizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ, &c. dilectis nobis in Christo, Decano et Capitulo ecclesiæ metropoliticæ Cantuar. salutem. Ex parte vestrâ nobis est humiliter supplicatum, ut cum ecclesia predicta per mortem naturalem reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis, ultimi Archiepiscopi ejusdem, jam vacat, et Pastoris sit solatio destituta, alium vobis eligend. in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem, licentiam nostram fundatriam vobis concedere dignaremur; Nos precibus vestris in hac parte favorabiliter inclinatæ, licentiam illam vobis duximus concedend. Rogantes quod talem vobis eligatis in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem, qui Deo devotus, nobisque et regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat: in cujus rei testimonium, &c.

A Chapter hereupon.

Then in consequence hereupon, the Dean and Chapter four days after, that is, on the 22d of July, being capitularly met in the chapter-house, and making a full Chapter, took notice of the Queen's said letters patents, and did in obedience agree upon, and appoint the first day of August

then next following, to meet again, and proceed to the said election. In the mean time Nicolas Sympson, Clerk, by an instrument made by the Dean and Chapter now met, was appointed their Mandatary, to cite all the Canons and Prebendaries, that had any right to vote in the election, to appear at the Chapter the said first day of August, by affixing citatory letters of schedules in their respective stalls, according to the custom of former times, and the statutes and laudable practice of that church. CHAP. I. Anno 1559.

The day assigned being come, there appeared personally with the Dean these Canons, John Mills, Arthur Sentleger, William Darrel, and John Butler. The rest were absent, *viz.* Hugh Turnbul, Richard Fawcet, Ralph Jackson, Rob. Collins, John Knight, Tho. Wood, Nic. Harpsfield: all which were thrice preconized with a loud voice at the chapter-door. But after having been long expected, and not coming, they were for their absence pronounced contumacious by the Chapter, and decreed to incur the pain of contumacy. Then the Dean and Chapter nominated John Incent for their Public Notary, and John Armerar, Clerk, and Gilbert Hyde, Gent. to be witnesses of their said business of election, and what should be done therein by them: and so they went to the election. And considering, what anciently by the right and custom of the said church was to be observed, agreed unanimously, none gainsaying, that of the three ways of election the Dean had propounded to them, they would proceed by the way and form of compromise: and did own, and all assume and choose that way and manner of electing. And then fixing upon Nic. Wotton, LL. D. their Dean for their Compromissary; and under certain laws and conditions, expressed in the process of the said election, promised him, that they would accept him for their and their church's Archbishop, whom he, under the same laws and conditions, should think fit to be chosen and provided: so that he should name him before he departed out of the chapter-house. Then he, taking upon him this compromission, after mature deliberation, directed his vote upon the venerable and eminent Matthew Parker, D. D. and chose the

The Dean and Chapter elect,

By compromise,

Dr. Mat. Parker.

BOOK II. same for Archbishop, according to the power and compromission granted him in that behalf: reading publicly a schedule to that purpose; *viz.*

Anno 1559.

The schedule of election read.

"That the election being consented to, to proceed by way
"of compromise, and that the full and free power, authority,
"and special mandate, was yielded and granted to him by
"the Chapter, to choose an able and fit person for their Arch-
"bishop, according to the tenor of the said compromise;
"and that he taking the burden of the said compromise
"upon him, directing his votes towards the said Master
53 "Matthew Parker, a man provident and discreet, com-
"mended for his knowledge of letters, and for his life and
"manners; a free man, and begotten of lawful matrimony,
"of lawful age, and in priestly Orders, and both in spiri-
"tuals and temporals very circumspect, knowing, willing
"and able to protect and defend the rights and liberties of
"the said church; for himself, and in place and name of
"the whole Chapter, did choose in common the said Master
"Matthew Parker, on account of his aforesaid merits, for
"Archbishop and Pastor of the said cathedral and metro-
"political church of Christ in Canterbury, and did provide
"him to the same, by virtue of that writing."

And then all and singular the Canons and Prebendaries present accepted and approved the said election so made and pronounced by the Dean, and declared the same ratified and accepted by them with all cheerfulness.

The Elect declared.

The election being over, the Dean and Chapter went out of the chapter-house; and entering the choir, the hymn *Te Deum* was sung solemnly in English by the ministers of the choir. Which being ended, Mr. Darrel, who was appointed by the Chapter for that purpose, did publicly declare and denounce the said election and person elected, before the Clergy and people then and there assembled in a convenient multitude.

Recorded.

All these acts of the election were exactly and particularly entered and recorded by John Incent with his own hand, (who was Public Notary of the diocese of Canterbury, by the supreme royal authority,) in these words: *Et ego Johannes*

Incent, &c. i. e. " That he, John Incent, Public Notary, as " abovesaid, being assumed and deputed in this present bu- " siness of the election, for scribe of the acts, did witness and " subscribe all the whole public decree or process of the elec- " tion, written with his own hand, and made and reduced " into that public and authentic form, [as it stands in the " register,] and subscribed with the addition of his name " and surname, and signed with his own accustomed sign, " with the appension of the common seal of the Dean and " Chapter; in faith and testimony of all and singular the " premises; being thereunto especially asked and required." In which express terms he concluded these acts. Anno 1559.

Two days after, the said Dean and Chapter by their letters, named and constituted William Darrel, M. A. one of the Canons mentioned before; Anthony Huse, Esq.; John Clarke, and John Incent, Public Notaries, their Proctors, to act and perform all things for them in this present business. Which letters bore date the 3d of August. Proxy for the Chapter.

These matters thus far despatched, next follows the consent of Dr. Parker to this election; which was done after this manner. On the 6th day of August, in a certain lower room within the manor of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and in the presence of a Notary Public, and witnesses, Mr. Darrel, one of the Canons of Canterbury, and Anthony Huse, Esq. exhibited a certain proxy under the common seal of the Chapter to the said Darrel and Huse, and likewise to John Incent, Notary Public; wherein they were made party to the said Dean and Chapter. These presented to the said Master Matthew Parker, there personally present, the process of the election of him made and celebrated, under the original forms of the same: and instantly prayed and required him, that he would please to consent to the said election. The Elect consents;

To which the said Elect made this answer: " That al- " though he judged himself unworthy of so great trust, yet " that he might not seem to resist the Divine will, nor to " disobey her Majesty's good pleasure, who had thought fit " to recommend him, though unworthy, to the said Dean and

BOOK II. Anno 1559.

" Chapter, he did consent to this election." And yielded his consent and assent to the same, in a writing by him read, in the tenor which follows.

By a schedule by him read.

In nomine Domini, Amen, &c. i. e. " In the name of " God, Amen. I, Matthew Parker, Professor of Divinity, " being in priestly Orders, and of lawful age, and begotten " in lawful matrimony, rightly and lawfully nominated and " elected Archbishop and Pastor of the cathedral and metro- " political church of Christ in Canterbury, being instantly " pressed and required to consent to this election of me and " my person, made and celebrated in this behalf, on the part, " and by the part of the venerable men, the Dean and Chap- " ter of the said cathedral and metropolitical church; rely- 54 " ing upon the clemency of Almighty God the Father, the " Son, and the Holy Ghost, do consent; and to the same, " being once and again asked and required, I do yield my " consent and assent in this writing."

And an instrument or instruments were made of all and singular the premises, at the desire of the said Elect, and the foresaid Darrel and Huse; and before these witnesses, being specially required also thereunto; *viz.* Richard Taverner, Esq. John Baker, Gent. Ralph Jackson, and Andrew Pierson, Clerks.

The Queen certified of the election.

The next work was the confirmation of the election. The Dean and Chapter on the day of the election had certified the Queen of the whole process of it; and withal, earnestly prayed and besought her Majesty to give her consent and assent to their election, and to cause it to be confirmed; and to command, that (the great and good God, the Giver of all good things, favouring and assisting) the said elected, being confirmed, might preside over them profitably; and that they, under him and his good government, might exercise their [spiritual] warfare to God in the same church.

Her letters for confirmation.

Now in pursuance of the Dean and Chapter's request, for the confirmation of the Archbishop elect, first the Queen issued out her letters patents, dated at Redgrave the 9th of September, to six Bishops; *viz.* Cutbert, Bishop of Durham; Gilbert, Bishop of Bath and Wells; David, Bishop of Peter-

borough; Anthony, Bishop of Landaff; William Barlow, Bishop; John Scory, Bishop; (without mentioning the sees of these two last;) commissionating them to proceed to the confirmation and consecration of the Elect; and commanding, that they should do all things requisite to the same, as had been accustomed according to the laws and customs of the realm. This is extant in the Rolls: and I have seen the first draught of it (I suppose) in the Paper Office, where there is a blank left to be filled up with the names of the Bishops; only Cutbert Bishop of Durham's name is put in by Parker's own hand; thinking, as it seems, upon some good grounds, that he might be willing to assist at these acts; though he did not, whatever was the reason: perhaps inability by reason of age and sickness, for he died within two months after. Anno 1559.

But these first letters commissional from the Queen (which may be seen in Bishop Bramhall's Works) took not place, whatever the reason was: whether it were that some of these Bishops, being Papists, refused to act in this business; or because of the omission of a clause; viz. *Vos aut minus quatuor vestrum*, as it ran in the Queen's second letters patents: which were executed, and bore date at Westminster, the 6th day of December. And these were directed to some other Bishops, more favourable to the Queen's proceedings; *viz.* Anthony, Bishop of Landaff; Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath and Wells, now elect of Chichester; Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester, now elect of Hereford; Coverdale, sometime Bishop of Exeter; Richard, [miswritten in the letters for John,] Suffragan Bishop of Bedford; John, Suffragan Bishop of Thetford; and John Bale, Bishop of Ossery in Ireland. Wherein is specified her Majesty's consent to the election of Dr. Parker by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, setting out their proceeding therein; as appeared by their letters patents, signed with their common seal directed to her: and that she had accepted the election, and had given her assent and favour thereunto. And so commanded them by the fealty and love whereby they were bound unto her, or four of them, to confirm the said Elect Bp. Bramhall's Works. p. 449.

BOOK II. to be Archbishop and Pastor of the said cathedral and metropolitical church; and also to consecrate him Archbishop
Anno 1559. and Pastor of the said church; and to perform all and singular matters which were incumbent on their pastoral office in this behalf, according to the form of the statute set forth and provided. And lastly, she added in her said letters these words, to supply any defects:

Supplentes nihilominus, supremâ authoritate nostrâ regiâ, ex mero motu et certâ scientia nostris, siquid aut in his, quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis aut vestrûm aliquo, conditione, statu, facultate vestris, ad præmissa perficienda desit, aut deerit, eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni nostri, aut per leges ecclesiasticas, in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione, et rerum necessitate id postulante. In cujus rei testimonium, &c. That is, in English:

The clause *Supplentes.* "*Supplying* nevertheless by our supreme authority royal,
"of our mere motion and certain knowledge, if any thing
55 "be or shall be wanting, either in the things, which accord-
"ing to our foresaid commandment shall by you be done,
"or in you or any of you, by reason of your condition, state,
"or power, to perform the premises; any thing, I say, re-
"quired or necessary in this behalf, either by the statutes of
"this our kingdom, or by the ecclesiastical laws, the circum-
"stance of time, or the necessity of things requiring it. In wit-
"ness whereof we have made these our letters patents, &c."

Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated, p. 451. These words were put in (I conjecture, by the wary Archbishop elect himself) for the stopping of any illegality or uncanonicalness in the ordination or confirmation, or any other objections that might be made to this present business, according to the custom of the Court of Rome; which had ordinarily such dispensatory clauses (as Archbishop Bramhall hath observed) in their instruments, for more abundant caution, (whether there were need of them or not,) to relax all sentences, censures, and penalties inflicted either by the law, or by the judge. Some thought this clause might have relation to Bishop Barlow and Bishop Scory; because they were not yet enthroned in the new

bishoprics. But this was but a mistake, since their episcopal ordination sufficiently qualified them to consecrate. But the most probable ground of this clause was the exception, or cavil rather, (now whispered about,) that Boner afterwards made more openly against the legality of Bishop Horne's consecration; *viz.* that he was not ordained according to the prescript of our very statutes. And the statute in the 8. Elizab. as it hath a plain respect to this clause, so it strengthens it, by declaring valid this consecration; having these words, "That the Queen in her letters patents had not only used such words as had been accustomed to be used by King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. but also divers other general words; whereby her Highness, by her supreme power and authority, had dispensed with all causes and doubts of any imperfection or disability that could be objected."

CHAP. I.

Anno 1559.

Cap. 1.

For the further strengthening the abovesaid clause of the *Supplentes*, there was underwritten to it, in the Register of the Archbishop, the judgment of the chiefest civilians for learning and eminence in those times, concerning the validity of the Queen's letters, as followeth:

Regist. Park.

"We, whose names be here under subscribed, think in our judgments, that by this Commission in the form penned, as well the Queen's Majesty may lawfully authorize the persons within named to the effect specified, as the said persons may exercise the act of confirming and consecrating, in the same to them committed.

"William May,	Henry Harvey,
"Robert Weston,	Thomas Yale,
"Edward Leeds,	Nicolas Bullingham."

It may be noted, that the foregoing dispensing clause was inserted into all the Queen's letters patents for making her Bishops, for the first seven years of her reign, *ad majorem cautelam*, until the said act of Parliament anno 1566, declaring the *manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops of the realm, to be good, lawful, and*

8. Eliz. cap. 1.

BOOK II.

perfect. This dispensation, and this statute notwithstanding, the papistical writers afterwards quarreled with these ordinations: which gave occasion to the learned Mr. Mason, to vindicate the same in his excellent book, in Latin, of the *English Ministry:* and to the most reverend Archbishop Bramhall, about thirty years after, in his book of the *Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated.*

Anno 1559.

De Minist. Anglican.

The Archbishop's proxies.

When the day of the confirmation drew on, the Archbishop elect, by his letters bearing date the 7th of December, constituted William May, Dean of St. Paul's, London, and Nicolas Bullingham, Doctors of Laws, his Proctors, to William, heretofore Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the rest of the before-named Bishops, Commissioners from the Queen, to act and do all things for him before them.

The *confirmation* was performed three days after the Queen's letters commissional abovesaid; that is, on the 9th day of December, in the church of St. Mary de Arcubus, [*i. e.* Mary le Bow in Cheapside,] regularly, and according
56 to the usual custom: and that after this manner. First, John Incent, Public Notary, appeared personally, and presented to the right reverend the Commissaries, appointed by the Queen, her said letters to them directed in that behalf; humbly praying them to take upon them the execution of the said letters, and to proceed according to the contents thereof in the said business of confirmation. And the said Notary Public publicly read the Queen's commissional letters. Then, out of the reverence and honour these Bishops present (who were Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and the Suffragan of Bedford) bore to her Majesty, they took upon them the commission, and accordingly resolved to proceed according to the force, power, and effect of the said letters. Next, the Notary exhibited his proxy for the Dean and Chapter of the metropolitical church, and made himself a party for them; and, in the procuratorial name of the said Dean and Chapter, presented the venerable Mr. Nicolas Bullingham, LL. D. and placed him before the said Commissioners: who then exhibited his proxy for the said elect of Canterbury, and made himself a party for him. Then the said Notary exhibited the original citatory mandate, together

with the certificate on the back side, concerning the execution of the same: and then required all and singular persons cited, to be publicly called. And consequently a threefold proclamation was made, of all and singular opposers, at the door of the parochial church aforesaid; and so as is customary in these cases.

Schedule read by Bishop Barlow.

Then, at the desire of the said Notary to go on in this business of confirmation, they the Commissioners decreed so to do, as was more fully contained in a schedule read by Bishop Barlow, with the consent of his colleagues. It is too long to relate distinctly every formal proceeding in this business; which may be read more conveniently in the Register, and likewise in an exact transcript thereof in Archbishop Bramhall's Works, printed at Dublin anno 1677, at the end of the book. Only it may be necessary to add some few of the most material passages.

The Archbishop elect's witnesses.

There followed the deposition of witnesses, concerning the life and actions, learning and abilities of the said Elect; his freedom, his legitimacy, his priesthood, and such like. One of these witnesses was John Baker, of thirty-nine years old, Gent. who is said to sojourn for the present with the said venerable Dr. Parker, and to be born in the parish of St. Clement's in Norwich. He among other things witnessed, "That the same reverend Father was and is a pru-"dent man, commended for his knowledge of sacred Scrip-"ture, and for his life and manners. That he was a free-"man, and born of lawful matrimony; that he was in law-"ful age, and in Priests' Orders, and a faithful subject to "the Queen." And the said Baker, in giving the reason of his knowledge in this behalf, said, "that he was the "natural brother of the Lord elect, and that they were "born *ex unis parentibus*." [Or rather surely *ex una parente*; i. e. "of one mother."] William Tolwyn, M. A. aged seventy years, and Rector of St. Anthony's, London, was another witness; who had known the said Elect thirty years, and knew his mother: and that he was still very well acquainted with him, and of his certain knowledge could testify all abovesaid.

BOOK II.

Anno 1559. The Commissioners' decree.

The Notary exhibited the process of the election by the Dean and Chapter; which the Commissioners did take a diligent view of. And at last, in the conclusion of this affair, the Commissioners decreed the said most reverend Lord elected and presently confirmed, should receive his consecration; and committed to him the care, rule, and administration, both of the temporals and spirituals of the said archbishopric; and decreed him to be inducted and installed into the real, actual, and corporal possession of the same archbishopric, and of all its rights, dignities, honours, preeminencies, and appertenancies, by the Dean and Chapter of the church of Canterbury, or by some other, to whom by right and custom that office is known to belong, according to the laudable custom of Christ's Church, Canterbury; not reclaiming or contradicting the modern laws and statutes of this famous realm of England.

In fine, all the matters done at our Archbishop's confirmation, and in order to it, are particularly and punctually set down in his Register under this title, *Acta*, *habita*, *et facta*, &c. i. e. "Acts and things had and done in the busi-
"ness of the confirmation of the venerable and eminent
57 "man, Master Matthew Parker, elected Archbishop of
"Canterbury the 9th day of December, in the parochial
"church of St. Mary Bow, London, &c. before the re-
"verend Fathers in Christ, the Queen's Commissioners in
"this behalf, William elect of Chichester, John elect of
"Hereford, &c. by virtue of letters patents commissional
"from the Queen, &c. in the presence of Francis Clark,
"Notary Public, taken for scribe of the acts in this behalf,
"by reason of the absence of Anthony Huse, Register."
This Huse had been Register a great while, and was now absent, I suppose, through age and infirmity; for about half a year after he died; that is, in June 1560: and then John Incent succeeded in his place; though I find the said Huse was present at the consecration.

Thus the process being ended, with the sentence definitive, and final decree of the Bishops, Commissioners, confirming and ratifying the election, it is like the company

might part, and go from Bow church, to take a dinner together at the Nag's Head tavern hard by, according to the common custom formerly and usually before and since, even to our times, after the despatch of the confirmations of Bishops elect. Anno 1559.

The consecration of the Elect; and

Proceed we now to the *consecration:* which, as the *confirmation* was performed on Saturday, December 9, in St. Mary le Bow church, so this was on Sunday, December the 17th, in Lambhith chapel. The which the Archbishop, in his parchment journal aforementioned, noted in these words:

His meditation thereupon.

"The 17th of Decemb. 1559. I was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury." To which he subjoined this sentence; (whereby will appear what small joy he took in his honour, and how sensible he was of the mighty burden of his place;) *Heu! heu! Domine Deus, &c.* i. e. "Alas! alas! O Lord God, for what times hast thou reserved me? Now I am come into the deep waters, and the floods overflow me. O Lord, I am in trouble: answer for me; and establish me with thy free spirit. For I am a man, and of short time, and less," &c.

The order of the rites.

Park. Regist.

The order of the rites and ceremonies in this consecration was after this manner: "First of all, the chapel on the east part was adorned with tapestry, and the floor was spread with red cloth, and the table used for the celebration of the holy Sacrament, being adorned with a carpet and cushion, was placed at the east. Moreover, four chairs were set to the south of the east part of the chapel for the Bishops, to whom the office of consecrating the Archbishop was committed. There was also a bench placed before the chairs, spread with a carpet and cushions, on which the Bishops kneeled. And in like manner a chair, and a bench furnished with a carpet and a cushion, was set for the Archbishop on the north side of the east part of the same chapel.

"These things being thus in their order prepared, about five or six in the morning, the Archbishop entereth the chapel by the west door, having on a long scarlet gown and a hood, with four torches carried before him, and

BOOK II.

Anno 1559.

"accompanied with four Bishops, who were to consecrate "him; to wit, William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Cover- "dale, and John Hodgkin, Suffragan of Bedford. After "each of them in their order had taken their seats pre- "pared for them, morning prayer was said with a loud "voice by Andrew Pierson, the Archbishop's Chaplain.

Scory preaches.

"Which being finished, Scory went up into the pulpit, "and taking for his text, *The elders which are among "you I beseech, being also a fellow elder, &c.* made an ele- "gant sermon," [admonishing the pastor of his office, care, and faithfulness towards his flock: and the flock, of the love, duty, and reverence they owed to their pastor.]

"Sermon being done, the Archbishop, together with the "other four Bishops, go out of the chapel to prepare them- "selves for the holy Communion: and, without any stay, "they come in again at the north door thus clad: The

The Archbishop presented.

"Archbishop had on a linen surplice, the Elect of Chi- "chester used a silk cope, being to administer the Sacra- "ment. On whom attended and yielded their service the "Archbishop's two Chaplains, Nicolas Bullingham and "Edmund Gest, the one Archdeacon of Lincoln, and the "other of Canterbury, having on likewise silk copes. The "Elect of Hereford and the Suffragan of Bedford wore

58 "linen surplices: but Miles Coverdale had nothing but a "long cloth gown. Being in this manner appareled and "prepared, they proceed to celebrate the Communion, the "Archbishop being on his bended knees at the lowest step "of the chapel. The Gospel being ended, the Elect of "Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Cover- "dale, brought the Archbishop before the Elect of Chi- "chester, sitting in a chair at the table, with these words: "*Reverend Father in God, we offer and present to you "this godly and learned man to be consecrated Archbishop.* "This being spoken, forthwith was produced the royal in- "strument or mandate for the Archbishop's consecration: "which being read through by Thomas Yale, Dr. of Laws, "the oath of the Queen's primacy, or of defending her su- "preme authority, set forth and promulgated according to

" the statute in the first year of the reign of Queen Eliza-
" beth, was required of the said Archbishop. Which when
" he solemnly had performed *verbis conceptis*, the Elect of Anno 1559.
" Chichester having exhorted the people to prayer, betook
" himself to sing the Litany, the choir answering. Which The Litany sung.
" being ended, after some questions propounded to the
" Archbishop by the Elect of Chichester, and the making
" some prayers and suffrages to God, according to the form
" of the book put forth by authority of Parliament, the The Archbishop consecrated.
" Elects of Chichester and Hereford, the Suffragan of Bed-
" ford, and Coverdale, laying their hands upon the Arch-
" bishop, said in English, *Take the Holy Ghost; and re-*
" *member that thou stir up the grace of God which is in*
" *thee by imposition of hands. For God hath not given*
" *us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and sober-*
" *ness.* These words being said, they delivered the holy
" Bible into his hands, using these words to him; *Give*
" *heed unto thy reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think*
" *upon these things contained in this book; be diligent in*
" *them, that the increase coming thereby may be manifest*
" *unto all men. Take heed unto thyself, and unto thy*
" *teaching, and be diligent in doing them. For in doing*
" *this, thou shalt save thyself, and them that hear thee,*
" *through Jesus Christ our Lord.* After they had said
" these things, the Elect of Chichester (delivering no pas-
" toral staff to the Archbishop) proceeded to the other so-
" lemnities of the Communion; with whom the Archbishop, They communicate.
" and the other Bishops before named, did communicate,
" together with some others:" [when the Archbishop desired the prayers of them all, that the office now laid upon him by the hands of the Presbytery might above all tend to the glory of God, and salvation of the Christian flock, and the joyful testimony of his own conscience from his office faithfully performed, when it should happen that he should go to the Lord, to whom he had devoted himself.]

" These things being finished and performed, the Arch-
" bishop goeth out through the north door of the east part
" of the chapel, accompanied with those four that had con-

BOOK II.

Anno 1559.

"secrated him: and presently, being attended with the "same Bishops, returned by the same door, wearing an "episcopal white garment, and a chimere of black silk: "and about his neck he had a rich tippet of sable. In "like manner the Elects of Chichester and Hereford had "on their episcopal garments, surplice, and chimere: but "Coverdale and the Suffragan of Bedford wore only their "long gowns. The Archbishop then going forward toward "the west door, gave to Thomas Doyle, his Steward, John "Baker, his Treasurer, and John March, his Comptroller, "to each of them white staves; admitting them after this "manner into their places and offices. These things there- "fore thus performed in their order, as is already said, the "Archbishop goeth out of the chapel by the west door, the "gentlemen of his family of the better sort in blood going "before him, and the rest following behind. All and sin- "gular these things were acted and done in the presence "of the reverend Fathers in Christ, Edmund Grindal, "elect Bishop of London; Richard Cocks, elect of Ely; "Edwin Sandes, elect of Wigorn; Anthony Huse, Esq. "principal and primary Register of the said Archbishop; "Thomas Argal, Esq. Register of the Prerogative of the "Court of Canterbury; Thomas Willet and John Incent, "Public Notaries, and some others."

The Archbishop gives his officers white staves.

An account of this order of the rites and ceremonies of this consecration, in the very words of the register, is preserved carefully in the MS. library of Bene't college, Cambridge, where I have seen it: and that I suppose by the peculiar appointment of Archbishop Parker himself. This, and the whole course and history of the consecration, as it is largely and most exactly recorded in the Archbishop's register, and that, no question, by special care; so it is faithfully transcribed, and published in Archbishop Bramhal's Works aforementioned; as being serviceable to some of that learned man's writings in vindication of the Church of England, in respect of the Orders conferred upon her Bishops and Priests; and for the disproof of that idle story of the Nag's Head ordination, and to the perpetual shame of the inventors and upholders of it.

These things carefully recorded.

59

CHAP. I.

After the consecration was over at Lambhith, all were entertained there at a splendid dinner; and among the honourable guests was present Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, afterward Lord High Admiral, and created Earl of Nottingham; who acknowledged Archbishop Parker to be his kin. This the Earl spake of long after: and a friend of the Earl's told it to Mr. Mason, the author *De Ministerio Anglicano*, while the Earl was alive; who lived to a great age. Which the said Mason made use of, as a good testimony to confute the Nag's Head ordination.

Anno 1559.

The consecration dinner.

Mason de Min. Anglican.

Which story give me leave to stay at a little, by the way. For having given all this authentic account of Dr. Parker's consecration, and of all particulars of it from indubitable records, I cannot but mention the notorious falsehoods and slanders that have by Papists been raised upon it: and the mentioning them is enough. The story, when it appeared first, was, "That when the Bishop of Landaff, "through Bishop Boner's threatening, would not be pre- "vailed with to consecrate the Protestant Divines, having "no other means to compass their desires, they resolved to "use Mr. Scorie's help, an apostate religious Priest; who, "having bore the name of Bishop in King Edward the "VIth's time, was thought to have sufficient power to per- "form that office, especially in such a streight necessity, as "they pretended: which he performed in this sort. Hav- "ing the Bible in his hand, and they all kneeling before "him, he laid it upon every one of their heads or shoulders, "saying, 'Take thou authority to preach the word of God "sincerely.' And so they rose up Bishops of the new Church "of England. Thus Champneys, and others of that sort."

The Nag's Head fable.

Champneys.

Francis Mason, B. D. Archdeacon of Norfolk, was the first that confuted this idle improbable calumny, in an English book in vindication of the English Ministry, written in the reign of King James I. And that he did so effectually, that there was no more mention of it for thirty years after. The book was set forth again the second time in Latin, by the care of Nathaniel Brent, a learned Civilian, at the importunity of George Archbishop of Canterbury,

Confuted by Mason and Archbishop Bramhal.

BOOK II.

Anno 1559.

and then entitled, *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sive de legitimo ejusdem Ministerio, id est, de Episcoporum Successione, Consecratione, Electione et Confirmatione.* Printed anno 1625.

Legacy left to Protestants.

After many years, as was mentioned before, the old story is ventured again into the world, in a book printed at Doway, anno 1654, wherein they thus tell their tale: "I know "they [*i. e.* the Protestants] have tried many ways, and "feigned an old record [meaning the authentic register of "Archbishop Parker] to prove their ordination from Ca- "tholic Bishops. But it was false, as I have received from

Dr. Darbishire.

"two certain witnesses. The former of them was Dr. Dar- "bishire, then Dean of St. Paul's, [Canon there, perhaps, "but never Dean,] and nephew to Dr. Boner, Bishop of "London: who almost sixty years since lived at Meuse

Died anno 1604.

"Pont, then a holy, religious man, [a Jesuit,] very aged, "but perfect in sense and memory. Who speaking what "he knew, affirmed to myself and another with me, *that "like good fellows they made themselves Bishops at an "inn, because they could get no true Bishops to consecrate "them.* My other witness was a gentleman of known worth "and credit, dead not many years since; whose father, a "Chief Judge of this kingdom, visiting Archbishop Heath "—— saw a letter, sent from Bishop Boner out of the "Marshalsea, by one of his Chaplains, to the Archbishop, "read, while they sat at dinner together: wherein he mer- "rily related the manner how these new Bishops (because "he had dissuaded Ogelthorp, Bishop of Carlisle, from "doing it in his diocese) ordained one another at an inn, "where they met together. And while others laughed at "this new manner of consecrating Bishops, the Archbishop "himself gravely, and not without tears, expressed his "grief, to see such a ragged company of men, come poor "out of foreign parts, and appointed to succeed the old

60 "Clergy." Thus this story is improved by Jesuits: nay, they had the confidence to annex to it the pretended testimony of a Protestant Bishop, namely, Morton Bishop of Durham; as if he had owned in the House of Lords in the

Long Parliament, the English Bishops' consecration at the Nag's Head, and by speech of his there to vindicate the same. Which that learned good Bishop happening to be alive at the publishing this falsehood, (which they perhaps little thought of,) and living at the house of Tho. Saunders in Hertfordshire, Esq. did there publicly, under his hand and seal, utterly declare to be false and most untrue; dated July the 17th, 1658, and was attested by a public notary. The whole protestation of which pious Bishop is extant in Archbishop Bramhal's book of the Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated. In which treatise that right learned Bishop confuted, and most effectually overthrew, the late attempts of the Jesuits against our Church, by this calumny of the consecration of Parker, and the other primary Bishops of Queen Elizabeth.

Anno 1559. In a book entitled, Treat. of Cath. Faith. Rouan. 1657. P. 432.

Which forgery (when once invented) was so acceptable to the Romanists, that it was most confidently repeated again in another English book, printed at Antwerp 1658, *permissu superiorum:* being a second edition, licensed by Gulielmo Bolognimo. Where the author sets down his story in these words: "The heretics, who were named to succeed in the other Bishops' sees, could not prevail with Landaff (whom he calls a little before *an old simple man*) to consecrate them at the Nag's Head in Cheapside, where they appointed to meet him. And therefore they made use of Scory, who was never ordained Bishop, though he bore the name in King Edward's reign. Kneeling before him, he laid the Bible upon their heads or shoulders, and bid them rise up, and preach the word of God sincerely. This is," added he, "so evident a truth, that for the space of fifty years no Protestant durst contradict it: nothing being more common in England, as hath been lately demonstrated in a book called, *A Treatise of the Nature of Catholick Faith and Heresy.* [The book abovesaid exposed by the said excellent Bishop.] To which I remit the reader, where he will see how the Protestant Ministers [or more truly Popish Priests] abuse the

Hic liber—[entitled, The Politicians Catheс.] altero prelo dignus est, Martii 14, 1568.

Sacrobosco, Fitz Simons, Constable, Champney; Fitz Herbert in his Pref. to Father Parsons; with Harding and Stapleton.

BOOK II. " world with cheating tricks, and false records, to cry down " this most certain story."

Anno 1559. But before this fable came to light, (which was not heard of a great many years after Parker's consecration,) it was the old Papists' prime endeavour to invalidate his ordination. For they knew, if they could bring it about that he was no true Archbishop or Bishop, then as a sequel all the Bishops that he afterwards consecrated should be no Bishops, because he was none himself, and therefore could not consecrate nor give Orders to others. And what argument could have better served their turn to prove this, than that mad manner of ordination, if it had been true? But it was not then devised; their great argument in those days to prove our Archbishop's ordination to be null, was, that he was made Archbishop by King Edward's Book of Ordination, which had been repealed under Queen Mary, and not restored by authority of Parliament when he was consecrated; though that was false too. And even Boner, who is feigned to write that letter to Heath of Parker's ridiculous consecration, spake not one word of this, when it might have served his purpose admirably well. But when, in the year 1565, he was called upon by Horn, Bishop of Winton, his Diocesan, to take the oath of allegiance, he went another way, and objected that Horn had nothing to do to administer it, because he was no Bishop of Winchester; no, nor no Bishop at all, because he was not ordained according to law: and that those that consecrated Parker were no Bishops, because they had been deprived.

How Papists at first withstood Parker's consecration.

Cott. Librar. Cleopatra, F. 4. This cause, and the act of Parliament occasioned by it, I will set forth in the words of a MS. paper, which I have met with; being a collection, shewing what jurisdiction the Clergy hath heretofore lawfully used, and may lawfully use, in the realm of England. In this collection is this passage: " It appears in Dier's book, [of Reports,] that at " the arraignment of Boner, he cavilled upon the point, " whether Horn, Bishop of Winchester, was a Bishop, or

" no. And it seems, that it was then resolved, that if he " would, he should be received upon that issue; and the " jury should try it. And the cause was nothing else, Anno 1559. " than that he was made Bishop according to the Book of " King Edward, not yet authorized in Parliament. Another " objection was against the consecration of Parker, Arch- " bishop of Canterbury; by whom the rest were afterwards " consecrated and invested. For whereas by law three 61 " Bishops at the least ought to be at the consecrating of " an Archbishop, it was pretended that at his consecration " there was never a Bishop at all. For Barlow, Scory, " Coverdale, and Bale, albeit in King Edward's days they " were Bishops, yet were they deprived in the time of " Queen Mary, and not restored again. And the two Suf- " fragans, of Bedford and Thetford, were in the same time " of Queen Mary deposed by act of Parliament. So, as it " is supposed, there was not any Bishop at the said Arch- " bishop's consecration.

" Archbishop Parker, in the description of his own life, The statute for the consecration of Parker. " seems to pretend, that this consecration so passed *lege* " *quadam de hac re lata;* i. e. by a law made concerning " it. Which cannot be understood of any other act of Par- " liament than this, [which shall be declared by and by.] " Which indeed was very necessary, both for the confirma- " tion of his own consecration, and of all the Bishops be- " side; and likewise the ordaining of all the Ministers that " were made from the beginning of her Majesty's reign, " unto the time of the making of said statute."

A little backward this writer was speaking of this said statute or act, which was the 8. of the Queen, *cap. primo*, to take away all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of Bishops. And it shewed, that for the confirming, investing, and consecrating of persons elected, her Majesty had not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. but also had used and put in her said letters patents other general words and sentences; whereby

BOOK II.

Anno 1559.

her Highness, by her supreme power, had dispensed with all cases and doubts that could or might in any wise be objected against the same. And by the same statute it appeared what was the cause of the making thereof; *viz.* that when the Book of Common Prayer was only established in the first year of her Majesty's reign, and not the Book of King Edward for making of Ministers and consecrating of Bishops: and yet nevertheless the Bishops and Ministers were made according to the same Book, not yet authorized by Parliament, seeing the statute of the 25. of Henry VIII. touching the making of Bishops, was revived only *anno primo*, it was thought that the consecration of them should have been according to the form used 25. Hen. VIII. and not according to the Book of King Edward repealed in Queen Mary's time.

So that (to return whence we came) this was all the flaw found in Archbishop Parker's consecration in the times next after it, and all the advantage that Boner, or any other adversaries, took against it: and not one word in those days of a Nag's Head ordination. But enough and enough hath been said by our writers against this fancy.

Parker the first Archbishop consecrated without superstition. Matthæus.

Indeed the Archbishop took a pleasure sometimes to recollect how he was consecrated; and that he was the first of all the Archbishops of Canterbury that came into that see without any spot or stain of Popish superstitions and vain ceremonies, required of all before him; without any bull of approbation from the Pope of Rome: that he was consecrated without any old idle ceremony of Aaronical garments; nor with gloves nor rings, nor sandals nor slippers, nor mitre nor pall; but more chastely and religiously, according to the purity of the Gospel; by four Bishops, according to the law in this case; who placed him in his chair; and such godly stipulation by him interposed, as was equal to be required of an evangelical pastor. And yet that the consecration was not celebrated without the becoming garments of a Bishop, nor without the godly prayers, as well of ecclesiastical Ministers, as of the people, and a pious sermon preached by a Bishop to all present;

and all christianly concluded with the reception of the holy Communion. CHAP. I.

But to proceed in the *Acts*: There is an instrument, being a mandate, dated from London the last day of December, directed from the four Bishops that consecrated the Archbishop, to Edmund Gest, Archdeacon of Canterbury, for the inducting, installing, and enthronizing of the said Archbishop. Then the said Archdeacon sent his mandate, dated January 1. Which is also in the said acts set down, being the deputation of the Archdeacon to certain of the Chapters unnamed, to perform every thing relating to the Archbishop's enthronization, which he himself should have done, to whom of long and prescribed custom the right appertained to induct, install, and enthronize all Bishops within the province of Canterbury, being hindered from doing it in person by certain weighty and urgent affairs. Next after follows the Archbishop's procuration, dated from Lambeth, January 2, to Edward Leeds, and some others his Chaplains; that because of his necessary absence from Canterbury, they should excuse his personal appearance, and to be his proctors to obtain his enthronization, and to induct, invest, and install him into the real, actual, and corporal possession of his archbishopric of Canterbury, with all and singular the honours, privileges, prerogatives, preeminencies, and rights thereof, temporal and spiritual, according to the statutes, ordinances, and customs of the said cathedral and metropolitical church, not repugning to the present laws, statutes, and provisions of this realm. Anno 1559. Instrument for the enthronization, to the Archdeacon. 62

And lastly, the restitution of his temporalties was done March the 1st. To all which I will subjoin his oath of allegiance and homage, transcribed from the very original: *viz.* Restitution of the temporalties.

"I Matthew Parker, Doctor of Divinity, do utter, "testify, and declare in my conscience, that your Majesty "is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all "other your Highness' dominions and countries, as well in "all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal: and that no foreign person, prelate, state, or po- His oath of allegiance. MSS. penes me.

BOOK II.

Anno 1559.

" tentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, " superiority, preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spi- " ritual within this realm. And therefore I do utterly re- " nounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, su- " periorities, and authorities. And do promise, that from " henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to your " Majesty, your heirs and lawful successors: and to my " power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, " preeminencies, and authorities granted and belonging to " your Highness, your heirs and successors, or united and " annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. And fur- " ther, I acknowledge and confess to have and to hold the " said archbishopric of Canterbury, and the possessions of " the same entirely, as well the spiritualities as temporal- " ties thereof, only of your Majesty, and crown royal of " this your realm. And for the said possessions, I do mine " homage presently unto your Highness: and to the same, " and to your heirs and lawful successors, shall be faithful " and true. So help me God; and by the contents of this " book.

" Matthue Cantuar."

The oaths of other Bishops.

At this very day these several Bishops took their oaths also, and did their homage; *viz.* Edmond, Bishop of London; Richard, Bishop of Ely; William, Bishop of Chichester; John, Bishop of Hereford; Edwin, Bishop of Worcester; Roland, Bishop of Bangor; Nicolas, Bishop of Lincoln; John, Bishop of Salisbury; Thomas, Bishop of St. David's; and Richard, Bishop of St. Asaph: subscribing their own names under these words: " And we " whose names be under-written, being Bishops of several " sees within this your Majesty's realm, do acknowledge " all manner of things, respectively of our parts, for our- " selves, and our bishoprics above specified, to be done and " knowledged towards your Majesty, your heirs and suc- " cessors, in as large manner as the right reverend Father " in God, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, hath at " this present acknowledged and confessed: and according

" to this instrument signed with the hand of the said Arch- CHAP. I.
" bishop.

Anno 1559.

" Edm. London. Edwinus Wigorn. Thomas Meneven.
" Richard Ely. Rolandus Bangor. Richardus Assaphen.
" William Cistren. Nicholas Lincoln.
" John Hereford. Johannes Sarisberien."

CHAP. II. 63

Consecrations and ordinations of Bishops and Ministers by the Archbishop, or his order. His care for the vacant churches. Lent. The Popish Bishops write to the Archbishop: his excellent answer. So doth Calvin write to him about the union of Protestants. A metropolitical visitation. His letter to the Bishops of his province. The Bishop of Ely gives him a certificate of his diocese. Visits Canterbury and Rochester dioceses. Makes statutes for two hospitals in Canterbury.

THE Archbishop being consecrated and instated in his metropolitical see, the next care was to fill the Church with other worthy Bishops, where the sees were vacant. So on the 21st of December following, next after the Archbishop's consecration, was consecrated, in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, Edmund Grindal, B. D. a native of Cumberland, aged forty, Bishop of London, by the said Archbishop, assisted by Barlow, Scory, and Hodgkins, in surplices, all the ceremonies and rites accustomed being used. This Grindal, as Alexander Nevyl in his book of the Norfolk Rebellion saith, was a man that all his life joined a notable prudence and an ingenious conversation together, and of very sweet and obliging behaviour. With Grindal was also consecrated Richard Cox, a native of Bucks, D. D. aged sixty, Bishop of Ely: Edwin Sandys, born in Lancashire, D. D. aged forty-three, Bishop of Worcester. This

Bishops consecrated by the Archbishop.

Grindal.

Cox.

Sandys.

BOOK II.

Sandys was in 1552 made a Prebendary of Carlisle, and being a member of the University of Cambridge, held di-

Anno 1559. Antiq. Britann.

vers disputations in the public schools against Papal traditions; and in many of his sermons, being a most eloquent preacher, did acutely and notably confute them. He worthily discharged the office both of Proctor and Vice-Chancellor in his University; and was Head of Katharine hall there. Being Bishop, he would not suffer Papists to remain in his diocese. And herein he was so earnest, that he would not be persuaded to give them any toleration by any prayers or intercessions made to him in their behalf.

Meyrick.

The fourth person at this time consecrated was Rowland Meyrick, of Wales, LL. D. aged fifty-four, Bishop of Bangor. These were all exiles lately returned home. And I find no more consecrated at this time. The sermon at these consecrations was preached by Alexander Nowel, Chaplain to the said Bishop of London, upon this text, *Attendite vobis et universo gregi, &c.*

Scory and Barlow.

Scory and Barlow being Bishops before, needed no consecration, but were confirmed in their new bishoprics the day before, being St. Thomas's eve: on which day the elections of the four above mentioned were also confirmed at Bow church, the Archbishop of Canterbury present. So that the Church was now provided with seven Protestant Bishops, besides Coverdale and Hodgkin; who had the characters, but returned not to act in the office of Bishops: and likewise Bale, late Bishop of Ossory, who contented himself with a prebend of Canterbury.

More Bishops consecrated.

January the 21st, five Bishops more were consecrated, *viz.* Thomas Yong, LL. D. born in Wales, aged fifty-two,

Yong. Bolingham.

was consecrated Bishop of St. David's; Nicolas Bolingham, or Bullingham, LL. D. and the Archbishop's Chaplain, born in Worcestershire, aged 48, consecrated Bishop of Lincoln. He had been Vicar General to the Bishop of Lincoln in King Edward's days. Archbishop Parker intended to prefer him, being very learned in the common and civil laws, to govern his Courts, and to make him one of his Judges: but he was prevented, the Queen advancing

him to this bishopric. John Jewel, B. D. born in Devonshire, aged forty, consecrated Bishop of Salisbury. Richard Davis, a Welshman, M. A. aged fifty, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph. One Allen was first nominated to the see of Rochester; but died before consecration, or declined it: and so Edmund Guest, B. D. born at Afferton in Yorkshire, aged 51, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester. He was also Archdeacon of Canterbury, and one of the Archbishop's family: a great student in divinity, and arrived to notable degrees of knowledge therein. He and Bollingham tarried in England under Queen Mary's reign; but often changed their holes and lurkingplaces, where they hid themselves for their preservation. Guest became Almoner to the Queen; and wrote divers books mentioned by Bale. He had been a scholar of King's college in Cambridge, where he was admitted anno 1536.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1559.

Jewel.

64

Guest.

At this consecration Andrew Pierson, the Archbishop's Chaplain and Almoner, preached upon this text, *Let your light so shine before men, &c.*

Two other Bishops, *viz.* of the province of York, were consecrated March the 2d. James Pilkington, B. D. sometime Master of St. John's college in Cambridge, of a good family in Lancashire, aged forty-five, for Durham; and John Best, a Yorkshire man, sometime of Oxford, aged forty-eight, for Carlisle.

Pilkington.

Best.

All these Bishops (with some others that were consecrated after them) are conveniently digested in a table in the British Antiquities, with their countries, universities, degrees of school, their holy orders, their ages, and the time of their consecrations. And in the column of their Orders, as some of them are said to be *Priests Regular*, as having belonged to some religious order, some *Secular*, as not; so Pilkington (with one more) is set down *Minister Secular*, meaning no doubt the same order of priesthood. But the using of that term was to distinguish him from the Popish, massing Priests; and probably to imply his receiving his holy Orders from some Protestant Bishop or Bishops in King Edward's days. Which word *Minister* became usual in these times for distinction from the idolatrous

BOOK II.

Priests of the Romish Church. This I the rather take notice of here, to meet with a libeller near these times, that put forth the book of The Seventieth Archbishop of Canterbury, (that we shall hear more of hereafter,) who makes a great matter of it, that the rest of these Bishops are entitled Priests, Regular or Secular.

Anno 1559. The 70th Archbishop of Cant. Anno 1574.

More Bishops consecrated. Barkley. Bentham.

The next Bishops that were consecrated were, William Barkley, B. D. born in Lincolnshire, aged forty-two, consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells; and John Bentham, M. A. born in Yorkshire, aged forty-six, consecrated Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. These consecrations were celebrated March 24. And these were all that were consecrated this year.

Their qualifications.

These were men truly worthy of their episcopal dignity; being all endued with learning and piety, and that had been exiles and confessors for the true religion: those qualifications being chiefly regarded in this choice, rather than either high birth, wealth, or other worldly considerations. And if Erasmus had sometime took occasion to praise England in making choice of their Bishops for gravity and learning, whereas other countries chose them more for birth and politic respects of worldly affairs; this commendation was now more signally due to the present English government. They were all likewise excellent and constant preachers of God's word.

Dr. May restored to the deanery of St. Paul's.

To these Bishops thus made, let me add one Dean, and he an eminent one, now restored, namely, Dr. May; to whom Dr. Henry Cole, the former Dean, seemed to surrender the deanery of St. Paul's, London; which indeed was his under King Edward VI. It is sure that September the 20th, 1559, he delivered these books to Dr. May his successor, *viz.* a book of Statutes and Ordinances of the new Grammar School of St. Paul's [founded by Dr. Colet, once Dean there.] *Item*, a book entitled, *Statutes used in Dean Colet's Days. Item*, a book entitled, *Liber Visitationis Joan. Coleti, Decani Ecclesiæ S. Pauli, Londin. sub anno Dom.* 1506. *Item*, a book written in parchment of certain statutes collected by Dean Colet, being bound in board, and covered with black leather.

Hist. of St. Paul's, by Dugdale.

This Dean May was nominated and elected for the me-

tropolitan see of York, but died before his consecration: and was buried at his church of St. Paul's, August the 12th, anno 1560, the Bishop of London preaching his funeral sermon in his rochet. Anno 1559. Nominated for York.

And as the foresaid pious and learned men had the Archbishop's hands laid on them, setting them apart to govern the sees; so for furnishing the parishes with subordinate Ministers to preach and officiate and serve the cures honestly and conscientiously, the Archbishop instituted now speedily divers ordinations following apace one after another. Thus three days before Christmas, and the day following the consecration of Grindal, Cox, Sandes, and Merick, were ordained twenty-two Deacons and Priests in Lambeth chapel by the Bishop of Hereford, by order from the Archbishop. In January following were ordained by authority from the said Archbishop, to the Bishop of Bangor, ten Deacons and Readers in Bow church, London. In February fourteen more received Orders from the Bishop of Lincoln in the Archbishop's house in Lambeth. And in the next month was another ordination at Lambeth, performed by the Archbishop himself, within his chapel. Which being so weighty a work, and on which the future welfare of the newly reformed Church, and the edification of the people depended, he caused public notice to be given of his intention to celebrate holy Orders to such as should be found fit for their learning and good conversation, and having sufficient letters testimonial of their virtuous and sober demeanor in the places where they then dwelt, or had dwelt for three years last past, and other things by the law required to be had. And moreover, that the Thursday and Friday before the Orders were to be given, the said most reverend Father and his officers would examine such as came to receive the said holy Orders. Three days after this ordination did the Bishop of Lincoln, by order from the Archbishop, ordain in the Chamber of Presence at Lambeth, 155 Deacons and Priests. And yet in the same month was another ordination performed by the said Bishop of Lincoln, of seven in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth. 65 Ordinations by him or his licence.

BOOK II.

Anno 1559. The benefit of these ordinations.

This early care was taken by the Metropolitan to provide Pastors and Curates, not only for filling the vacant churches, of which there were now very many, (the Popish Priests going away, or refusing to officiate according to the new book,) but also to supply the parishes with honest men, studious of religion, and lovers of the Gospel; and to train up an order of virtuous men to supply the mortality of others.

The Archbishop's contrivance for serving the void churches.

For the further effecting of this great work of providing Ministers at this time, when a great many churches were shut up, either by reason of non-residency, or desertion of the incumbents, or the smallness of the benefits belonging to them, it is worthy of remark, that the Archbishop drew up a writing, (which I have seen under his own hand,) entitled, *An Order for serving of Cures now destitute.* It was chiefly designed to contrive a method for one Minister to supply several churches near adjoining; taking in the assistance of Deacons and Readers. The said order was to this purport:

MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"That the Bishops of the dioceses should take special "care, that such were presented to the benefices, whether "of their own collation or of others, that would promise to "be resident: and those to take into their cure some such "other vicarages or parsonages as the Bishops should think "meet, according to the worthiness of the persons, and for "the more convenient union of the cures.

"*Item*, Orders to be taken for faculty of pluralities and "the like.

"That the person at the receiving of his principal bene-"fice, compound for the rest, as they fall vacant; and to "have favourable days of payment for those united bene-"fices. And when any able Clerk or Minister will take upon "him to serve any of the said united benefices, the prin-"cipal incumbent to be discharged: or to be otherwise ap-"pointed as the Ordinary and Patron agree, with conveni-"ent contentation of the Ministers, between themselves.

"The Lay-patrons to be advertised by authority of Par-"liament, or otherwise, to suffer the cures of their presenta-"tions to be so united for the time in this case of necessity, "without hurt of their rights.

" The said principal incumbent to depute, in every such " parish committed to his care, a Deacon, (if it might be,) " or some honest, sober, and grave layman: who, as a " Reader, should read the order of service appointed: but " such Reader not to intermeddle to christen, marry, or " minister the holy Communion, or preach or prophesy: 66 " but only to read the service of the day, with the Litany " and Homily, as should be prescribed, in the absence of " the principal Pastor.

" The said principal Incumbent or Pastor in course to " resort in circuit to every his peculiars, as well to preach " the word, and to minister the holy Communion, as to " marry and baptize the children, born since his last being " with them. And the people to be taught by an homily, " that they need not to scruple for the delay of baptism, if " the children depart before they be presented to the Min- " ister: considering, that in the primitive Church, the Fa- " thers used but two principal feasts, Easter and Pentecost, " to admit children to the holy font."

But this clause was added by Secretary Cecil's order: and not approved of by Bishop Grindal, (one of those to whom the care of the Reformation was committed,) shewing that this was one of the quarrels in the Cornish rebellion under King Edward, *viz.* that their children died without baptism.

" Yet the Minister or Pastor was not forbid, if he might " conveniently, to minister the sacrament of Baptism on the " week-day, being required thereunto, and that without pact " or covenant of reward, but of charity and zeal; which he " ought to bear to the reasonable request of his people: and " they of their charitable consideration, in respect of time, " weather, or distance of place, not to molest the said Pastor " more than need.

" The Pastor in his circuits to know how the youth pro- " fited in the catechism, to be taught them weekly by the " Lector or Minister: and to see that the elder and ancient " folk prepared themselves three times in the year at least " to receive the holy Communion in love and charity. The

BOOK II. Anno 1559.

" Pastor to refer all causes of great importance [occasioning " difference between the parishioners] to the Bishop or his " Chancellor, as was provided by the *injunctions*.

" The Pastor, over and above his principal cure, before " some receipt of his possession, not to pay to the Ordinary " for his institution and induction, more than for the fees of " the register only, for all such benefices as were thought to " be of small portion of living, and charged with first-fruits.

" The Readers not to be appointed but by the oversight " of the Bishop or his Chancellor: to have their convenient " instruction and advertisement, with some letters testimo- " nial of their admission, how to order themselves in the " said charge. The said Lectors or Readers always remove- " able upon their disability or disorder, by certificate and " proof thereof.

" A convenient rate to be made by the Bishop and his " Council, with the consent of the Patron of the benefices " to be united, what portion to be allowed in stipend to the " principal Pastor; what to the Reader; what for ordinary " and extraordinary payments; what for the reparation of " the chancel and mansion-houses, and what might remain " to be distributed to the poor.

" The principal Pastor not to let to ferm over one year, " any such benefice united: and that ever at the Annuncia- " tion of our Lady: and with the consent of the Ordinary " and Patrons, not above three years.

" The fermour to be aided and assisted, as well by the " laws and diligence of the Ordinary, as by the aid of the " next Justices. That the rights, tithes, and other ecclesi- " astical emoluments, be duly contented and paid: whereby " the charges and persons aforesaid might have due relief " and stipend, according to law, equity, and conscience."

I shall make no other observations upon this notable paper, than to take notice of the wise and excellent course the Archbishop took in this present distress, when the churches in such numbers were vacant, to supply and furnish them with Ministers on a sudden; and that all things might be done peaceably and in order.

CHAP. II.

I find a little hint of our Archbishop this year, seizing on papers for her Majesty's use, as then belonging to the bishoprics of Winchester and London, which I suppose he did by his authority in the ecclesiastical Commission. And I must crave leave here again to conjecture, these papers were the examinations, inquisitions, and judgments of the professors of the Gospel in the late reign, in their imprisonments, confiscation of their goods, and other inhuman and illegal usages of them. Wherein Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Boner of London, most fiercely acted their parts. For these doings were now looked into, in order to the setting the unjustly imprisoned at liberty, and making the wronged restitution and satisfaction.

Anno 1560.

The Archbishop seizeth papers.

Sir H. Sydney's Memor. 67

The time of Lent was strictly observed, though not superstitiously: insomuch that when the Lord North's son desired to be dispensed with for keeping it, he came himself to the Archbishop with a letter from Secretary Cecil for a licence; which ran to this tenor: "That the bearer, Sir Roger North, "son and heir to the Lord North, being to him [the Secre-"tary] well known, had, in consideration of his ill estate of "health, and the danger that might follow, if he should be "restrained to eating of fish, prayed him to be means to his "Grace to dispense with him herein. He doubted not but "his Grace should of others also well understand, how re-"quisite it was for the preservation of his health that he "should be dispensed withal."

Observation of Lent.

This Lent our Archbishop preached twice before the Queen: one of his sermons he preached on Palm Sunday, April 7, 1560; which, in a journal (in a volume of the Cotton library) writ by somebody in those times that was an auditor, is styled *a noble sermon.*

He preaches before the Queen.

Several sees yet remained vacant, either by the deaths or deprivations of the former Bishops; which in this year following, *viz.* 1560, were filled. As, Ally was consecrated in July for the diocese of Exeter; Parkhurst for Norwich, in September; Horn for Winchester, and Scambler for Peterborough, in January; Pilkington for Durham, and Best for Carlisle, in March.

Consecrations.

BOOK II.

Anno 1560. Ordinations.

There were also this year several ordinations of Priests and Deacons instituted, by licences from the Archbishop to the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Bishop of Exeter; and performed in the churches of St. Pancrase, Alhallows Bread-street, the Archbishop's peculiars, and other churches in London; to the number of seventy persons.

The Popish Bishops threaten and curse the Clergy.

But now to look again upon the Popish Bishops. They laboured earnestly, according to that little remainder of power they had, to hinder the Church from being filled with Pastors and Ministers, by affrighting the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy (if they could) by denunciations of *anathemas*, and such like terrors. For the latter end of the last year, *viz.* 1559, our Archbishop received from Hethe, late Archbishop of York, and the rest of the deprived Bishops, a terrifying letter, loading the Bishops and Clergy, now placed in the Church, with curses and other threatenings, for not acknowledging the Papacy: laying to their charge that, by so doing, they yielded no subjection unto Christ and his Apostles, nor to Councils.

The Archbishop shewed this letter to the Queen and Council: and having written an answer to the same, shewed it likewise to them; which extremely pleased her Majesty and the reformed party of her Council. In this excellent letter sent to Hethe and the rest, the Archbishop told them:

The Archbishop's answer to them. Archbishop Usher's MSS. Hunting the Rom. Fox.

"That it was the pride, covetousness, and usurpation of "the Bishop of Rome, and of his predecessors, which had "made the princes of the earth to defend their territories "and their privileges from that wicked Babylon and her "Bishop. And that whereas he [Archbishop Hethe] and "the rest of the late expulsed Bishops, had scandalized our "reformed Clergy within these her Majesty's realms, that "they yielded no subjection to Christ and his Apostles; he "answered, that they yielded more than they, the Fathers "of the Romish Church, did. For they, the reformed "Clergy, honoured and adored Christ, as the true Son of "God, equal with his Father, as well in authority as in ma-"jesty, and did make him no foreigner to the realm, as they,

" members and Clergy of the Church of Rome, did; but " professed him to be our only Maker and Redeemer, and " Ruler of his Church; not only in this realm, but also " in all nations; unto whom princes and preachers are but " servants; the preachers to propose, the princes to execute " Christ's will and commandments: whom they, [of the " Romish party,] and all that desired to be saved, must be- " lieve and obey, against all councils and tribunals, that did " dissent from his word, whether Regal or Papal.

" That the Apostles they reverenced and obeyed, as the 68 " messengers from Christ; and did receive their writings " with exacter obedience than Romanists did: for that we " would not permit, as Rome and her Clergy did, any to " dispense against the Scriptures. And that we never said " with Pighius, *that the Apostles wrote certain things, not* Pigh. Hie- " *that their writings should be above our faith and religion,* rat. l. i. " *but rather under.*' That we confessed the Apostles were cap. 2. " men allowed of God, to whom the Gospel should be com- " mitted: and therefore we received the word from them, " not as the word of man, but as it was truly the word of " God: assuring ourselves, that it was God's power to save " all that believe. Thus did our Reformation detest their " Romish errors and heinous presumptions: which made " their Romish writers and Popes to add, alter, and dimin- " ish, nay, and to dispense with the words that Christ him- " self spake, as well as the writings of the Apostles.

" That we should and did own such Councils as the Church " of Christ was wont to call, by the help of her religious " princes: and did and should own brotherly concord and " communion; so long as they [on the other hand] made no " breach in faith or charity. But as touching subjection or " servitude, he warned them to take heed, lest they com- " mitted treason against the laws of her Majesty's realms: " for that we owed them none. That the blessed angels " professed themselves to be fellow-servants with the saints " upon earth. What are ye then, said he, or your Bishop " of Rome; who, with your tribunals and jurisdictions, " would be rulers and lords over the inheritance of Christ?

BOOK II.

Anno 1560. Cyprian. ad Quirin.

" He bade them consider, how St. Peter claimed no sub-
" jection: which St. Cyprian, by these his words thus trans-
" lated, said: 'Peter, whom the Lord made first choice of,
" and on whom he built his Church, when St. Paul after
" strove with him (for circumcision) did not take upon him,
" nor challenge any thing insolently, or arrogantly, neither
" advanced he himself as chief, or like one unto whom Em-
" perors, Kings, or Princes, should be subject.'

" That because they were so earnest with us of the Re-
" formed Church of these her Majesty's dominions for sub-
" jection to foreign tribunals, to confute them and their er-
" rors, he prayed them to behold and see, how we of the
" Church of England, reformed by our late King Edward
" and his Clergy, and now by her Majesty and hers,
" reviving the same, had but imitated and followed the ex-
" amples of the ancient and worthy Fathers. And then he
St. Cyprian's sentences in the Council of Carthage. " prayed them to resolve us, what tribunals did St. Cyprian
" and the eighty Bishops of Carthage acknowledge, when
" he said, *Christus unus et solus habet potestatem de actu*
" *nostro judicandi;* i. e. that Christ only and solely had
" the power of judging of our act. And again, *Episcopus*
" *ab alio judicari non potest;* i. e. A Bishop cannot be judg-
" ed by another [Bishop.] And again he likewise saith, *Ex-*
" *pectemus universi judicium Christi;* i. e. Let us all expect
" the judgment of Christ.

" He further entreated these men, before they censured
" our Reformation and her Majesty, to recollect, what tribu-
" nals abroad did Policrates, and the Bishops of Asia with
" him, acknowledge, when he replied to the Bishop of Rome,
" then threatening to excommunicate him and the rest of his
" Bishops, *Non turbabor iis quæ terrendi gratia objiciun-*
" *tur;* i. e. I will not be disturbed for such things as are ob-
" jected to affright me."

August. Concil. African. cap. 29. & 105. He demanded further, " what tribunals did St. Augustin
" and the two hundred and sixteen Bishops acknowledge,
" when they decreed, that none appealing over seas (to tri-
" bunals abroad) should be received to the communion with-
" in Africa? And when they repelled the Bishop of Rome,

" labouring to please his Legates *a latere* within their pro- CHAP. II.
" vince, and willed him not to bring *fumosum seculi ty-*
" *phum;* i. e. the smoky pride of the world into the Church Anno 1560.
" of Christ.

" Adding, that they had thus far imitated these Fathers
" by their Reformation, and denying of unlawful demands
" which were proud and usurpal of the Bishop of Rome, to
" demand from them of the Clergy within these her Majes-
" ty's dominions: nay, not only them, but our predecessors,
" the British Bishops of old within this realm. For what
" tribunals did they ever own, when Augustin came hither
" from Rome; when they replied, they owed him none, and
" would not be subject?

" That he and the rest of his brethren, the Bishops and 69
" Clergy of the realm, supposed them to be their brethren
" in Christ: but they were sorry that they [the Papal Bi-
" shops] should by their perverseness have separated them-
" selves, not only from them, but from these ancient Fathers,
" and their opinions: and that they permitted one man to
" have all the members of their Saviour Jesus Christ under
" his subjection. And that this their wilful opinion was not
" the way to reduce kings, princes, and their subjects, to
" truth; but rather to blindfold them and the whole Church:
" and so lead them into utter darkness. For, as Gregory Gregor. l. vi. Epist. 24.
" said, *Ecclesia universa corruit*, &c, the universal Church
" sinks, &c."

He asked, " What was it occasioned the Romish writers
" to write against the Bishop of Rome? What was it caused
" Luther, Calvin, and other orthodox Clergymen, to re-
" nounce Rome and her Church, but this thing, called *the*
" *Bishop of Rome's tribunal?* That several learned men,
" from the time that the Bishop of Rome begun to demand
" tribute, and to set up a tribunal, had written, that that very
" thing had caused those Bishops to forget their Maker,
" and also their Redeemer: and that they, by their demands
" to us, to own Rome and her tribunal, had forgotten their
" duties to God, with their father the Bishop of Rome: for
" that his usurping of a tribunal to make all nations subject

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

" to his beck, had caused him and his successors ever since " to forget the living God.

" That they, his followers and acknowledgers, partook of " this sin also, and had occasioned the Bishops of Rome to " fall into these errors: for they had made it sacrilege to " dispute of what he did, and heresy to doubt of his power; " Paganism to disobey him, and blasphemy against the Holy " Ghost, to act or speak against his decrees. Nay, that which " is most horrible, they had made it presumption in any man, " *not to go to the devil after him, without any grudging:* " which was so shameful and so sinful a subjection, that Lu- " cifer himself never demanded the like from his slaves in hell.

" He bade them consider of these things: and that it " should be the continual prayer of our Reformed Church, " to convert them all to the truth of God's word, and to " obedience to their Sovereign Lady Elizabeth their Queen: " and in so doing, they would glorify Christ, and the eternal " God in heaven; who alone was the chief and absolute Ruler " of princes." And concluding friendly, subscribed himself, *Their faithful brother in Christ.* This notable letter was dated March the 26th, 1560.

Calvin writes to the Archbishop about union of Protestants: M. Park. MS. Hunt. Rom. Fox.

And this is the account of the Popish Clergy's letter to the Archbishop, and his behaviour thereupon. There was another letter this year sent to him from the hands of a great Divine, but of another temper, and for another and a better end; namely, from John Calvin, the great French Reformer: importing, " how he rejoiced in the happiness of England, " and that God had raised up so gracious a Queen, to be in- " strumental in propagating the true faith of Jesus Christ, " by restoring the Gospel, and expelling idolatry, together " with the Bishop of Rome's usurped power. And then " made a serious motion of uniting Protestants together," [as he had done before in King Edward's reign.] " He en- " treated the Archbishop to prevail with her Majesty to " summon a general assembly of all the Protestant Clergy, " wheresoever dispersed; and that a set form and method " [*i. e.* of public service, and government of the Church] " might be established, not only within her dominions, but

"also among all the Reformed and Evangelic Churches "abroad."

Anno 1560.

This was a noble offer, and the Archbishop soon acquainted the Queen's Council with it. And they took it into consideration, and desired his Grace to thank Calvin; and to let him know they liked his proposals, which were fair and desirable: yet, as to the government of the Church, to signify to him, that the Church of England would still retain her episcopacy; but not as from Pope Gregory, who sent over Augustin the monk hither, but from Joseph of Arimathea; as appeared by Gildas, printed first anno 1525. in the reign of King Henry VIII.; and so far agreeing to Eleutherius, sometime Bishop of Rome, who acknowledged Lucius, King of Britain, Christ's Vicar within his own dominions. All this being before Rome usurped over princes: yet also renouncing the Romish manner, way, and ceremonies of episcopacy, which were either contrary to God's glory, or the English monarchy. This was a great work, and created serious thoughts in the Archbishop's mind, for the framing a proper method to set it on foot. But he had considered but a little while of these matters, when news arrived at Court that Calvin was dead.

Who imparts it to the Council.

70

And how Calvin stood affected in the said point of *episcopacy*, and how readily and gladly he and other heads of the Reformed Churches would have received it, is evident enough from his writings and epistles. In his book *Of the Necessity of reforming the Church*, he hath these words: *Talem nobis hierarchiam exhibeant*, &c. "Let them give us "such an hierarchy, in which Bishops may be so above the "rest, as they refuse not to be under Christ, and depend "upon him as their only Head; that they maintain a bro-"therly society, &c. If there be any that do not behave "themselves with all reverence and obedience towards them, "there is no *anathema*, but I confess them worthy of it." But especially his opinion of episcopacy is manifest from a letter he and Bullinger, and others, learned men of that sort, wrote anno 1549. to King Edward VI. offering to make him their Defender, and to have Bishops in their Churches for

Calvin for episcopacy.

De Necess. reformand. Eccles.

BOOK II.

better unity and concord among them: as may be seen in Archbishop Cranmer's Memorials; and likewise by a writ-

Anno 1560. Cran. Mem. b. ii. ch. 15.

ing of Archbishop Abbot, found among the MSS. of Archbishop Usher: which, for the remarkableness of it, and the mention of Archbishop Parker's papers, I shall here set down.

Archbishop Parker's account thereof found in his papers, by Archbishop Abbot.

"Perusing some papers of our predecessor Matthew Parker, we find that John Calvin, and others of the Protestant churches of Germany and elsewhere, would have had episcopacy, if permitted: but could not upon several accounts, partly fearing the other princes of the Roman Catholic faith would have joined with the Emperor and the rest of the Popish Bishops, to have depressed the same; partly being newly reformed, and not settled, they had not sufficient wealth to support episcopacy, by reason of their daily persecutions. Another, and a main cause was, they would not have any Popish hands laid over their Clergy. And whereas John Calvin had sent a letter in King Edward the VIth's reign, to have conferred with the Clergy of England about some things to this effect, two Bishops, *viz.* Gardiner and Boner, intercepted the same: whereby Mr. Calvin's offerture perished. And he received an answer, as if it had been from the reformed Divines of those times; wherein they checked him, and slighted his proposals: from which time John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance in several points; which otherwise through God's mercy had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered unto the Queen's Majesty during John Calvin's life. But being not discovered until or about the sixth year of her Majesty's reign, her Majesty much lamented they were not found sooner: which she expressed before her Council at the same time, in the presence of her great friends, Sir Henry Sidney, and Sir William Cecil."

The advantage the Papists took.

But now from this digression, to turn back to Calvin's letter to our Archbishop; though his unhappy death prevented further good steps that might have been made, in concord between this and the foreign Churches, yet our industrious

and watchful enemies made a fatal use of it, to the dividing us, and keeping us at a distance. For this being known beyond seas, Pius IVth, Bishop of Rome, with the advice of his Cardinals, granted indulgences to several orders of Rome, for to set up new tenets and principles of religions, and they themselves to be seemingly enemies to that Church; purposely to confound the Protestant religion, and to hinder for the future all general assemblies, (so much desired,) lest thereby a better understanding might be had among Protestants; and thence at length spring a general union and agreement between all of them. And mark how this Popish project wrought. At these indulgences, several of the banished Clergy (newly departed hence) snapped, and participated with the foreign Clergy, who were set on work to distract the common people's capacities, that had renounced the Romish doctrines and usurped powers. Amongst these were Dr. Thomas Lacy; Thomas Tunstal, a Franciscan Friar, and cousin german unto the late Bishop of Durham of that name; James Scot, cousin unto Scot, late Bishop of Chester; Faithful Comin, a Dominican Friar; (who escaped hanging for his impostures anno 1566;) William Blagrave of the same order, who was hanged at York the same year: for being suspected to be an impostor, he was seized on, and divers treasonable papers were found in his closet: who going up the ladder, laughed in the Archbishop of York's face, saying, that those converts that he had drawn unto him, would hate the Church's Liturgy as much as his Grace did Rome. And when the Archbishop desired him to tell the names of those he had deluded, he desired to be excused; "hoping they would be ashamed, (as he said,) of their "folly, [which he had led them into,] and so turn back again "to their mother-principles, and not to heresy."

CHAP. II.

Anno 1560.

Archbishop Usher's MSS.

71

A metropolitical visitation.

The careful Archbishop's mind was already bent upon making an inspection into the state of the churches of his province: who therefore treading in the steps of his glorious predecessor Cranmer, (when he intended a reformation in his province,) determined upon a metropolitical visitation. And

BOOK II.

for that purpose he issued out an inhibition to John, Bishop of Hereford, to visit, because himself intended to visit that diocese May 17. There were inhibitions also to the Bishop of London and other Bishops of the province of Canterbury, though he would not yet a while visit himself. The reason whereof he gave in the same instruments. Which was, that though he had a power by virtue of his place, to visit all dioceses within his province; yet he would defer it for some time, because of the great poverty of the Clergy, which was brought upon them by the frequency of former visitations: and therefore he forbade the Bishop of London, and all other Bishops so to do. The words were, "Since our ears, "not without great grief, have sounded, and do still sound, "with the frequent and lamentable cries of our Clergy of "the province of Canterbury; that not only the Clergy, "but all the people are so pressed with continual visita- "tions, and the immoderate exactions of procurations and "other burdens, that, to the great scandal of their state and "ministry, they have scarce wherewithal to buy them food "and raiment: we therefore, as we are bound, heartily de- "siring to obviate the pressing necessity of the Clergy and "Ministers of our said province of Canterbury, and having "a special care of the quiet and tranquillity of our whole "province, and of all persons wheresoever dwelling in the "same; especially in this so busy a time; have thought "good to defer this our metropolitical visitation, to be com- "menced and exercised in and through the whole province "of Canterbury, unto another time, wherein we may exer- "cise it with the more convenience. And (as it went on) "because he understood some of his brethren intended "speedily to visit, therefore he enjoined them upon the "foresaid considerations not to do it, and that under pain "of contempt."

Anno 1560. Inhibitions to visit.

Park. Regist.

The Archbishop will know the state of the Clergy.

And that our Metropolitan might with more effect reform as well as visit the dioceses, he sent his letters first to the respective Bishops, to inform him of the particular state of their Clergy; what residence, what preaching, what learned

men, what ecclesiastical preferments possessed by mere lay-men. A copy of his letter to the Bishop of London, for this purpose, is this that follows: CHAP. II. Anno 1560.

" After my harty commendations to your Lordship pre- The Archbishop to the Bishop of London. Park. Regist.
" mised, these shall be to desire and require you for certain
" considerations, conducent to the general reformation of the
" Clergy of the province of Canterbury, to certify me on
" this side the first day of February next ensuing, or so
" speedily as you may conveniently, of the names and sur-
" names of all and singular persons and Vicars within your
" diocese: and how many of them be resident, and where
" the absents do dwell and remain: how many of them, as
" well of the cathedral church, as of other benefices in your
" diocese, be neither Priests nor Deacons; noting also the
" names of all such as be learned, and able to preach; and
" which of them, being already licensed, do preach accord-
" ingly: and finally, how many of them do commonly keep
" hospitality. And thus trusting of your Lordship's good
" diligence herein, I wish you most hartily well to fare.
" From my manor of Lambeth, 18th November, 1560.

" Your loving brother,

To the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of London. " Mat. Cant."

And such a letter as this was sent to every Bishop of the province of Canterbury.

The answer one of the Bishops gave, (*viz.* Cox, Bishop of Ely,) I shall here subjoin: by which we may guess the miserable estate the other dioceses were in at this time: and may withal observe our Archbishop's extraordinary diligence to know inwardly the present condition and needs of the Church, in order to his care and supply thereof. 72 The Bishop of Ely's account of his diocese.

" He certified his Grace, that according to his letters di- His letter to the Archbishop, transcribed from the MSS. C. C. C. C. by the Rev. Mr. Will. Lunn.
" rected unto him November the 18th, he had sent him a
" full certificate, as might possibly be gathered, of all his
" demands in the same letter contained; signifying also unto
" his Grace, beside the certificate, that of the whole sum of
" the cures in his diocese, which was 152 parsonages and

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

" vicarages, and other cures; there were duly served but " only fifty-two cures. That there were thirty-four bene- " fices vacant; thirteen that had neither Rectors nor Vicars; " and fifty-seven enjoyed by non-residents. And upon this " sad account the pious Bishop made this reflection; *Mise-* " *randa sane et deploranda hujus dioceseos facies*, &c. So " pitiable, and to be lamented, is the prospect of this diocese. " And if in other places it be so too, most miserable indeed " is the condition of the Church of England. It is time to " pray the Lord to send forth labourers into his harvest. " Nor are we [Bishops] in the mean time to sleep. He added, " that he liked the Archbishop's diligence, although he did " not fully apprehend what he drove at by the search that " he made." Fearing, as it seems, that some advantage might be taken by the enemies of the reformation, when this nakedness of the Church should be known. But undoubtedly the Archbishop designed hereby to apply a remedy to this present disease of the Church. The Bishop's letter bore date from Downeham, Jan. 24, 1560.

The church of Canterbury visited.

About autumn the Archbishop began to visit his own church of Canterbury. The persons appointed by him to visit in his name, as appears in the Archbishop's commission to them, were, Thomas Yale, LL. D.; Edward Leeds, Licentiate in Laws; Stephen Nevinson, LL. D.; and Alexander Nowel, B. D. The names of the Dean and Prebendaries this present year, and at this visitation time, were

The Dean and Prebendaries.

Nicolas Wotton, Dean.	John Butler.
William Darrel, Vice-Dean.	Thomas Becon.
Anthony Seint Leger.	Theodore Newton.
John Mills.	John Bale.
Thomas Willoughby.	Alexander Nowel.
Hugo Turnbull.	Henry Goodrick.

But Theodore Newton was departed the realm by the Queen's licence: nor was he a priest, and so not capable of that prebend. The names of the six Preachers were,

The Preachers.

Lancelot Ridley.	——— Barker.
Richard Turner.	Edward Burnel.
Richard Bisley, *alias* Beesly.	John Prat.

The visitation began and continued in the chapter-house

of the church in the month of September. The particular course of proceedings by the Archbishop's appointment, (who was a punctual man in all his doings,) was in this order: That, in the Morning Prayer, the Lessons should be left out, for more time to be had for the sermon. That no more should be taken for the copy of the articles and injunctions but *2d.*; and by no clerk for the writing of their presentment or answer, but *4d.* for writing and finding clean paper. This setting of fees the good Archbishop thought fit to do, to make the visitation, which used to be very burdensome, as easy as might be, and to check the demands of officers, clerks, and writers, which it seems had been excessive before. The Inquisitors were to be charged. The Ministers and Clerks were to be called, and severally talked with, touching their ministration, doctrine, teaching, and manners. How they entered the ministry; by whom, and upon what testimonies. This done, then the Commissioners should hear and determine quarrels, complaints, and controversies: referring great and weighty matters to the hearing and determination of the most reverend Father in God Matthew, the Archbishop himself.

Anno 1560. Orders of the visitation. Regist. Park.

The Articles to be inquired of in this metropolitical visitation of the most reverend Father in God Matthew, by divine sufferance Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, as well in his own church, as in all and singular other cathedral and collegiate churches within his province of Canterbury, were these that follow: 73

I. Whether your Dean, Archdeacon, and other Dignities [Dignitaries] of your church be resident, or not. Where they be: what other promotions or livings every one of them hath. Whether every one of them be Ministers, or not. Whether they use seemly and priestly garments, according as they are commanded by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, or not.

Articles of Inquiry for the cathedrals. Park. Regist.

II. *Item*, Whether your Prebendaries be resident, or how many of them. Where every one of the rest be. What be their names. What livings they have. What Orders they be in. How, and in what apparel, they do commonly go. Whether they do preach in their course: or how often, and

BOOK II.

what times in the year they do resort to your cathedral church.

Anno 1560.

III. *Item*, Whether your divine service be used, and the Sacraments ministered in manner and form prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, and none other way. Whether it be said or sung in due time. Whether in all points, according to the statutes of your church, not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majesty's laws or injunctions. Whether all that were wont, be bound, or ought to come to it, do so still. And whether every one of the church openly communicate in the said cathedral church, at least once in the year.

IV. *Item*, Whether your grammar-school be well ordered. Whether the number of the children thereof be furnished. How many wanteth: and by whose default. Whether they be diligently and godly brought up, in the fear of God, and wholesome doctrine. Whether any of them have been received for money or rewards; and by whom. Whether the statutes, foundations, and other ordinances touching the said grammar-school, the schoolmaster, or the scholars thereof, or any other having doing or interest therein, be kept. By whom it is not observed, or by whose fault, and the like, in all points, you shall require and present of such your choristers, and their master.

V. *Item*, Whether all other officers and Ministers of your church, as well within as without, do their duty in all points, obediently and faithfully. And whether your Dean, Stewards, Treasurers, Bursars, Receivers, or any officer having any charge, or any ways being accountant to the said church, do make a plain, faithful, and true account, at such days and times as be limited and appointed by the statutes or customs of the said church; making full payment faithfully of all arrearages. Whether any money or goods of the church do remain in any man's hand. Who they be, and what sum remaineth.

VI. *Item*, You shall inquire of the doctrine and judgment of all and singular heads and members of this your church; as your Dean, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Readers of Di-

vinity, Schoolmasters, Vicars, Petty Canons, Deacons, Conducts, Singingmen, Chorists, Scholars in grammar-schools, and all other officers and Ministers, as well within your church as without. Whether any of them do either privily or openly preach or teach any unwholesome, erroneous, or seditious doctrine; or discourage any man, soberly for his edifying, from the reading of the holy Scripture; or in any other point do persuade any not to conform themselves to the order of religion reformed, restored, and received by public authority in this Church of England. As for example; to affirm and maintain, that the Queen's Majesty that now is, and her successors, Kings and Queens of this realm of England, is not, or ought not to be, head, or chief governor of this her people, or Church of England, as well in ecclesiastical causes or matters, as temporal: or that it is not lawful for any particular church or province to alter rites and ceremonies. To edify or extol any superstitious religion or relics, pilgrimages, lightings of candles, kissing, kneeling, or decking of images, or praying in a tongue not known, rather than in English; or to put trust in a certain number of Pater-nosters, or to maintain purgatory, private masses, trentals, or any other fond fantasies invented by men, without ground of God's word: or to say, teach, or maintain, that children, being infants, should not be baptized; or that 74
every article of our Creed, commonly received and used in the Church, is not to be believed of necessity; or that mortal and voluntary sin committed after baptism be not remissible by penance; or that any man after that he have received the Holy Ghost cannot sin, and afterwards rise again by grace to repentance; or that any man liveth without sins, or that it is not lawful to swear, for certain causes; or that civil magistrates cannot punish (for certain crimes) a man with death; or that it is lawful for a man without outward calling to take upon him any ministry in Christ's Church; or that the word of God doth prohibit the regiment of women; or that the word of God doth command sole life, or abstinence from marriage, to any Minister of the Church of

BOOK II.

Christ; or any other errors or false doctrine, contrary to the faith of Christ, and holy Scriptures.

Anno 1560.

VII. *Item*, You shall inquire of the name and surname of all and singular the abovenamed members, officers, and Ministers of this your said church; whether you know or suspect any of them to obtain his room or living by simony; that is, by money, or unlawful covenant, gift, or reward. Who presented him. Whether his living be in lease, and by whom it is leased: to whom; upon what rent. Whether he doth pay a pension for it: for what cause, what sum, and by whom. Whether any of them be known or suspected to be a swearer, an adulterer, a fornicator, or suspected for any other uncleanness. Whether any of them do use any suspect house, or suspected company of any such faults, any tavern, alehouse, or tippling houses, at any inconvenient season. Whether any of them be suspected to be a drunkard, a dicer or carder, a brawler, fighter, quarreler, or unquiet person; a carrier of tales, a backbiter, slanderer, batemaker, or any other ways breaker of charity or unity, or cause of unquietness by any means.

VIII. *Item*, Whether you have necessary ornaments and books for your church. Whether your church be sufficiently repaired in all parts. What stock or annuity is there towards reparation of the cathedral church. In whose hands or custody doth it remain.

IX. *Item*, Finally, you shall present what you think necessary or profitable for the Church to be reformed, or of new to be appointed or ordained in the same.

Articles for the dioceses.

Besides these Articles, which were for the use of the cathedral churches, there were others, in number twenty-two, by the Archbishop appointed, suited to the rest of the dioceses.

Numb. XI.

And what they were may be read in the Appendix, being somewhat too long to be laid here.

A presentment for the cathedral of Canterbury. Park. Regist.

But to look upon the visitation of Christ's Church, Canterbury. There was a presentment made by the Prebendaries and Petty Canons, &c. by which it appeareth, that the Prebendaries came not daily to the divine service, and that

the Ministers of the church were negligent in coming to the church. There was drunkenness among some of the Petty Canons, railing and jesting, with great disobedience. Some of them were great quarrelers. They had but seven Petty Canons, whereas there ought to have been twelve: and to supply the vacant rooms of the Petty Canons, they took men out of the town to serve; who had eight pounds a year apiece. Women did suspiciously resort to the houses of certain of the church. Mr. Bale and Mr. Goodrich presented, that the arms of Cardinal Pole, with the Cardinal's hat, were hung up in the church, which they thought "not decent, "nor tolerable, but abominable, and not to be suffered," as the words of the presentment ran.

Statutes for the hospitals of St. John's and Harboldown.

There were two ancient hospitals, both founded by the Archbishop's predecessors, Archbishops of Canterbury; the one, St. John's in the suburbs of Canterbury, situate without the north gate of the city; the other, St. Nicolas Harboldown, so called from a village of that name, within a mile from Canterbury, in the road from London. On the north side stands the parish church, and on the south of the road the hospital over against the church. They were both pious foundations for very charitable uses; namely, to harbour poor and sick men and women. But both of them were now run into disorder, and many things amiss there. The Archbishop being visitor, the settlement of these houses was one of the first things he took care of, being ever a great friend to all ancient foundations of religion, or learning, or charity. 75
In this first year therefore of his consecration, he framed very wholesome statutes for the upholding and good government of both. Now at this visitation at Canterbury, Dr. Yale, the Archbishop's Commissary in the said visitation, and his Vicar General, September 18, in the church of St. John's, delivered to the Prior and Prioress of the hospital of St. John's there, the said statutes and ordinances made and conceived by the said most reverend Father: which he willed and commanded to be inviolably observed by them, and the rest of the Brothers and Sisters of that house. And the

Park. Regist.

BOOK II.

same were also given near this time to the other hospital of St. Nicolas.

Anno 1560.

The Archbishop's preface to the statutes.

These statutes began in these words: "Matthew, by the "sufferance of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate "and Metropolitan of England, to all Christian people send-"eth greeting in our Lord. Whereas amongst other things "that do concern our pastoral office, we have before our eyes "the charitable affection and godly zeal that was in divers "our predecessors, Archbishops of Canterbury; which "founded and erected two several hospitals, the one of St. "John's in Northgate, in the suburbs of Canterbury, and "the other of St. Nicolas of Harboldown, nigh unto our see, "the city of Canterbury, for poor, sick, impotent, and needy "people, to be relieved and succoured in the same; we know-"ing the provision for the poor to be a thing very accept-"able to God in this world, have, for the discharge of our "conscience, thought it our duty unto God to see, as nigh "as we can, and the law of God doth suffer, that the said "hospitals be used and ordered according to the minds of "the founders our predecessors." But the statutes are somewhat too long here to be inserted. In the year 1565. the Archbishop took some further cognizance of his hospitals, upon some disagreement between the Prior and the Minister for preference, and some other matters, and added five articles to the said statutes. And again in the year 1574. he added two more: all which may be read in the Appendix. By these good statutes the hospitals are governed to this day.

Numb. XII.

The diocese visited.

Thus after they had visited the cathedral church and hospitals, they proceeded to visit the diocese. And to the commission, for this purpose granted by the Archbishop, were added and assigned the several sessions, where the Commissioners were to sit, and the times when. As on Thursday September 19, in the church of St. Alphage, Cant. for visiting the deaneries of Canterbury and West Bere; September 20, in the same place, to visit the deaneries of Sandwich and Dover; September 23, in the parish church of Ashford, to

visit the deaneries of Elham and Bridge; September 24, in the same place, the deaneries of Charing and Lymme; September 26, in the church of Sittingbourn, the deaneries of Sittingbourn and Ospring; September 28, in the church of Maidstone, the deanery of Sutton. Anno 1560.

Rochester diocese visited.

At this time the Archbishop's visitors, under one, visited also the church and diocese of Rochester, by virtue of his commission granted them: and kept the visitation in the church of Rochester, September 30, Mr. Walter Philips being now Dean there. The visitors were the same that visited the church and diocese of Canterbury; *viz.* Yale, Leeds, &c. Then Richard Turner, the same man perhaps that had been of great fame for a great while in Kent, for his abilities and sufferings for religion, now Vicar of Dertford, preached a sermon before them. This Turner was towards the latter end of King Edward's reign preferred to a prebend of Windsor: but soon after became a voluntary exile for religion. See more of him in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, who had recommended him for Archbishop of Armagh. Cran. Mem. b. ii. ch. 28.

CHAP. III. 76

Divers dioceses visited. Some difference between the Archbishop and Bishop Sandys. The Archbishop makes statutes. Lands of the see of Canterbury exchanged. Regulates his courts, and other matters in his church. Moves the Queen to marry. The Archbishop in ecclesiastical commission; makes a reformation of divers matters in the Church. Alteration of the Lessons in the Calendar. Book of Homilies. Bucer and Fagius restored. The Queen dines at Lambeth.

Commissions for visitations. Park. Regist.

OUR Archbishop, pursuant to this his metropolitical visitation, gave out divers commissions this year, and appointed divers commissioners for other dioceses. As namely;

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

A commission, dated August the 8th, to Robert Weston, LL. D. to visit the city and diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, *vice et authoritate reverendissimi Patris Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.*

A commission of the date above, to Thomas Bishop of St. David's, to visit the cathedral church, city, and diocese of St. David's, *vice et authoritate reverendissimi Patris*, &c.

A commission of the date above, to Richard Bishop of St. Asaph, to visit the diocese of St. Asaph, *vice et authoritate*, &c.

A commission to Roland Bishop of Bangor, of the date above, to visit that diocese, *vice et authoritate*, &c.

A commission to Gilbert Bishop of Bath and Wells, of the date above, to visit that diocese, *vice et authoritate*, &c.

A commission to John Bishop of Sarum, dated September 8, to visit the cities and dioceses of Sarum and Bristol, *jure metropolitico.*

A commission to Thomas Powel, LL.D, dated December 3, to visit the city and diocese of Gloucester.

A commission, dated November 9, to John Cottrel, LL.D. to visit the cathedral church of Sarum. The visitation of this cathedral the Archbishop prudently declined to commit to the Bishop of the said diocese, that all occasion of contest between the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter might be avoided. Because the Archbishop was informed, that if the Bishop of Sarum should visit that church, the rites, liberties, privileges, and immunities of the said church by such visitation, though in the Archbishop's name, might be hurt, by reason of the example of it: therefore, because he was tender of doing any prejudice to their pretended liberties and privileges, and to keep all fair between the Bishop and them, he issued his commission to this Dr. Cottrel to be visitor of that cathedral.

Hist. Peterb. p. 330.

A commission to Yale and Leeds, bearing date December 19, to visit the church, city, and diocese of Peterborough. To which two commissioners, Gunton, in his History of Peterborough, addeth John Pory, D.D. This vi-

sitation was held January the 9th, when they gave injunctions and ordinations, in number nine, to the Dean and Chapter, published in the chapter-house. CHAP. III. Anno 1560.

Another commission, dated February 19, to William Bynsley, Bachelor of Law, and Anthony Burton, Clerk, *ad reformand. detecta;* that is, to punish, censure, and correct what crimes had been detected in the diocese of Peterborough, in the late visitation of it.

In this visitation the Archbishop drew up two forms to be made use of: the one was an oath to be exhibited to the Clergy, and to such as were to make presentments; the other, a subscription to be made by all such as had any ecclesiastical preferments; which consisted in a declaration of the Queen's supremacy, owning the Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen's injunctions. An oath and subscription enjoined the Clergy. 77

The oath ran in this tenor: "You shall swear that you "shall be faithful and obedient unto the Queen's Majesty, "her heirs and successors, to the uttermost of your power, "understanding, and learning. You shall maintain and "set forth all statutes and laws, and the religion received "by her Grace, or her heirs or successors, and the *injunc-* "*tions* at this present time exhibited by her Grace, her "officers and commissioners: and that you shall make true "presentment of all such things as are to be presented in "this visitation. So help you God, and by the contents of "the book." The oath. E MSS. Lambethan.

The subscription was thus: "We acknowledge and con- "fess the restoring again of the ancient jurisdiction over "the state ecclesiastical and spiritual of this realm of Eng- "land, to the crown of this realm; the abolishing of all "foreign power repugnant to the same, according to an "act thereof made in the late Parliament begun at West- "minster the 23d day of January, in the first year of the "reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, and there "continued and kept to the 8th of May next ensuing; the "administration of the Sacraments, the use and order of "divine service, in manner and form as it is set forth in the "book commonly called, *The Book of Common Prayer*, &c. The subscription.

BOOK II. Anno 1560.

"established by the same; and the order and rules contained in the *injunctions* given by the Queen's Majesty, "and exhibited unto us in this present visitation; to be "according to the true word of God, and agreeable to the "doctrine and use of the primitive and apostolic Church. "In witness of the premises to be true, we have unfeign-"edly hereunto subscribed our names." The original of this, with the numerous subscriptions of the Clergy in divers parchment rolls, remain yet in the Lambeth library. And the first subscriber was Dr. Cottrel, who thus subscribed; *Ego Joannes Cottrel volens subscripsi:* according to which form the rest followed. He was Doctor of Laws, Archdeacon of Derby, and one of the members of the famous Synod anno 1562, and of whom the Archbishop made much use afterwards. Among some of the first subscribers was Henry Syddal, a thorough-paced man, who being a Canon of Christ's Church, Oxon, had complied in the beginning of King Edward's reign, and was a great zealot the other way under Queen Mary, and one of those that were much about Archbishop Cranmer at Oxford, when he was induced to recant. His subscription I find again as Vicar of Walthamstow in Essex. And many such temporizing Priests there were among these subscribers; some whereof got others to subscribe for them, *eorum vice et nomine.* And some of the *volens* are so written, as if they were *nolens* rather. Some also there were that chose in their subscriptions to signify their good-will to the reformed religion. Such was one Edward Walker, at Woodstock, who subscribed in these words; *Ego Edwardus Walker, hic nomen meum volens et non coactus subscribo, veram in sacra Dei religione a superis reformationem implorans.*

Dr. Cottrel.

Henry Syddal.

This metropolitical visitation thus begun this year, continued on the next year, and the next to that, as we shall see when we come so far.

I do not find as yet what was detected in these dioceses abovesaid in this visitation: nor if I had, would it be convenient here to set all down, for the avoiding prolixity. But for a taste; the Bishop of Bath and Wells had many

a stiff Papist in his diocese, and many others that being incumbents of livings went abroad, absenting themselves, and left proxies to take their benefices for their advantage. Whereupon the Archbishop gave him this instruction, at his going upon this visitation: namely, to deprive all Popish Priests that refused conformity, or were absent, with what speed he might, and to put others in their rooms. So in his visitation he intended to proceed to deprive them in eighteen days, if they appeared not. Some of these Priests went over the seas. One particularly went with Count * De Verio, a Spaniard. These left proxies in their livings, and they made leases of them for one and twenty years. And one of these proxies boldly told the Bishop, that unless he would give him institution, he would wage law against him. So the Archbishop bade him proceed roundly with them: whose order I suppose he followed in his visitation.

Anno 1560.

Popish Priests in the diocese of Bath and Wells.

* Perhaps De Feria.

Sandys also, Bishop of Worcester, visited his diocese for the Archbishop. And his method in his visiting, was to send process in writing for the appearances of the respective Parsons, Vicars, or Curates of the parishes; the churchwardens, and six others of each parish, to be sworn to make true presentments upon articles of inquiry. Among other things informed of in Worcester, in the parish where Sir John Bourn (late Secretary to Queen Mary) lived, information was made by these sworn men, of an altar stone standing in that church. Which the Bishop commanded to be pulled down and defaced, according to the Queen's injunctions. But the said Knight commanded the contrary, and that it should not be broken and defaced, but reserved; and in contempt of the Bishop, caused it to be borne out of the church, and carried home to his own house, and there it remained. Thus it was informed the Bishop, and the Bishop had, in some difference afterwards between them, so informed the Queen's Council. But Sir John Bourn in his answer made this favourable pretence for himself; that the altar stone was taken down a year before the Bishop came to the church, and that it was reserved and laid aside towards the pavement of one of the aisles; nor was ever brought to his house, nor car-

78

Bishop of Worcester visits that diocese.

BOOK II.

ried out of the church. There were also in this visitation of the city of Worcester five or six Priests of that city present-
Anno 1560. ed, for keeping of five or six whores apiece. Which was so notoriously scandalous, that the said Bishop in a sermon at the cathedral a few days after spake of it: and took occasion thence to shew, how necessary it was to allow Priests marriage.

Difference between the Archbishop and Bishop Sandys.

After each visitation was despatched, the respective Bishops, or others the Archbishop's Commissioners appointed to visit, sent him their accounts thereof. And so did the said Bishop of Worcester, by a letter which his Chancellor, then at London, delivered. This Bishop soon after visited again, as Ordinary: which gave the Archbishop some disgust. In this his visitation, (which was anno 1561,) he deprived two persons; which, as savouring of too much rigour, the Archbishop disliked, and surmised that he had covetous ends thereby, as in a letter which he sent to the said Bishop he

Germanical natures.

hinted: and therein spake of *Germanical natures*, as though that Bishop, who had been an exile in Germany, with divers others now Bishops, had sucked in some principles of Germany, more than were good; as that of pride for one. But Bishop Sandys replied bluntly to that point, as touching somewhat close the Archbishop himself; *viz.* that Germany had brought forth as good natures as England: and that there were some of them that had been exiles there, that were neither big-hearted nor proud-minded. The Archbishop told him moreover, "That he knew whence Canter-
"bury was disliked; [as though the dislike that some con-
"ceived against him arose from some of the exiles and
"their principles.] He suspected, that Bishop Sandys had
"sent his own letter to Grindal, Bishop of London, another
"exile, to be overlooked by him, before he sent it to the
"Archbishop. The Archbishop spake in his letter of some,
"[as though he meant Bishop Sandys,] that were such as
"could not bear *vulnera amantis*. And he blamed him for
"visiting so soon, before he was scarce warm in his seat;
"as though he had thereby sought chiefly his own commo-
"dity." To which the Bishop thus replied in his own vin-

dication; "That it was with the Archbishop's consent; that "it was orderly, according to laws and injunctions; that he "redressed disorders, and punished sin; that after he had "done, instead of being a gainer, he was 24*l.* out of purse." The Archbishop, making some further reflection upon him, said; "Some men did some things to win a favour against "another day, and bade him live, and leave off talking." To which Sandys replied, "That he had the testimony of his "conscience; that his chief study was, that his life hindered "not his preaching; and he trusted his adversaries could "not be so impudent as to open their mouths against him." The Archbishop still further threw in some words about the *going* of the Clergy, as though their habit was not as Churchmen's ought to be. To which Sandys said, "That "how it was with others he could not tell; his own Clergy's "was soberly and decently, so as they offended none of the "Queen's injunctions." The Archbishop called in question some of his Clergy's preachings. He said, "That his preach-"ing and theirs was to win and edify, not to command. "And that as to himself, his people heard him and believed 79 "him, and universally favoured him: which was his chief "comfort."

And then for his housekeeping, he said, "That for the "better utterance of his food for the soul, he was fain large-"ly to feed the body; because that without loaves, people "did not use to follow the word. That he spent all, and "more. And that were it not God's cause, he would soon be "at a point, [meaning, to be no longer a Bishop.] In short, "he prayed the Archbishop not to mislike or cut off a "hearty well-wisher without cause, but to continue his good "lord and friend, as he was wont. That for his part he had "ever borne a great love to him, and that he had spoken "much for him. That he was his, and that most unfeignedly. "And that though he, the Archbishop, had put him to "sore pinches, and danger of too heavy displeasure, [mean-"ing of the Queen's,] yet he could never be persuaded his "good-will was alienated from him. And that if he had "been earnest in matters of conscience, he trusted his Grace

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

"would not mislike him. That when God's cause came in "hand, he forgat what displeasure might follow. In all "other things he could ever have been guided by the Arch-"bishop." This letter of Bishop Sandys to Archbishop Parker was writ in October; and the whole, whereof this is the sum, deserves to be recorded. Thus did differences arise among these grave Fathers, of the same mind and judgment as to the main points of religion. And though they did expostulate and argue with one another, yet it was done with all Christian meekness and condescension, not to the breach of love and union.

Number XIII.

A Commission to the Archbishop for the statutes of Christ's Church, Oxon.

To which we will here add the Archbishop's concern with the college of Christ's Church, Oxon. For this year Sir William Petre, one of the Queen's Secretaries, sent a commission to our Archbishop and others, for the considering of the statutes of that college. Another of these Commissioners was Cox, Bishop of Ely, who, the Secretary said, understood well this matter: for indeed he had been divers years Dean of this college, and at the same time Chancellor of that University. And Petre added, that he understood this work was necessary, and a good deed. About this the Archbishop took great pains, and drew that college a body of statutes, as we may hear afterwards.

Dr. Bill draws up the statutes for St. Peter's, Westminster.

Such a work was Dr. Bill, the Queen's Almoner, now upon for Westminster church, when she had founded that monastery anew, and changed it into a collegiate church: of which she appointed him the first Dean. For which that learned man drew out statutes and rules the first year of the said erection, *viz.* 1560. Which were to be seen many years after writ by his own hand. Among the which, there is one special statute for the good estate of the revenues: which was, that as the farms of the rectories, and all the commodities unto them belonging, grew void, and the term ended, the Dean and Chapter should let and demise them for not above the space and term of ten years, under the pain of perjury, and the loss of their places for ever. And another statute in the end of the chapter, that no *revention*, as they call it, of any possession of whatsoever sort, should be granted or allowed,

but two years, or at furthest three years, before the expiration expressed in the indentures, under pain of perjury.

Anno 1560.

In this third of the Queen, July 12, the Queen made an exchange of lands with the Archbishop, whatever his will was thereunto; when she had several good manors made over to her, that had belonged to the see: and she in recompense gave other things to the Archbishop: the chief whereof were the tenths of the diocese of Canterbury. The rest of what then came to the archbishopric from the Queen is set down in a MS. belonging to the library of Christ's Church, Canterbury.

An exchange with the Queen.

MS. Eccles. Christ. Cant. 80

I will set down here a list of the lands situate in Kent, and their values, which once belonged to this archbishopric, but come now into the Crown; some made over in exchange by this Archbishop, and some by his predecessors, Cranmer especially: as I transcribe them out of an authentic MS.

Lands, Rents, &c.				*Values per Ann.*			
Marsh lands, called Sherlemoor - -				23	0	0	Lands belonging to the archbishopric, now in the Crown. MSS. Burghlian.
Court at Wyke - -	76	0	0	91	0	0	
Certain marsh lands -							
Rent of assize - - -	15	0	0				
Woods called Beech - - - -				184	0	0	
Site of the manor of Westwel	22	0	0	68	14	8*ob.*	
The park there - -	10	0	0				
A mill there - - -	4	0	0				
Certain lands there - -	0	13	4				
Rent of assize and moveables there - - -	32	1	4*ob.*				
The manor of Temple Waltham - -				7	0	0	
Site of the manor of Horton	20	0	0	38	13	6	
The farm there - -	4	5	6				
Rent of assize - -	14	8	0				
Site of the manor of Padlesworth - - - -	6	0	0	11	4	0	
The farm there - -	1	10	0				
Rent of assize and moveables there - - -	6	16	0				

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

Lands Rents, &c.				*Values per Ann.*		
The manor of Tynton - - - -				42	6	8
The manor of Blakehose, alias Cannow Court, *viz.*						
The site of the manor -	6	6	8	16	12	5
Divers farms - -	9	9	1			
Rent of assize there - -	0	16	8			
Site of the manor of Enbroke	9	6	8	10	7	7
Rent of assize - - -	1	0	11			
The farm called St. Radigunds - -				18	15	3
The manor of West Langdon. Divers lands there	20	0	0	27	6	3
Farm and rent there -	7	6	3*ob.*			
Farm called Appleton lands - - -				9	6	8
Site of the manor of Riple	16	0	0	24	0	0
Rent of assize - -	8	0	0			
Site of the manor of Northborn - - -	37	17	6	122	7	6
Divers farms there - -	25	18	5			
Rent of assize there -	58	11	5			
Site and divers lands of the manor of Down Barton	41	0	0	60	0	0
Rent of assize there -	19	0	0			
Manor of Wingham Barton - - -				50	0	0
Rectory of Goodneston - - - -				24	0	0
Manor of Wingham -	24	13	4	192	16	4
A mill with the appertenances	4	6	3			
Divers parcels of divers lands there - - -	23	6	8			
Rent of assize there - -	140	0	0			
Site of the manor of Petham	4	13	4	24	3	1
Rent of assize there - -	19	9	9*ob.*			
Site of the manor of Tenham - - - - -	33	6	8	108	12	7
Certain lands and great orchards there - - -	15	0	0			
Divers farms - -	10	6	8			
Rent of assize there - -	49	19	3			

Lands, Rents, &c.				*Values per Ann.*			CHAP. III.
A certain wood called Okenfoldwood and King's Acre				4	4	0	Anno 1560.
The manor of Milton (which was parcel of the old inheritance of the Crown)				120	6	8	
Woods called Cheston Woods				16	18	0	
Site of the manor of Gillingham	10	13	4				
Certain wood-lands and woods there	6	0	0				
Farms	1	16	2	39	7	4	
Rent of assize	18	1	2				
From the manor of Grange there	3	6	8				
The manor with the abbey of Malling				100	0	0	

Our Archbishop now took some order with his Courts of 81
the Arches and the Audience. Which began about this time to be complained of by the Bishops of the dioceses; who, in the execution of their office in discipline and correction of evil manners, were commonly stopped by inhibitions obtained from those courts of the Archbishop, and enjoined by the officers thereof to bring matters from them into those their courts. Which when they had done by appeals, upon pretence of injuries done to the parties appealing, they used to dismiss the matter, and proceed no further, having obtained their purpose; which was, to stop the proceeding of the Bishops. Whereupon his Grace, hearing these inhibitions thus complained of, forthwith issued out his letters dated Nov. 20. to Dr. Yale, his Chancellor, and Judge of his Court of Audience; and to Dr. Weston, Dean of his Arches, for the preventing of this mischief. That to Dr. Yale ran in this tenor:

"I commend me unto you. And being informed that divers "malicious persons, abusing as well their Bishops and their "officers, as other their Ordinaries, do surmise untrue griefs "and injuries to be done to them by their Bishops and other "Ordinaries; and thereupon do appeal and get from you

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

" inhibitions and citations, to the great vexation and trouble " both of their Ordinaries, and also of their neighbours, the " Queen's Majesty's poor subjects: and especially in cases of " correction and reformation of their evil lives and manners: " for the redress whereof, we will and charge you, that upon " your acceptation of any appeal, you cause an act to be " made of it in the records of your courts, specifying all " circumstances thereof; and withal, you take a corporal " oath of all such Proctors as shall exhibit the same, that as " far as he doth know or believe, the grief or cause pretend- " ed is true and just; causing also the same Proctor to exhibit " his proxy, and to make himself party to prosecute the same " cause, as well as to appeal. So as if the party be cited, " and do appeal at day and place appointed, that forth- " with he be dismissed with such charges as the law in that " case doth bear, unless the party appealing do then pre- " sently prosecute the appeal with effect. And that in every " one of your inhibitions you do appoint a reasonable day " certain to the party appealing, to prosecute his appeal. " Which if he then do not effectually, you to remit the cause " again to the first court with charges reasonable; cutting " off all matters frivolous and frustratory delays, and finish- " ing all causes with such expedition, as in any wise the laws " will suffer: any style or usage in any of your courts used " to the contrary notwithstanding. And if these notes prac- " tised shall seem sufficient remedies for the said abuses after " a trial, I would have you to frame the effect thereof in " form of law to me, to be authorized for a perpetual rule to " be observed in your courts. And thus fare you well. " From my manor of Lambeth, 20. Nov. 1560.

" To Mr. Dr. Yale, my Chancellor, and Judge " of my Court of Audience."

A letter of the like tenor and date was sent to Dr. Weston, Dean of the Arches.

A difference between the Vicar General and Master of the

A difference being now arisen between the Vicar General and Master of the Faculties, about licences to marry in times prohibited, was determined by his Grace. The case was,

that Dr. Yale, the Archbishop's Chancellor and Vicar General, granted licences to marry in times prohibited, which the Master of the Faculties complained of to the Archbishop; asserting, that the Archbishop could not do this as Archbishop, but that it belonged to the Court of the Faculties only. But it was proved that this information was false; and instances were shewn of the three former Archbishops that granted such licences. Whereupon the Archbishop caused this memorandum to be made, and entered into his register, to stand upon record.

Anno 1560. Faculties, decided by the Archbishop.

" *Memorandum.* That the 29th day of November, anno " Dom. 1560, information was given to the most reverend " Father in God Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, by " William Cook, the Queen's Majesty's Clerk of the Faculties, " and William Lark, Clerk of the Faculties to the most " reverend father; that Mr. Dr. Yale, Chancellor to the " said Archbishop, did, by the authority of the same Arch- " bishop, grant licences to marry in the time by the law pro- " hibited; which as the said Cook and Lark affirmed, the 82 " said Archbishop could not grant as Archbishop of Canter- " bury; but that the same appertained only to the office of " the Faculty. Whereupon the Archbishop the day and year " abovesaid called before him, at his manor of Lambeth, the " said Dr. Yale, his Chancellor, and John Incent, his princi- " pal Register. Where and when, in the presence of the " said Cook and Lark, records were shewed by the said Dr. " Yale and John Incent, that the predecessors of the said " Archbishop, *viz.* Warham, Cranmer, and Cardinal Pole, " late Archbishops of Canterbury, had from time to time " granted licences to marry in the time prohibited.

His memorandum thereof. Park. Register.

" Upon the sight whereof, the said Cook and Lark had " nothing to say or allege for themselves. Whereupon it " was for that time permitted by the said Archbishop, that " the Chancellor for the time being might and should here- " after grant licences for marriage in the time prohibited, by " the Archbishop's archiepiscopal authority as before; until " the said Cook and Lark can shew further matter to the " contrary."

BOOK II.

Anno 1560. The Archbishop and other Bishops incite the Queen to marry.

The Queen having now settled the true religion in her kingdom, the hearts of all good men were exceedingly at ease. But still they were very solicitous for fear of a Popish successor, the religion depending so much upon the Queen's single life: which consideration moved the Parliament the last year to urge her to marry. The Bishops were of the same mind. And therefore those of them that were of the greatest authority with her, namely, our Archbishop, and the Bishops of London and Ely, did privately make an humble address to her: wherein they extolled her for establishing of the true religion; imploring God's blessing to fall on her, to enable her to proceed in her godly enterprise as she had begun, and that she might proceed therein with constancy. They promised for themselves to endeavour, that this Christian liberty which her subjects enjoyed, might not be turned into carnal liberty. And then they prayed God, that they might see that happy day of her wedlock, whereby the Queen's establishment and the people's assurance would be so fully concluded: and added, that they advised her hereunto as Christ's Ministers; it being a cause incident to their ministry, to regard the safety of the realm by her succession in blood, as well as sincere doctrine and unity. This letter came the more seasonable, the Queen being at this present sought to by so many noble suitors. For she was courted almost at the same time by Charles, Duke of Austria; James, Earl of Arran; Erick, King of Sweden; Adolph, Duke of Holstein; Sir William Pickering, a brave, wise, comely English gentleman; the Earl of Arundel, of very ancient nobility; and the Lord Robert Dudley, the late Duke of Northumberland's son, and the Queen's especial favourite. But the Queen was averse from the motion, and cared not to take an husband, which might be some abatement of her power and authority. But the foresaid letter well deserves to be preserved, being composed by the Archbishop's head and hand. It may be read in the Appendix. Num. XIV.

The Queen's orders for regulation of several things in the Church.

The Archbishop, sitting with the rest of the ecclesiastical Commission, which was now on foot, found some chapters appointed to be read in the ordinary course of the Common

Prayer, to be less profitable for vulgar auditors; and therefore thought fit they should be changed for others tending more to edification. He found also great neglect in many churches, and especially chancels, in keeping them decent. Which betrayed much want of reverence towards the places where God was served. Many of the churches also were sadly out of repair, and ran into decay, and were kept slovenly, with unseemly communion tables, and foul cloths for the communion, and want of ornaments for the place of prayer. Now for the amendment of these disorders and inconveniences, the Archbishop procured letters under the Queen's Great Seal, dated Jan. 22. to the Commissioners for their greater authority; and particularly to himself, with the Bishop of London, Dr. Bill, the Queen's Almoner, and Dr. Haddon, or any two of them, for the redressing and correcting of these matters; *viz.* to peruse the Order of the Lessons throughout the whole year, and to cause new calendars to be printed, and to take some remedies about decays of churches, and the unseemly keeping of chancels, and for the comely adorning of the east parts of the churches, and that the Tables of the Commandments be set or hung up at the east end of the chancels; and to prescribe some good order 83 for collegiate churches, in the use of the Latin service, that the Queen's allowance thereof might not be abused: and that their order and reformation of these things should be of one sort and fashion, that, as near as might be, one form and manner might be observed everywhere. A commandment was added to the Archbishop, to see these things so ordered, to be put in execution through his province; and he, with the Commissioners, were to prescribe the same to the Archbishop of York; and finally, to do all quietly, without any shew of innovation. A draught of this letter was written by the Archbishop's Secretary, as I meet with it among his papers: which makes me conclude it of the Archbishop's own inditing, and recommended by him to Secretary Cecil, to get it made authentic, and of authority by the Queen's Seal. This her Majesty's letter may be found in the

BOOK II.

Appendix, as I meet with it in the Bene't college library; and is also recorded in the Archbishop's register.

Anno 1560. Numb. XV. The Archbishop's mandate thereupon.

In pursuance of this order from the Queen, the next month the Archbishop directed his mandate to the Bishop of London, to publish the Queen's letters through the province of Canterbury, to this tenor:

"*Mattheus permissione Divina Cant. Archiepiscopus,* "*venerabili confratri nostro D. Edmundo eadem permissi-* "*one London. Episcopo salutem & fraternam in Domino* "*charitatem. Cum serenissima Domina*, &c. In English "thus; Whereas our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the "grace of God Queen of England, &c. by her letters mis- "sive, dated at Westminster the 22d day of January last "past, in the third year of her reign, gave in command- "ment to us and your brotherhood, and other her Commis- "sioners, deputed and assigned for deciding of ecclesiastical "causes by her royal letters patents, sealed with the Great "Seal of England, among other things, that we, for the il- "lustrating of the glory of God, and the honour of the "Church of England, and to take away dissensions and "controversies between her subjects, and to establish con- "sent of truth, according to the tenor of a certain statute "set forth in the Parliament of England, holden at West- "minster in the first year of the reign of our said Queen; "should conceive and make certain decrees, or ordinances, "corrections, interpretations, or reformations; and firmly "enjoining us, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, as "aforesaid, by her said letters missive commanded, that we "should cause the foresaid decrees, ordinances, corrections, "or reformations, to be published in and through our whole "province of Canterbury, and to be commanded to be exe- "cuted, as in the said letters missive, (the tenor of which we "were willing should be here enclosed,) among other things "more largely is contained and set down: now we, desiring "heartily to obey the letters and commands of our said Lady "and Queen; and willing, according to our duty towards "her Highness, to give all care and diligence to the busi-

" nesses committed and intrusted to us by her Highness; " firmly command your brotherhood in behalf of her Ma- " jesty, that with the receipt of these presents, with all the " celerity and mature diligence you can, you publish and " declare the ordinances, corrections, or reformations of the " calendar, together with the Tables of the Commandments " made, conceived, and established by us and other the " Queen's Commissioners, by authority and vigour of the " said letters missive, according to the form of the statute " aforesaid, (the copies whereof imprinted in paper annexed " to these presents we send to you,) to all and singular our " venerable brethren of our province of Canterbury, Fel- " low-Bishops and Suffragans of our Church of Christ in " Canterbury: and to them and every of them, on the part " of our Lady the Queen, you firmly command that each of " them in their cathedral churches, and in the parochial " churches of their concerns and dioceses, the ordinances, " reformations of the calendar, and the Tables of the Com- " mandments of God aforesaid, be inviolably observed, in " all and by all, according to the prescript of the Queen's " letters, and be accomplished: and that they diligently and " exactly take care thereof with effect; and do not delay to " have them done: and so to be done and observed by you, " dear brother, in your cathedral church, and in London, and " through your diocese. Given at our manor of Lambhith " the 15th of February 1560, and the second year of our " consecration."

Registr. Grind. 84

The Bishop of London accordingly sent his letters to the Bishop Suffragans, ult. Feb. the said year.

Allowed to Ministers to change the Lessons.

Before this reformation of the Lessons, it was recommended to the discretion of the Ministers, to change the chapters for some others more proper. For so it is in the Admonition to the ecclesiastical Ministers set before the Second Book of Homilies, (but I suppose erroneously, belonging rather to the First Book, which was printed this year 1560,) where it is said, " And where it may so chance, some one or other " chapter of the Old Testament to fall in order to be read " upon the Sundays or holydays, which were better to be

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

" changed with some other of the New Testament of more " edification, it shall be well done to spend your time to " consider well of such chapters beforehand: whereby your " prudence and diligence in your office may appear. So that " your people may have cause to glorify God for you, and " be the readier to embrace your labours, to your greater " commendation, to the discharge of your consciences and " their own." But when the abovementioned Commissioners had altered the Lessons, and made a new calendar, and tables directing the chapters to be read, this liberty was no longer indulged every private Minister.

The reformation in the Lessons.

The reformation that was made in the Lessons was this: that whereas in King Edward's First Book there were no peculiar Lessons for the holydays and Sundays of the year, but the chapters of the Old and New Testament were read on in course without any interruption or variation: so I have seen it in a Common Prayer Book in folio, printed 1549: and in the second edition of that book under that King, there were Proper Lessons for some holydays, but not for Sundays. Now (as I have observed in a Common Prayer Book in quarto, printed this year 1560.) there was a table of Proper Lessons thus entitled, *Proper Lessons to be read for the First Lesson, both at Morning and Evening Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year: and for some also the Second Lessons.* And it begins with the Sundays of Advent. On the first whereof is appointed to be read, Esay i. for mattins, and Esay ii. for evensong. There is another table for Proper Lessons on holydays, beginning with St. Andrew. Wherein the first Lesson is Prov. xx. and for evensong Prov. xxi. And yet a third table for Proper Psalms on certain days: which are Christmas-day, Easter-day, Ascension-day, and Whit-sunday. But these Proper Psalms indeed were not now first appointed, having been used ever since the first Common Prayer Book was enjoined.

Private prayers printed with the Common Prayer.

At the end of this Common Prayer Book (*viz.* that in quarto, put forth this year, and printed by Jug and Cawood) were divers very good prayers added for private and family

use: entitled, *Certain godly Prayers to be used for sundry Purposes.* Which I cannot think otherwise but to be inserted by the order of the Archbishop; and they were the same that were printed in the former Common Prayer Books under King Edward. But in our latter editions of the Common Prayer Book, they are either shortened, or wholly omitted: which, whatever was the reason, to me is great pity, being so proper to be used for various occasions and emergencies. I will but mention what the subject and matter of these prayers were. The first was a general confession of sin, to be said every morning, beginning, "O Almighty God "our heavenly Father, I confess and knowledge," &c. Then followed prayers to be said in the morning, four in number. Besides these, there was a prayer against temptation: a prayer for obtaining of wisdom, Sapien. ix. beginning, "O God of "our fathers, and Lord of mercy," &c. This prayer is also set at the beginning of the Bishops' Bible, put forth by Archbishop Parker; who, we may conclude, ordered the setting of that prayer there, as proper to be used before the reading of any portions of the holy Scripture. The next is a prayer against worldly-carefulness: beginning, "O most "dear and tender Father," &c. A prayer necessary for all persons, "O merciful God, I a wretched sinner," &c. A prayer necessary to be said at all times, "O bountiful Jesu," &c. Then there follow certain prayers taken out of the service daily used in the Queen's house. The first whereof beginneth, "Almighty God, the Father of mercies, and God "of all comfort," &c. These prayers are nine in number. Then follows a prayer for trust in God, "The beginning of "the fall of man was trust in himself; the beginning of the "restoring man was distrust in himself, and trust in God," &c. A prayer for concord of Christ's Church. A prayer against the enemies of Christ's truth. A prayer for patience in trouble. A prayer to be said at night going to bed. A prayer to be said at the hour of death.

Anno 1560.

85

In this year was the First Book of Homilies first reprinted, containing twelve sermons, after they had been by the Queen's order diligently looked over and perused by her

Homilies first reprinted.

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

Divines: and added at the end of the said quarto edition of the Book of Common Prayer. These homilies bore this title, *Certain Sermons appointed by the Queen's Majesty to be declared and read by all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, every Sunday and Holyday in their Churches. And by her Grace's advice, perused and overseen for the better understanding of the Simple People. Newly imprinted in Parts according as is mentioned in the Book of Common Prayers.* Anno M.D.LX.

Bucer and Fagius restored.

Among other things done this summer by the ecclesiastical Commission aforesaid, which was appointed for settling of the Church, and inspecting matters of religion, and correcting of abuses, according to the power the Parliament had lately given the Queen, as having the supremacy of the Church in her own dominions; our Archbishop, Bishop Grindal, and Dr. Haddon, Master of the Requests, among many others, were three in the Commission; who, by virtue of the power committed to them by the Queen, wrote letters to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Andrew Pern, and the rest of the University of Cambridge, to restore Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, deceased in that University, to their due honour. Whose dead bodies had been in the late reign so inhumanly dealt with by Cardinal Pole's order, as to be digged out of their graves, and publicly burnt in the market-place. The said letters being read in the senate, Dr. Pern being then Vice-Chancellor, it was asked, *Placetne vobis, ut gradus et honoris titulus, quæ olim Martino Bucero et P. Fagio publicis hujus Academiæ suffragiis adempta erant, eisdem in integrum restituantur, et omnes actus contra eos aut eorum doctrinam rescindantur:* which they all agreed to. This was done July 22. And the 30th of July Dr. Ackworth, the Public Orator, made an oration publicly in St. Mary's in honour of these two learned men, at an assembly of the University appointed for that purpose. And the oration done, Dr. James Pilkinton, the Public Professor of Divinity, went up the pulpit, and made a sermon upon the cxith Psalm, beginning, *Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord*, &c. The entrance and walls of the church were

all hung with verses in the praises of these men. And an account of this restitution the University on the 3d of August sent up to the Archbishop and the Commissioners; acquainting them with what great joy and triumph and applause it was generally done; and that as soon as their letters were read to the Senate, and the injuries offered to the dead bodies by them mentioned, they were all presently on fire to honour them. CHAP. III. Anno 1560.

About the time this was in doing, the Queen honoured the Archbishop with a visit at his palace. For on the 29th of July she set out on her progress from Greenwich westward, and coming to Lambeth she dined with my Lord of Canterbury, together with her Privy Council. And thence took her journey towards Richmond: where she rested five days; and then removed to Oatlands, to Sutton, and other places on that side. The Queen dines with the Archbishop.

CHAP. IV.

86

The Archbishop takes care of the vacant sees: especially those of the north. His Admonition concerning Matrimony, set forth. An order concerning preaching. A message from the Protestants in Germany. The visitors of Cambridge advise the Archbishop, of Cosins of Katherine hall, his resignation. The Council sends to the Archbishop concerning the Popish Bishops in the Tower. He writes in behalf of some of the Dutch Church, London, in the inquisition in Flanders. Appoints a special form of prayer. Forbids the ordination of mechanics.

THERE were three great and rich bishoprics yet undisposed; which required some longer deliberation, what sufficient men to place in them: namely, the archbishopric of York, and the bishoprics of Winton and Durham. William May, LL. D. Dean of St. Paul's, under King Edward, and also in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, a wise and well-weighed man, was resolved upon for the archbishopric, but he Preachers appointed for bishoprics vacant.

BOOK II.

fell sick, and died before he was consecrated, as was said before. In this vacancy, care was taken that some able preachers
Anno 1560. should be sent into those dioceses to preach to the people, and to keep them quiet in the Queen's proceedings. The Archbishop was thought the fittest to recommend proper
MSS. C. C. men for this work. And the Earl of Winchester, who was
C. C. Lord Treasurer, sent a letter to the Archbishop, signifying that he had desired of the Queen, that some preachers might be appointed in those three sees not yet filled: that is, for York two or three, for Durham two, and for Winchester two; to be appointed by the Dean and Chapter of each diocese. And that the Queen had directed to take the Archbishop's advice herein, and to accept such as he should name to that charge: which was the occasion of his writing to the Archbishop: adding, that he would allow to the said Preachers for their pains and charges forty mark between that and Michaelmas: and desired accordingly his letters to the parties by him to be named to this office. This letter was writ in July.

Solicits for the northern sees.

The northern parts remained some months after unsupplied with Bishops, the Court (perhaps by the counsel of the Lord Treasurer) being loath yet to let go the plentiful temporalties belonging to them. This troubled the good Archbishop, solicitous to see the Church of England filled with her Bishops: for he saw well the great inconveniences of the want of faithful pastors, to oversee and govern the Church at this time, and to keep the Queen's subjects in good order, and well instructed in true religion: and therefore thought it highly necessary to call upon the Court again, (as he had done oft before,) to have those vacant sees filled. He addresseth therefore on the 12th of October, to the Secretary, (whom it was his custom to apply to in all such cases,) "in-
Paper Office. "stantly desiring him to make request to the Queen's Ma-
"jesty, that some Bishops might be appointed into the north.
"That it was not credible how often it was desired at divers
"men's hands, and how the people there were offended, that
"they were nothing cared for. Alas! (said the Archbishop,)
"they be poor, rude of their own natures; and the more had

" need to be looked to, for retaining them in quiet and civi-
" lity. He feared, that whatsoever was then through good
" husbandry saved, would be an occasion of further expense, Anno 1560.
" in keeping them down, if (as he prayed God to forefend)
" they should be too much Irish and savage. Peradventure
" (added he) Terence counselled not amiss, *pecuniam in loco*
" *negligere, summum interdum lucrum;* i. e. that upon a
" fitting occasion to disregard money, may prove the greatest 87
" gain. He knew the Queen's disposition to be graciously
" bent to have her people to know and fear God. Why
" then (demanded he) should others hinder her good zeal for
" money-sake, as it was most commonly judged ?"

Then he proceeded to recommend some, as fit persons to be preferred to those bishoprics. " That if such as had been
" named to York and Durham were not acceptable, or of
" themselves not inclined to be bestowed there, he would
" wish that some such as were placed already were translat-
" ed thither. And, if they were minded to have a lawyer at
" York, in his opinion the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Yong,
" was both witty, prudent, and temperate, and manlike.
" That the Bishop of Rochester [Guest] would be well be-
" stowed at Durham, nigh to his own country. And the
" two other bishoprics might more easily be provided for,
" and with less inconvenience, though they for a time stood
" void: and if, to be joined with him, the deanery of Dur-
" ham were bestowed upon Mr. Skinner, (whom he esteem-
" ed learned, wise, and expert,) he thought they could not
" better place them." His advice concerning Skinner took place; for he was preferred to the deanery: and likewise for the translation of the Bishop of St. David's.

His advice that the bishoprics should receive no damage.

And whereas any fear might arise, that these whom he had named might injure the revenues of these bishoprics, he reminded the Secretary of what caution he had formerly given for the preventing this: saying, that if either of them, or any of them all, should be feared to hurt the state of their churches, by exercising any extraordinary courses for packing and purchasing, that fear might soon be prevented; *viz.* that they had old precedents in law, practised in times past, for such parties suspected, to be bound at their entry to leave

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

their churches in no worse case by their defaults, than they found them: and then, said he, what would you have more of us?

In fine, like a compassionate Father of the Church, he concluded this address with an earnest expostulation, to this tenor: that he had aforetime wearied him in this suit; and until he saw these strange delays determined, he should not cease to trouble their time. If they heard him not for justice sake, and for the zeal they must bear for Christ's dear souls, importunity should win one day, he doubted not. For he saw it had obtained *a judicibus iniquis, quanto magis a misericordibus;* i. e. from unrighteous judges, much rather would it prevail with such as were merciful. And thus concluding, that he should offer his prayers to God, that he, the Secretary, might find grace in his solicitation to the Queen's Majesty for the comfort of her people, and the discharge of her own soul.

The Admonition concerning matrimony;

The Archbishop this year set forth *An Admonition for the Necessity of the present Time*, [as the title thereof run,] *till a further Consultation, to all such as shall intend hereafter to enter the State of Matrimony godly, and agreeable to Law.* This he found highly needful, because of the lawless and incestuous marriages that in these times had much prevailed. This same Admonition was printed, and appointed to be set up in churches. And the observation of this order is still required, as is ordinarily to be seen in the churches of the kingdom to this day, the Admonition hanging up in all parish churches. And therefore I shall not here insert it; but only observe what I find of the Archbishop's own hand, writ on the sides of one of these printed Admonitions; as namely these passages.

With his annotations.

MSS. C. C. C. C.

Levit. xviii. and xx. *None shall come near to any of the kindred of his flesh, to uncover her shame.* On the side of this is writ, *Textus intelligendus, de gradibus, non tantum de personis.* These sentences stand variously here and there in the margent, *viz.*

" Liberi duorum fratrum, vel duarum sororum, vel fra-
" tris et sororis, contrahunt; nec jure divino vel civili pro-
" hibentur, jure communi et usitato et speciali in conjun-

" ctionibus spectandum non quod liceat, sed quod ho-
" nestum."

" Ubi par gradus et eadem ratio est: ubi et par prohibi-
" tio, et similis constitutio est. Ut si proneptem ducere
" prohibetur in gradu remotiore, multo magis neptem."

" Mulier, si duobus nupserit fratribus, abjiciatur usque
" in diem mortis. Sed propter humanitatem in extremis suis, 88
" sacris reconciliari oportet. Ita tamen ut si forte recupe-
" rarit, matrimonio soluto ad pœnitentiam admittatur. Ex
" Concilio Neocæsariensi, Can. 2."

" Mariti filius ex alia uxore, et uxoris filia ex alio matri-
" monio, rectè contrahunt."

" Quis ex his, quas legibus, et moribus prohibemur uxores
" ducere, duxerit, incestum committere. L. Sororis. F. ritu."

" Hen. VIII. 25. ca. 22. This statute* repealed, but
" yet the reason of the law doth remain, which saith, that
" there be degrees prohibited by God's word."

* Wherein be declared the degrees of marriage prohibited by God's laws.

" Fratris uxorem ducendi, vel duabus sororibus conjun-
" gendi penitus licentiam submovemus, nec dissoluto quo-
" cunque modo conjugio."

" Inter consanguineos viri et consanguineos mulieris,
" nulla est affinitas. Unde duo fratres contrahunt duabus
" sororibus, et pater, et filius cum matre et filia. Affinitas
" est inter consanguineos mulieris, et ipsum virum, et con-
" sanguineos viri, et ipsam mulierem. De Cons. et Aff. ca.
" quod super."

" Soror mea habuit maritum, ea mortua maritus ejus fili-
" am accepit. Quo defuncto potero cum ejus relicta contra-
" here. Quod inter me et illam relictam nulla est affinitas."

" Avia,
" Uxor avi,
" Conjunx
" Patrui,

Omittuntur in lege; quamvis existimem prohibitiones in lege commemoratas ideo proponi, ut ex illis evidenter intelligamus quid in consimilibus gradibus facere deceat. Petrus Martyr in Judic. cap. primo. Et putat has prohibitiones naturales esse, propterea quia Canaanæi reprehendunt."

Pellicanus Basilius. Antonius, Part. iii. tit. 1. cap. 11.

BOOK II.

Anno 1560. "Brentius, "Lambertus, "Vatablus, "Phagius, "Lyranus } Concedunt uni duas sorores ducere.

"Matrimonium clandestinum, { Quod non habet testes. Quod non fit solennitate. Quod non denuntiatur publicè."

An order concerning preaching.

I shall add only this more concerning this Admonition: that it was printed first by Reginald Wolf, Printer to King Edward VI. as now, in the beginning of this reign, to the Queen. And in the end of this first edition, it is forbid, "that any under the degree of a Master of Art preach or "expound the Scripture; but only to read the Homilies: "nor to innovate or alter any thing, or use any other rite, but "only what is set forth by authority." This order, thus subjoined to the Admonition, that was to be set up in every church, and so the more obvious to be read by all Priests and Curates, as well as others, was doubtless to hinder raw and indigested heterodox preaching, and so to keep up the reputation and soundness of it, and to prevent the mixing of any Popish superstitions in the public worship.

German Protestants send to the Queen.

This year, a letter, and certain articles of religion, as it seems, were sent to the Queen from some learned men in Germany, to propound an accommodation for union among all that professed the Gospel. The Queen ordered Secretary Petre to send them to the Archbishop to consider of: to the intent she might the better make such speedy answer to the messenger that brought them, as should be convenient. The Archbishop was required to come the next day to the Court to understand her Majesty's further pleasure. I find this letter of Petre to the Archbishop, but I am sorry I can give no more account of so material an occurrence.

The Master of Katherine hall, Cambridge, resigns.

William Bill, D. D. one of the visitors of Cambridge, but now at Court, being Almoner to the Queen, signified to the Archbishop by a letter July the 7th, that Cozins, Master of
89 Katherine hall, Cambridge, had made a resignation of his mastership freely in writing, and had delivered the same unto him, the said Bill, to the intent his Grace, or other the

visitors, might nominate or commend, by his letters to the Fellows of the said college, some fit person for the said room; who must be, he said, by their statutes, either Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity: and so desiring the Archbishop to recommend somebody, he concluded. Writ from the Court at Greenwich. This Cozin was he that came in Master upon the putting out of Dr. Sandys, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, by the order of Bishop Gardiner, the Chancellor, to the Fellows, to elect him: and being a creature of Gardiner's, was a busy man in that reign, and one in commission for prosecuting Protestants. And now I suppose the visitors might have some matters against him, which might have been sufficient to deprive him. Or perhaps he not minded, because of his religion, to tarry longer in the University, thought it his best way quietly to resign. He that succeeded in the mastership was John May, brother, I suppose, to William May, Dean of St. Paul's. This John was afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, and might be he that was recommended to the college by the Archbishop.

Anno 1560.

Dr. May.

Divers of the more eminent of Queen Mary's Clergy had refused to take the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth, having been cited some before the Privy Council, and some before the Queen's ecclesiastical Commissioners for that purpose: and so for that denial were committed to prison, and deprived. They that lay in the Tower were these that follow: Hethe, late Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England; Dr. Pates, late Bishop of Wigorn; Dr. Thirlby, late Bishop of Ely; Dr. Watson, of Lincoln; Dr. Turbervile, of Oxon; Dr. Boxal, late Dean of Windsor; Dr. Feckenham, late Abbot of Westminster; Dr. Bourn, late Secretary, and Bishop of Bath and Wells. These lying under some closer restraint, petitioned the Lords of the Council, that though they were kept asunder, yet that they might have the liberty to eat together at meal-times. But being committed by the Archbishop, and other the Commissioners, the Lords sent to the Archbishop an account of what was by these prisoners desired; and that if he approved of it, he might send his order to the Lieutenant of

Liberty to the Bishops imprisoned to eat together.

BOOK II.

Anno 1560.

the Tower, to allow them so to do: prescribing nevertheless the order unto them; namely, that Dr. Heth, Dr. Boxal, Dr. Pates, and Dr. Feckenham, be admitted to one company to one of the tables; and to the other table, Dr. Thirlby, Dr. Bourn, Dr. Watson, and Dr. Turbervile. But if he thought not fit that this liberty should be granted them, then to signify it unto the Lords.

The Archbishop intercedes for some Protestants in Flanders.

The summer of this year our Archbishop was concerned tenderly for the condition of some poor foreigners: who, living in England for their religion, went for some time into Flanders, their occasions calling them thither; where they fell into the cruel hands of the Inquisitors: in whose behalf our Archbishop, by letters to the magistrates where they were detained, interceded. The case was this. While the persecution lasted in Flanders under King Philip of Spain, many fled into England, taking shelter under the protection of Queen Elizabeth, and joined themselves to the Dutch Church in London. Among the rest, there were these three of Steenwerk, Christian Quekere, Jaques Dionysart, and Jean De Salomez; who, upon some occasion going back into Flanders, were seized not long after their landing at Nieuport, and brought prisoners to the town of Furne. Here they were examined by Inquisitors, and urged to forsake their profession of the Gospel; but they remained stedfast. So that when their friends of the Dutch Church of England saw nothing but death likely to befall them, they prevailed with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, their Superintendent, to send their letters to the magistrates of Furne, to release these prisoners: which the Archbishop and Bishop did, the letters being signed with their names, as also with the name of Haddon, Master of the Requests, and others about the Queen. They certified therein, that these good men passed along in the highway without any misbehaving themselves, or holding any dispute with any, and were innocent as to the committing any thing against the laws of the country. That for their faith they might not be molested, living within the Queen's dominions; as the Queen had given free leave to foreigners in case of

religion. They mentioned the command the Queen had given, that none of the subjects of the Low Countries coming into England, and carrying themselves modestly, should be meddled withal. But that if they should deal too hardly with those of the religion, who had submitted themselves to her Majesty, and dwelt under her protection, she should be constrained to make the same measure to those of other nations. But she hoped and expected the contrary from the wisdom of these magistrates. This was dated July 26, 1660. These letters the magistrates of Furne sent to the King's Council at Brussels: but they laboured to extenuate their authority, giving out that they were forged by some Lutherans, and so notwithstanding, they resolved to proceed against these honest men, according to the extremity of their laws; and in fine put them to death by strangling and burning. 90

The Archbishop's order for prayer, upon unseasonable weather.

I find our Archbishop issuing out two needful precepts to his provincial Bishops this summer. The one was, an order for prayer for the preventing of God's judgments, and particularly that which was feared from the weather that now proved unseasonable. This occasioned him to prescribe a short form to be used thrice in the week for seasonable weather, and also for good success of the common affairs of the realm. And it was framed not only to be read at this present time, but also at any time hereafter, when like occasion should arise, at the discretion of the Ordinary, within the province of Canterbury. The preface to this short form began thus: "That we were taught by many and sundry examples of holy Scripture, that upon occasion of particular punishments, afflictions, and perils, which God of his most just judgments hath sent among his people, to shew his wrath against sin, and to call his people to repentance, and to the redress of their lives, the godly have been provoked and stirred up to more fervency and diligence in prayer, fasting, and alms deeds; to a more deep consideration of their consciences, to ponder their unthankfulness, &c." This form was sent to the Bishop of London, enclosed in the Archbishop's letter July 7; and he forthwith

Regist. Grind.

BOOK II.

enjoined his Archdeacons, to give commandment to all Curates and Ministers in their respective archdeaconries, to observe the said book duly, and to begin their service at eight of the clock in the morning every day.

Anno 1560.

Forbids the Bishops to ordain mechanics.

The inconvenience of admitting laymen of mechanical trades and occupations into the ministry, was soon espied; many of them by reason either of their ignorance, or want of grave behaviour, rendering themselves despised or hated by the people. The Archbishop therefore resolved, that no more of this sort should be received into Orders: and thereupon sent his directions and commandment to the Bishop of London, and the rest of the Bishops of his province, to forbear it for the future, till a Convocation should be called, further to consider of it. His letter to the Bishop of London ran to this tenor:

Regist. Grind.

His letter to the Bishop of London.

"That whereas, occasioned by a great want of Ministers, "both he and they, for tolerable supply thereof, had here- "tofore admitted unto the ministry sundry artificers and "others, not traded and brought up in learning; and as it "happened in a multitude, some that were of base occu- "pations: forasmuch as now by experience it was seen, that "such manner of men, partly by reason of their former pro- "fane arts, partly by their light behaviour otherwise, and "trade of life, were very offensive unto the people; yea, "and to the wise of this realm, they were thought to do a "great deal more hurt than good; the Gospel thereby sus- "taining slander: these therefore were to desire and require "them hereafter, to be more circumspect in admitting any "to the ministry; and only to allow such, as, having good "testimony of their honest conversation, had been traded and "exercised in learning; or at the least had spent their time in "teaching of children, excluding all others which had been "brought up and sustained themselves, either by occupa- "tions or other kinds of life, alienated from learning. This "he prayed him diligently to look to, and to observe not "only in his own person, but also to signify this his adver- "tisement to others of their brethren, Bishops of his pro- "vince, in as good speed as he might: so that he and they

" might stay from collating such Orders to so unmeet per- CHAP. IV.
" sons; until such time as in a Convocation they might meet
" together, and have further conference thereof. Dated at Anno 1560.
" Lambeth the 15th of August."

CHAP. V. 91

The Archbishop with his Assessus. A Declaration to be read by Ministers. Orders for the preserving uniformity among Ministers. The Archbishop's interpretation of the injunctions. The Clergy taxed for reparation of St. Paul's church burnt. This fire gives occasion to a Popish libel: answered by the Bishop of Durham. The Archbishop's certificate concerning the Clergy. The certificate of the London Clergy.

THE Archbishop, as he had much to do at this time, for Anno 1561. the reformation of the Church, and of those that were to serve in it, so he had an *Assessus* of other Bishops with him at Lambhith, for his assistance, by special commission from the Queen, as it seems, according to a late Act of Parliament. And as in their first session many wholesome things were concluded upon; so at their second session (which was April 21, 1561, at Lambhith) Articles were agreed upon by our most reverend Father, and Thomas, the other most reverend, the Archbishop of York, with the consent of their brethren the Bishops, to the same: *viz.* First, that the articles agreed on the first sessions be ratified, confirmed, and put in execution accordingly. *Item*, That the Readers be once again reviewed, and their abilities and manners examined, &c. with divers other particulars, which I omit. But one chief order by the Archbishop and this venerable assembly appointed, now or near this time, was that which follows:

Articles concluded by the Archbishop, with his *Assessus*.

In the Church many popishly affected Priests still kept their hold by their outward compliances; but to make the best provision that could be against such for all times here-

Spiritual persons to declare an unity in doctrine.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

after, all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, that took ecclesiastical livings or cures, were now bound to make a public declaration, by the order of the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops; and afterwards to be read by them once every half year before their people: to testify their common consent in certain sound doctrines. That hereby Papists might be refuted, who had slandered the Protestant Ministers, as if there were no agreement and unity of faith among them. This Declaration consisted in eleven articles; the sum whereof was, "That they professed to believe in one living and true "God, and that in the unity of the Godhead were three "Persons of one substance. That they believed whatsoever "was contained in the canonical Scriptures; and that in "them were contained all things necessary to salvation. "That they believed all the articles contained in the three "Creeds. That the Church was the spouse of Christ, "wherein the word of God was truly taught, and the Sa- "craments ministered according to Christ's institution, and "the authority of the keys duly used. That it was not law- "ful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, "but such as were lawfully called thereunto by authority "of the realm. Also, they acknowledged the Queen's Ma- "jesty's prerogative and superiority of government over all "states, and in all causes ecclesiastical and temporal in her "own dominions. That the Bishop of Rome, by the word "of God, had no more authority than other Bishops had in "their provinces and dioceses: and therefore that his former "power in England was usurped, and for just causes taken "away. That the Book of Common Prayer and Adminis- "tration of Sacraments was agreeable to the Scriptures. "That the Sacrament of Baptism was fully and perfectly "ministered, though exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, &c. were "taken away. That private Masses, or receiving the Sa- "crament by the Priest alone, were never used among the "Fathers of the primitive Church; and that the Mass is a "propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead, and a means to "deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to "Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon apostolical doctrine.

The Declaration.

92

"That the sacrament of the holy Communion ought to be "administered to the people under both kinds. That they "utterly disallowed of extolling images, relics, and feigned "miracles, and the setting forth God in the form of an old "man, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; and all "worshipping of God according to men's fancies by pil- "grimages, setting up of candles, &c." This Declaration may be seen at large in the History of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth. Which, though it went forth under the general name of both Metropolitans and all the Bishops, yet it seems to have been chiefly the work of our Archbishop.

Anno 1561.

Chap. xvii.

Resolutions and orders for the Clergy.

The Archbishop also about this time framed another useful writing; which was to serve for the Clergy to *practise*, as the former was for them to *declare:* and this was to serve for uniformity in their ministration, and for maintenance of concord in the Church, till a Synod should meet. This also was published by the consent of all the Bishops, to be observed in both provinces. They called them *Resolutions and Orders*, viz. "That licences for preaching that had been "given by the late general visitors, should be called in. "And that such as should be admitted to preach should be "examined in their doctrine; and to be admonished to use "sobriety and discretion in their teaching; to abstain from "busy meddling in matters of controversy; to set out the "reverend estimation of both the Sacraments; and to move "the people to obedience to the Book of Common Service "and the Queen's injunctions: and not to exact unreasonable "rewards of the poor Curates for their coming to preach in "their cures. That public baptism be administered in the "font, not in basins. That private baptism be administered "in case of necessity, as in peril of death, &c."

Interpretations of the injunctions.

Other things also were drawn up by the diligent Archbishop in his own name, and in the name of the rest of the Bishops: which were *Interpretations and Considerations* of certain of the Queen's injunctions, for the better instructions of the Clergy: which are too long to be here set down; but may be found among the Archbishop's own MSS. preserved

BOOK II.

in the Bene't college library, in the volume entitled *Synodalia*; and in the Annals of the Reformation.

Anno 1561. Chap. xvii. Paul's burnt.

In the summer this year, *viz.* on Wednesday, June the 4th, happened a terrible fire in the magnificent cathedral of London, St. Paul's church; which burnt down the lofty spire steeple, struck with lightning within three yards of the top; and the upper roof of the church and aisles, consuming the covering wholly: and all done within the space of four hours. Whereat the Queen was much touched, and thought seriously of speedy reparation, judging the religion as well as the honour of the nation concerned in it. And being church-work, she reckoned the Bishops and Clergy should especially be contributors thereunto. She sent therefore a letter to the Archbishop, that he should consult with the Bishops of his province, and the chief of the Clergy, to devise some convenient way for collecting of money from them for that use. But take the Queen's business with the Archbishop in her own words:

The Queen to the Archbishop hereupon. Park. Regist.

"Most reverend Father in God, we greet you well. Although we know there needs no means to provoke you to further the re-edifying of the church of S. Paul in our city of London, being the same, both in respect of Christian religion, and for honour of our realm, a right necessary work duely recovered: yet to join our authority with your devotion and good-will, we do authorize you by way of any manner of usual or other good conference with the Bishops of your province, and the principal members of the Clergy thereof, to devise upon some contribution of money and relief to be levied and collected of the same Clergy. Wherein we mean neither to prescribe to you the manner of levying, nor the sum to be contributed; but refer the same to your wisdom, and the consideration of so great a work. And if you shall think fit to be informed therein upon any special doubt, then to resort to our Council; who in that behalf shall give you knowledge and advice of that that shall be convenient. Yeven under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 24th day of June, the third year of our reign."

The Archbishop being backed with this authority, could the better forward this good work. His judgment was, that the Clergy of the diocese of London should contribute the twentieth part of their spiritual promotions, and the Clergy of the other dioceses the thirtieth. So he despatched his letters to the Bishop of London, acquainting him with this his judgment; and desiring him to despatch letters to all the Bishops in his province to this tenor. But take his own letter. 93

The Archbishop to the Bishop of London. Park. Regist.

" After my right hearty commendations to your Lord-
" ship premised. Having received the Queen's Majesty's
" letters, the tenor whereof I send to you herewith, I have
" thought good, for the better accomplishment of her Ma-
" jesty's pleasure herein, to require your Lordship, that not
" only upon conference with the Clergy of your diocese, you
" do resolve yourselves upon such reasonable imposition and
" contribution, to be collected and answered of your said
" Clergy, towards the re-edifying of the church of Paul's,
" as may seem correspondent to their several estates and
" preferments in living; but also that you do, with all con-
" venient speed, signify the tenor of the Queen's said letters to
" the residue of the Bishops of my province; requiring them
" to do the like in their several dioceses. Doing your Lord-
" ship further to understand, that I think this rate to be the
" least that will be accepted, that the Clergy of your diocese
" of London should pay and contribute the twentieth part
" of their spiritual promotions; and the Clergy of every other
" diocese of my province, being not in their first-fruits, to
" pay only the thirtieth part of their said promotions, ac-
" cording to the rate taxed in the Queen's Majesty's books.
" Always provided, that Stipendiaries and Curates, and all
" such beneficed men, which by order of the statute pay no
" first-fruits, be not in any wise charged herein, unless it be
" by your good persuasion. And that as well your Lord-
" ship for yourself, as also all other my brethren and Bi-
" shops of this province, by your commandment, do send
" me your and their resolute order and answer herein, with

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

" such convenient speed as you and they may. And thus " fare you most heartily well. From my manor of Croydon, " the first day of July.

" Your loving brother,
" Matthue Cant."

His imposition on his own diocese. Park. Regist.

What the Archbishop did in his own diocese may appear by his letter to Dr. Nevynson, his Commissary General for his diocese of Canterbury; willing him to call together the Clergy of his diocese, and to resolve with themselves upon a reasonable imposition and contribution towards the re-edification of the church of St. Paul, as might seem reasonable to their several estates and preferments in living. Signifying, that he thought the least that should be accepted was the thirtieth part of their spiritual promotions: and those that be in their first-fruits to pay only the fortieth part, according to the rate taxed in the Queen's books. And such stipendiary Priests as receive twelve pound wages by the year and upwards, to pay the fortieth part. Provided, that they that pay not first-fruits be not in any wise charged, except by good persuasion. This was the substance of his letter writ September 18, 1561.

Bishop of Durham's sermon at Paul's Cross on this occasion. E MSS. C. C. C. C. Miscellan. B.

Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, a great preacher, made a sermon at Paul's Cross upon this occasion, namely, the firing this ancient church; which was afterward printed, and entitled, *Of the Causes of burning of St. Paul's Church.* This could not escape a libel scattered about in Westchester; in which were these words: " *And now whether the people* " *of this realm be declined from the steps of St. Augustin* " [who preached the Christian religion here to the Saxons] " *and other blessed Fathers and Saints*, which had Mass " and seven Sacraments in the Church, and God was ho- " noured night and day in the Church with divine service; " I think there is no man so simple, but he may easily per- " ceive, except malice have blinded his heart. As in St. " Paul's church in London, by the decrees of blessed Fa- " thers, every night at midnight they had mattins, all the " forenoon Masses in the Church, other divine service, and

" continual prayer: yea, in the steeple, anthems and prayers " were had at certain times. But consider how far now con- " trary, and it is no mervail, if God hath sent down fire to " burn part of the church, as a sign of his wrath. And " whereas a reverend Bishop [meaning he of Durham] at " Paul's Cross did exhort the people to take the burning " of Paul's to be a warning of a greater plague to follow to " the city of London, if amendment of life be not had in all " states ———. Also, where the said preacher doth re- " cite certain abuses of the said church, as talking, buying " and selling, fighting and brawling, although these be very " ill, and worthy much rebuke, yet there be [now] worse " abuses, as blaspheming God in lying sermons, polluting " the temple with schismatical service, destroying and pull- " ing down holy altars, that were set up by God's blessed " men, and there the sacrifice of the blessed Mass minister- " ed according to the word of Christ's Catholic Church. " Yea, where the altar stood of the Holy Ghost, they now by " shops have made a place to set their tails upon, and there " sit in the judgment of such as be Catholic, and live in the " fear of God. Some they do deprive from their livings; " some they do commit to prison, except they will forsake " the Catholic faith, and embrace a faith and religion, that " hath no foundation laid by general Councils, nor blessed " Fathers in times past, but invented by heretics, &c." Thus did Papists full of anger catch at opportunities, to vent their displeasure against the Reformation. But the said Bishop Pilkington wrote a learned answer to this libel, which he called a Confutation. Some account whereof is given in the Annals of the Reformation. Chap. xxii.

Anno 1561.

94

A certificate of the names and qualities of all Clergy required. Park. Regist.

The Archbishop, that he might have an account of the true state of the Clergy throughout his province, had in June or July writ to all the Bishops to send him a certificate of the names and qualities of all their Churchmen. Some had sent up their certificates, others had not. The Bishops that were thus behind were Sarum, Norwich, Bath and Wells, Coventry and Litchfield, Exeter, Chichester, and Lincoln. To all whom, September 18, the Arch-

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

bishop again wrote, "That forasmuch as he had not received any certificates from them according to his said letter, "as he could not but marvail thereat, so he thought good "to require them to certify him of those points on this side "Christmas next. And that their certificates in that behalf "be conceived and made according to a form there enclosed."

But to acquaint the reader with the issue of this business, I shall set it down as I take it from the Archbishop's own book, entitled, *Certificatorium:* which gave an account of all the churches in all the shires, or most of the shires, in England, procured by visitations, either of the respective Bishops and Archbishops or Archdeacons. And first let us read the Archbishop's letter to the Archdeacons, specially, there where the Bishops had been either backward or otherwise employed.

The Archbishop to the Archdeacon. MSS. C. C. C. C. Certificator.

"After my hearty commendations; these shall be to de-"sire and require you for certain urgent considerations to "certify me, so speedily as you may, of all and singular "Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, within your and "how many of them be resident; and where the absent do "dwell and remain; how many of them be neither Priests "nor Deacons; noting the names of all such as be learned "and able to preach; whether married or unmarried; of "what degree; and which of them, being already licensed "to preach, do preach accordingly; and finally, how many "of them do commonly keep hospitality: and that your "certificate in that behalf be conceived and made according "to the form herein enclosed. And thus trusting of your "diligence herein, I wish you well to fare. From my manor "of Lambeth, the 1st of October, 1561.

"Your loving friend,

"Matthue Cantuar."

95 What the form of the certificates sent in was, may be understood by this specimen.

In the archdeaconry of London.

Eccles. Christi.	Mr. Becon, Vicar. Baccalaur. Art.	Presbyter Conjugatus.	Doctus.	Non residet.	Degit Cantuar. interdum apud S. Stephan. Lond.	Prædicat Licentiatus.	Sacerdotia duo habet, istud et S. Stephan. in Walbrook.
	Dom. Daniel, Curatus ibidem, non Graduatus.	Presbyter Conjugatus.	Latinè verba aliquot intelligit, non sententiam.	Habet Cubiculum hic. Non alit familiam.	Degit ibidem.	Non prædicat.	Sacerdotium nullum.
S. Andreæ in Holborn.	Rodolph. Whitlyn, Rect. Baccalaur. Juris Civilis.	Presbyter Ordinatus, Conjugatus.	Latinè doctus.	Residet, alitque familiam.	Degit ibidem.	Non prædicat, nec est Licentiatus.	Sacerdotia duo, istud et Burmersh in Cantio.

So that in the certificate, information was given of these things, *viz.* 1. The name of the parish: 2. The name and surname, and degree of the incumbent: 3. Whether he were Priest or Deacon, married or unmarried: 4. Learned or unlearned: 5. Whether he resided: 6. Whether he kept hospitality: 7. Where he dwelt: 8. Whether he were licensed and preached: 9. How many benefices he had.

Some observations upon the archdeaconry of London.

From the view of the archdeaconry of London, as it is set down in this table, I observe, that the Ministers were generally married men; that they had many Curates; that some held three, four, and one five livings together. One Blage, Bachelor in Divinity, was Vicar of St. Dunstan's West, and had Whiston and Doncaster in Yorkshire, Rugby in Warwickshire, and Barnet in Middlesex. I observe moreover, that many of them had two livings in London: that few or none of the Curates were graduates: that many of the Vicars, nay, and Parsons, were non-graduates: that not above a third part of them were preachers: that as for their learning, thus it was commonly set down: *Latinè aliquod verba intelligit. Latinè utcunque intelligit. Latinè pauca intelligit*, &c.

Hackney.

In this visitation the parish of Hackney was found well provided for, and so was not many other; for in the *Certi-*

BOOK II. Anno 1561.

ficatory I meet with the Rector and Vicar of Hackney. The Rector's name was John Spenlow, and the Vicar's, Robert Stokes, both Priests, married, and each written *doctus*. Of the Rector I have no more to say; but of the Vicar I have gathered some further knowledge. He was Bachelor of Divinity, of the University of Cambridge, and came into that vicarage not far from the beginning of King Edward's reign, *viz.* in the year 1548. He remained incumbent there two and twenty years: a man much respected both for his learning and good behaviour, and had the general love both of the gentle and simple in the parish. He was buried in the chancel of his church, and had a stone laid upon him, (but of late years removed from the true place where his body lay,) with his *effigies* in brass, and this inscription.

The Vicar thereof.

Robertus Stokes, vir doctrina et morum probitate insignis, Cantabrigiæ olim Theol. Bacchalaureus fuit, nec non hujus villæ Hackneæ per duos et viginti annos Vicarius; qui anno 1570. *octavo calendas Aprilis naturæ concessit: a summis juxta atque ab infimis magnopere desideratus.*

If this be thought by any too minute a matter to be remembered in this history, he must attribute this fault to the long relation and due respect I have to that parish.

Bishop of Hereford to the Archbishop. MSS. C. C. C. C. Certificator.

Scory, Bishop of Hereford, with the certificate he returned the Archbishop concerning his church and diocese, wrote him this letter.

" Right honourable and my very good Lord, I have now
" sent unto your Grace a certificate, according to your
" Grace's letter to me directed, of the cathedral church, and
96 " of all parsonages and vicarages within my diocese. There
" are divers and many chapels, whereof your Grace's letter
" made no mention, which be either unserved, or else served
" with a Reader only. I beseech you help that the cathe-
" dral church may be reformed: that their light may lighten
" the darkness of the rest. I am informed, that the copy

" of their privileges is sent unto your Grace, the invalidity CHAP. V.
" whereof I doubt not but that your Grace perceiveth.
" Thus resting at your Grace's commandment, I commit Anno 1561.
" you to the most mighty protection of the Almighty.
" From my house at Whitborn, this first of February.
" Jo. Heref."

CHAP. VI.

An address of the Archbishop, and other Bishops, to the Queen, against images. She is offended with a Common Prayer Book with cuts. Articles concerning the Clergy, agreed upon in the ecclesiastical Commission. An apology of the Church of England, now preparing, by the advice of the Archbishop. The honourable re-burial of Peter Martyr's wife.

NOW did the Archbishop and Bishops, to their great renown, write an humble free letter to the Queen; being another address to her (after sundry others) against erecting images, and receiving them in the churches; which it seems the Queen had persuaded them to do. They wrote with exceeding deference and tenderness of displeasing her, whom they saw inclinable to allow them, for ornament and honour to Christ and his saints, and to make the way more fair to bring the Papists into the present constituted Church. They urged to her the necessity of the matter they had to move; The Archbishop to the Queen, against images.

" Not in any respect, they said, of self-will, stoutness, or striv- MSS. C. C.
" ing against her Majesty, (God they took to witness,) they C. C. Miscellan. B.
" being in comparison with her, to use David's words, but
" *canes mortui aut pulices:* but they did it only out of that fear
" and reverence which they bore to the majesty of Almighty
" God; and lest in giving just offence to the little ones, and
" setting a trap of error for the ignorant, and digging a pit
" for the blind to fall into, they should be guilty of the
" blood of their brethren, and deserve the wrathful venge-
" ance of God; and also procure to their reclaiming con-

BOOK II. Anno 1561.

" sciences the biting worm that never dieth. For in what " thing soever they might serve her, not offending the di- " vine majesty of God, they should with all humble obedi- " ence be most ready to, though it were to the loss of their " lives: for so God commanded, and duty required; and " they had given proof of it. They humbly acknowledged, " and daily gave God thanks, that through her gracious " government God had delivered unto them innumerable " benefits: and they doubted not, but that of his mercy he " would happily finish in her Majesty that good work which " he had begun. That following the worthy examples of " godly princes that went before, she might clearly purge " the polluted Church, and remove all occasions of evil. " But lest they should seem to say much, and to prove little, " to allege conscience without warrant of God's word, they " had now put in writing, and did humbly exhibit to her " gracious consideration, those authorities of Scriptures, rea- " sons, and pithy persuasions; which as they had moved all " their brethren, that now bore the office of Bishops, to " think and affirm images not expedient for the Church of " Christ, so would they not suffer them without the great " offending of God, and wounding their consciences, to con- " sent to the erecting or receiving of the same in the places of " worship. And they trusted, and earnestly asked of God, " that they might also persuade her Majesty, by her royal " authority, and in the zeal of God, utterly to remove this " offensive evil out of the Church of England."

97 Then follow the reasons at large, taken from places of Scripture; as Exod. xx. Deut. xxvii. &c. and from quotations taken out of the Fathers, Councils, and Histories. And then the letter proceeds, " That having declared to her a few " causes of many, which moved their consciences in this " matter, they begged her not to strain them any further, " but to consider that God's word did threaten a terrible " judgment unto them, if they, being Pastors and Ministers " in the Church, should assent to a thing, which in their " learning and conscience they were persuaded did tend to " the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry, and to

" the ruin of souls committed to their charge: for which " they must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the " last day.

" They mentioned some of St. Ambrose's speeches to the " Emperor Theodosius. As, *In causâ Dei*, &c. *In God's " cause, whom will you hear, if you hear not the Priests?* " And who will dare to tell you the truth, if the Priests " dare not? That the good Emperors took such speeches " in good part, and they doubted not but her Grace would " do so too; of whose not only clemency, but beneficence " also, they had largely tasted.

" And lastly, they prayed her to leave these and the like " controversies of religion to the discussing and deciding " of a synod of her Bishops, and other godly learned men, " according to the example of Constantine and other Chris- " tian Emperors. And in fine, leaving it to her to consider " concerning the present matter, that beside weighty causes " in policy, which they left to the wisdom of her counsel- " lors, the establishing of images by her authority should " not only utterly discredit their ministry, as builders of the " things which they had destroyed, but also blemish the " fame of her godly brother, and such notable Fathers as " had given their lives for the testimony of God's truth: " who by public laws removed all images." But this letter I find is published by the Bishop of Sarum in his History, placing it by conjecture under the year 1559, (for it is without date in the MS.) but in all probability it was writ some considerable time after; and, as near as I can guess, in this year, or the former. No more need be said of this, having been related more largely in another history.

Vol. ii. Collect. p. 848.

Annal. Reform. ch. 18.

By these frequent inculcations of the Archbishop, and some of his fellow Bishops, and by their discreet behaviour towards the Queen, she was at length brought off from the fancy of images; and, which is very remarkable, she shewed herself not long after very highly disgusted at the very sight of some ornamental pictures set before the Epistles and Gospels, in a Book of Common Prayer, which on New Year's Day, anno 156½, Nowel, the Dean of St. Paul's, had laid

The Queen offended at a Common Prayer Book, with cuts.

BOOK II.

before her, when she came thither on that day to hear a sermon, preached by the same Dean, intending to present her the book for a new-year's gift: which is mentioned at large elsewhere.

Anno 1561.

Annal. of Reform. ch. xxiii.

Articles agreed on for the regulation of the Clergy.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, with Thomas, Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Ely, and some others of the ecclesiastical Commission, were now sitting at Lambeth, upon the regulating and ordering of the matters of the Church. And on the 12th day of April, (being their second session,) certain Articles were agreed upon by them, with the assent of their brethren Bishops to the same: namely,

MSS. C. C. C. C.

First, That the Articles agreed on at the first sessions be ratified, confirmed, and be put in execution accordingly.

Item, That Readers be once again by every Ordinary reviewed, and their abilities and manners examined: and by discretion of their Ordinaries, to remain in their office, or to be removed: and their wages to be ordered; and that abstinence from mechanical sciences to be also enjoined by the discretion of the said Ordinaries, as well to Ministers as to Readers.

Item, That the Declaration devised for unity of doctrine may be enjoined to be used throughout the realm uniformly.

De non locando beneficia, vel aliquam inde parcellam; i. e. Concerning letting benefices, or any parcel thereof.

Item, At the institution of every Parson or Curate, they be examined by oath upon these Articles following;

98 Of secret compacts.
- For alienation of their glebe lands.
- For the forgiving of the patron's tithes.
- For pensions newly exacted.
- For sums of money, and other contributions.

Intimation to be made them, that if they be after found culpable in any of the same, to be deprived: and for the

time to come, to enter into voluntary band, *ad usum Reginæ, vel alicujus hospitalis pauperum, de non locando sine consensu Ordinarii.*

Item, That no Curate or Minister be permitted to serve without examination, and admission of the Ordinary, or his deputy, in writing; having respect to the greatness of the cure, and the meetness of the party. And that the said Ministers, if they remove from one diocese to another, be by no means admitted to serve without testimony of the Diocesan, from whence he cometh, in writing.

Item, That all old service books, grails, antiphonars, and others, be defaced and abolished, by orders in visitations.

Item, That besides the Catechism for children which are to be confirmed, another, somewhat larger, may be devised for communicants, and a third in Latin for schools.

Item, That Priests deprived, and other private Chaplains, be commended by the Ordinary's discretion, in this great necessity, to minister in cures; or else to be according to law excommunicate, and the excommunicate effectually prosecuted.

Item, It is agreed, that all such marriages as have been contracted within the Levitical degrees, be dissolved: and namely, those who have married two sisters one after another; who are by common consent judged to be within the case.

Item, It is agreed, to give twenty shillings by every Bishop of Canterbury province to the metropolitical church there: so that it be registered as a composition between us and the church for all demands and requests: and the same presently to be conveyed to Dr. Alexanders, as for his claim.

For the Readers of Cambridge and Oxford.

A contribution to be made by the Archbishop and Bishops.

For learned strangers, Readers; for stipends and expenses of journey, according to the rate of our revenues.

Matthæus Cantuar.
Edm. London.
Richard. Ely.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561. From the foregoing Articles, we may observe somewhat of the ill and disorderly state of things in the Church at this time: as, the lamentable corruption of the patrons and clerks: that parsons alienated their glebe, forgave their patrons their tithes, paid sums of money, and charged their livings with new pensions; and doing all this mischief to themselves and their churches, to get admission thereinto. Many Popish Service Books still remained in the churches. Though in this revolution no small numbers of Priests were deprived, yet it was not allowed them to remain idle. But the Ordinaries were to take care to set them to officiate in suitable places, or else to excommunicate them according to some ecclesiastical law against idle Priests. We may observe moreover the care then taken for the education and instruction of youth; in that beside the short Church Catechism, two other Catechisms were appointed to be made, one in Latin for schools, and another for communicants. That for schools was framed and published not long after by Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's: but that for communicants, I think, never went further than in design. Incestuous marriages were still too common: and it was looked upon as lawful to marry two sisters successively. It may be marked also, what
99 care the Archbishop and his colleagues took for restoring right religion and good learning in the Universities, by allowing stipends for learned Readers out of their own revenues: and their design of promoting religion and learning by following the course used under King Edward; which was by calling in learned strangers. Though I think there came in not many in either University for Readers, except (after Tremellius) Chevalier, Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge, Bignon, Baræ, and a few others.

Observations upon these Articles.

By what principle the Reformers went.

While these Commissioners were thus sitting, and employed about religion, their great maxim was to purge the Church as much as they might from all Popish dregs and superstitions. And they had but little stomach to retain so much as any habits or ceremonies used in the Popish service. That this was the judgment of one of the chief Commissioners, Cox, Bishop of Ely, may appear by this passage in a

letter of his to Bullinger, who had wrote to the said Cox his advice, how things should be managed in the Reformation; *viz.* "that all things should be reformed in the purest manner." To which the said Bishop answered, "that that was also his judgment; and that he thought that in the Church all things ought to be pure, simple, and very far from the rudiments and pomps of this world."

Anno 1561.

Omnia debere esse pura, simplicia, et ab hujus mundi elementis et pompis longè alienissima. *Ep. Elien. ad Bullinger.*

In these proceedings in religion, it was also wisely foreseen by the Archbishop and his colleagues, how the world would take them: and therefore it was thought necessary by them, that some public apology, or manifesto, should be set forth, to vindicate the Church of England before all the world, for her departure from the Bishop of Rome, and for her rejection of his pretended authority, and for what was done in reforming religion. This work was, as it seems, recommended to Bishop Jewel: and he performed it in a short time to a wonder. The copy was sent this year 1561. to Secretary Cecil, for his judgment, and the Queen's approbation. And in September the Archbishop put him in mind of reviewing and sending it back, in order to the publishing; giving him this hint in the close of a letter, that he hoped he forgat not the Apology. It came forth in Latin the next year; and soon after in English, and again in the year 1564, and was afterwards the ground of much pains to the right reverend author, in his most learned vindication of it; but to the abundant establishment of this Reformed Church upon antiquity, Fathers and Councils, and the word of God.

Jewel's Apology in the Secretary's hands.

The Apology in 1562. was published, and went abroad. Bishop Grindal first sent it over sea to Peter Martyr, then at Zurich. And he, with Bullinger, and other Divines there, read it with great pleasure and admiration. And the said Peter Martyr sent a congratulatory letter to Jewel upon it, to this tenor.

It is sent to Peter Martyr;

Operâ Episcopi Londinensis, &c. In English thus: "Right reverend Prelate, and my Lord, ever by me more "and more to be esteemed; by the pains of the Bishop of

Who writes to Jewel on that occasion.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561. "London, the copy of your Apology for the Church of "England was brought hither; which neither I nor any "of our friends had seen before. In your last indeed, you "hinted rather than signified it should come forth. It "came not to us before the calends of August. Hence you "may measure in your own mind, how much loss we suffer "sometimes by the distance of places. As for the Apology, "it did not only give me (to whom all your studies are ap-"proved, and highly pleasing) satisfaction in all points, but "also Bullinger and his sons, and his sons in law, and Gual-"ter and Wolphius: to whom it seemed so wise, admirable, "and eloquent, that they can make no end of commending "it, and think nothing at this time hath been set forth more "perfect. I congratulate with all my heart to your excel-"lent parts this felicity, to the Church this edification, to "England this glory: and beseech you to proceed in the "same way you are entered. For although we have a good "cause, yet in comparison of the number of our adversaries, "they are but few which defend it. And they seem now so "awakened, that in the goodness of style, and crafty so-"phisms, they much recommend themselves to the ignorant "multitude. I mean the *Staphili*, the *Hosii*, and many "other writers of that sort, who at this time shew them-"selves stout patrons of the Pope's lies. Wherefore, since "in that your most learned and handsome Apology you "have raised such hope and expectation of you, all good "and learned men do already promise themselves, that while "you are alive, the truth of the Gospel shall not be rudely "handled by any of its enemies, without being called by you "to a severe account. And I exceedingly rejoice to see
100 "that day, that you are become the parent of so illustrious "and elegant an offspring. May God the heavenly Fa-"ther grant of his goodness, that you may often bring forth "the like fruit." This, with some other matters, P. Martyr wrote to Bishop Jewel from Zurich, the 24th of August; and died a short time after. We shall hear more of this Apology, when we come to the year 1564.

On the 11th day of January happened a remarkable

action at Oxford; *viz.* the solemn restoring of Katharine Vermilia (sometime the pious wife of the same Peter Martyr) to honourable burial, after a strange indignity offered to her corpse. For our Archbishop, together with Grindal, Bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, Esq. and others, by virtue, as it seems, of the Queen's ecclesiastical Commission, (appointed to take cognizance of matters belonging to religion, and redress of Papal abuses) deputed certain fit persons in that University (whereof James Calfhil, B.D. was one) to inquire into a barbarous and inhuman usage of that virtuous woman's dead body; that two years after her burial had been digged up and carried away, and buried in a dunghill belonging to Dr. Marshal, then Dean of Christ's church: whereof he himself was the great actor by authority from Cardinal Pole.

Anno 1561.

Order from the Archbishop for re-burial of P. Martyr's wife.

Jam. Calfhil.

Her restitution accordingly was performed after this manner. The persons appointed for this business cited those that were concerned in the digging up of the body: who being charged, shewed them the place where she was first buried: which was near St. Frideswide's tomb, on the north part of Christ's church. Then requiring where they had conveyed the corpse, they were conducted towards Dr. Marshal's stables; and there out of a dunghill it was digged up, not quite consumed. Which they caused to be carefully deposited in a convenient receptacle, and so brought back therein to the said church, leaving it thus to be watched by the officers of the church, till they might conveniently celebrate the re-interment. There were belonging to the said church two silk bags, wherein the bones of St. Frideswide were wrapped up and preserved: which were wont on solemn days to be taken out and laid upon the altar, to be openly seen and reverenced by the superstitious people. Now, for the preventing of any future superstitions with those relics, (and yet that no indecency might be used towards the said saint and foundress's bones,) and withal, for the better secur-ing of this late buried holy woman's bones from being disturbed any more, by the advice of Mr. Calfhill, the bones of both were mixed and put together; and so laid in the earth in

The manner of her restitution.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

one grave in the upper part of the said church toward the east; after that a speech had been made to a very great auditory, declaring the reason of the present undertaking.

And on the next day, being the Lord's day, one of the society, named Rogerson, preached a learned and pious sermon upon the occasion: and therein took notice "of the "cruelty exercised by Papists to the bodies of innocent and "good men, which they burnt alive; and then, of the horri- "ble inhumanity shewed to this pious matron's dead body: "whose life, he said, he propounded as an excellent pattern "to imitate; and the cruelty of that worst sort of men, "concerned in it, as a rock to avoid. Not with intention "to wound godly hearts with the mentioning of that tyran- "nical power that then prevailed, but rather that he might "inflame them to set forth the praise and glory of God, and "to do all their endeavours for the utter overthrow of that "ungodly dominion." And for her further honour, the University hung upon the church doors many copies of Latin and Greek verses composed by eminent members thereof. This is the sum of what Calfhill, one of the chief managers, wrote to Bishop Grindal concerning this matter.

Apud Hist. Katherin. Vermil. per Conrad. Hubert.

The excellent endowments of this Christian gentlewoman.

The Papists have been twitted by Protestants with this base usage of this good woman: and they to lessen their fault have laboured to disparage and defame her. One of them thought he did some right to their cause in calling her *Fustiluggs*, being somewhat corpulent. This occasioned Dr. George Abbot, in his excellent answer to that Romanist, to say some things remarkable of her: which he had the opportunity of knowing, being himself of the University of Oxford, and living in or near those times. "She was," said he, "reasonably corpulent, but of most matron-like modesty: for "the which she was much reverenced by the most. She was "of singular patience, and of excellent arts and qualities.
101 "And among other things for her recreation, she delighted "to cut plumb-stones into curious faces and countenances; of "which, exceeding artificially done, I once had one, with a "woman's visage and head-attire on the one side, and a bi- "shop with his mitre on the other: which was the elegant

Abbot against Hill, p. 144.

" work of her hands. By divers yet living in Oxford [anno " 1604.] this good woman is remembered, and commended, " as for her other virtues, so for her liberality to the poor: " which by Mr. Fox, writing how she was treated after her " death, is rightly mentioned. For the love of true religion, " and the company of her husband, she left her own coun- " try to come into England in King Edward's days. And " so good was her fame here, that when Papists in Queen " Mary's time, being able to get nothing against her, being " dead, were yet desirous to wreak their spleen upon her " integrity: and would needs rage upon the bones of her, a " woman and a stranger; and took them out of her grave " from Christian burial, and buried them in a dunghill." Whereupon one made these verses:

Anno 1561.

Fœmineum sexum Romani semper amarunt:
Projiciunt corpus cur muliebre foras?
Hoc si tu quæras, facilis responsio danda est:
Corpora non curant mortua, viva petunt.

Which thus the said Dr. Abbot translates:

The Popish crew have evermore the female sex embraced:
How is it, that a woman's corse they have from grave displaced?
Thus if you ask, right readily mine answer may be this:
Their bodies dead they care not for; live ones they clip and kiss.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbishop's doings in his diocese. Restores Eastbridge hospital. Certifies the schools and hospitals in his diocese. Continues his metropolitical visitation. Eton college visited by the Archbishop, and others: and Magdalen college, Oxon. A complaint against the Bishop of Chester; committed to him.

The Archbishop sends order to his Archdeacon, for reading the Declaration. Park. Regist.

NOW let us turn our eyes to Canterbury, and observe the care the most reverend Diocesan took about his church and diocese. Being at Lambeth with the ecclesiastical Commissioners, ordering the affairs of the Church, August 4. he sent to the Archdeacon the Declaration of certain points of religion, lately set forth by the order of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with the rest of the Bishops, whereof mention was made before, and to see the same by his officers published in the diocese of Canterbury, at such time and in such order as he should think most convenient: so that the same might be effectually executed and observed. Willing him further to see the same read and declared at times therein mentioned by all such clerks as it did concern: assuring him of his assistance against the contemners thereof.

A commission to visit certain hospitals.

September 8. following, his Grace sent a commission, (the old instructions in parchment still remaining in the MS. library at Lambeth,) authorizing Stephen Nevinson, LL. D. Andrew Peerson, B. D. and John Butler, Clerk, (which last is entitled Canon and Prebendary of the cathedral church,) to visit the hospital of Eastbridge in Canterbury, and three hospitals in Sandwich, and one more in Saltwood. And again, September 18. he sent a commission
102 to Stephen Nevinson, Thomas Becon, and John Butler, Particularly Eastbridge hospital. Prebendaries of Canterbury, to visit the hospital of Eastbridge only. The commission ran to this purport: "That "because he was busy and necessarily detained, they to visit "it, as well in the head as members, concerning the lives,

" manners, conversation, and doctrines of the Master, or *Cus-*
" *tos*, as of all the persons; to punish and correct the
" culpable, and to examine and try their course of life, as Anno 1561.
" much as they could; and to require and take their foun-
" dations, ordinations, dotations, charities, accounts, sta-
" tutes, registers, and the rest, all and singular the muni-
" ments, belonging to the hospital; and them diligently to
" examine and consider on Monday the 26th of October,
" betwixt the hours of eight and ten in the morning, and so
" by adjournment; and to certify him of this their visitation."

The Archbishop preserves it. N. Batteley.

This hospital, called the hospital of Eastbridge, or St. Thomas in the city of Canterbury, being founded by Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was in the year 1557. visited by Cardinal Pole. Then it was found, that they of the said hospital were bound to receive wayfaring and hurt men. But though it stood in Queen Mary's days, yet now, it being by law dissolved, the Archbishop restored it, and preserved the revenues thereof. It was founded for the entertainment of poor pilgrims. The former statutes by change of time became of no use, and were not capable of observing. And the revenue began to fall into private hands. When he out of his singular and pious care made new statutes and ordinations: whereby the revenues of the hospital were applied to charitable uses; such as in those days seemed necessary and proper; *viz.* First, in time of peace, every Friday, thirty pennies were distributed to thirty poor people at the door of the hospital. Secondly, in time of war, this money was spent in lodging and maintaining such sick and wounded soldiers as passed through Canterbury to and from France. Thirdly, he appointed exhibitions for two Scholars in Bene't college, Cambridge, six pound six shillings and eight pence per annum, continued to this day. Fourthly, he appointed a schoolmaster to teach twenty poor children gratis, to read, write, and sing, and to be furnished with books, pen, ink, and paper, at the cost of the hospital; which also is continued to this day. But this was done not before the year 1569; when we shall have occasion to say more of this hospital.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561. The Queen to the Archbishop for a certificate of the schools and hospitals in his diocese. Park. Regist.

The Queen wrote to the Archbishop a letter, dated February 12. in the fourth year of her reign, that for certain causes he should certify to the Barons of her Exchequer how many hospitals and schools there were within this diocese and jurisdiction of Canterbury; and by what names those hospitals and schools were called, and in what counties, villages, and parishes they were situate. And what hospitals of them were separately founded and used, and the possessions whereof expended for the help and sustentation of the poor. And of them what schools or possessions and revenues of them were sustained and maintained, with their names. And that he should search his register, and other archives; and to certify the bearing thereof in parchment faithfully written. Whereupon the Archbishop wrote to Nevynson, Commissary of the city and diocese of Canterbury, to whom he sent the copy of the Queen's letter; willing and requiring him, for the better accomplishment of her Majesty's pleasure, within one month at the farthest to certify him distinctly in writing, how many several hospitals and schools were within the diocese of Canterbury, and the peculiar jurisdictions within the same; and by what names the same hospitals and schools were called, according to the tenor and effect of the said writ. It was dated March 21. Which bearing a date so long after that of the Queen's, one may guess the matter thereof was not over acceptable to the Archbishop. For this command of her Majesty looked as though she were put on by some, who designed these hospitals and schools for themselves, upon pretence of some former Acts, whereby colleges and chantries were given to the Crown. The Archbishop sent another letter to this effect to Dr. Weston, Dean of the deanery of the Arches, Shoram and Croyden. Another to Mr. Weston, Dean of South Malling, Terring and Pagham. Another to Mr. Cole, Dean of Bocking. What accounts were given into the Exchequer of these schools and hospitals, we shall see under the next year.

103 The Archbishop's metropolitical visitation still continued on in this year; and divers commissions were issued out for

that purpose. As, a commission May 30. to William, Bishop of Exeter, to visit the church, city, and diocese of Exeter. Another commission dated April 24. to Dr. Yale, Vicar General and Principal Official, and to Walter Wright, LL.D. Archdeacon of Oxon, and Canon of Christ's Church, to visit the church, city, and diocese of Oxon. Which last also died this year. Another to Edwin, Bishop of Worcester, and John, Bishop of Hereford, to visit the church of Hereford, dated July 14. Another commission of the same date to John, Bishop of Hereford, to visit the city and diocese of Hereford. We may observe the Bishop of Worcester is joined with the Bishop of Hereford for visiting the cathedral church of Hereford, lest the Dean and Chapter might make opposition to the Bishop, if he visited alone, as infringing their privileges; as above was said in the visitation of Sarum. And lastly, the Archbishop sent another commission to the said Edwin, Bishop of Worcester, dated February 18, to visit the church, city, and diocese of Wigorn. All these commissions ran *jure metropolitico*. And in them all, John Incent, notary public and primary register to the Archbishop, or his deputy, was appointed to go along with the respective visitors, and to perform his office in the visitations.

Anno 1561.

The Archbishop's commissions for visiting.

This year was Eton college visited. For the Queen sent her letters August 22. to the Archbishop to visit that society: to which were joined as visitors the Bishop of Winton and Sir Anthony Cook. The occasion whereof was, as the Queen's letters imported, that one was preferred to be Provost there, of whom very ill reports were heard. And several of the Fellows were Papists. This college and the state thereof she empowered the Archbishop to visit, and to reduce the orders thereof to the best: as being a member of her college in the University of Cambridge, [*i. e.* King's college,] of which he and the others had a commission the year before to visit; and still continued. The said Provost (named Bruerne, of Oxford) was chosen without the Queen's pleasure, and without her consent had therein; and the election not legal, nor according to lau-

Eton college visited. MSS. C. C. C.

BOOK II.

dable usage. The Queen's letter will be found in the Appendix. And accordingly this visitation began September 9, and was finished in two days. Mr. Rich. Bruerne, the Provost, first desired to see their commission: it being shewn him, he boggled at it, as though it were expired, having been granted a year before. But the Queen's letter mentioned the continuance of that commission. Yet Bruerne appeared, with his Vice-Provost, three Fellows, two schoolmasters, five chaplains, four clerks or singing-men, and a notary public. They were sworn to answer to certain interrogatories. But Kirton, Ashbrook, and Prat, Fellows, and Leg, a Conduct, not appearing, were pronounced guilty of contumacy, and suspended from all profits. Afterwards the oath of supremacy being tendered to Smith and Durston, two of the appearing Fellows, the former took it, Durston refused. And finally he, together with the other non-appearing Fellows and the Conduct, were expelled, and deprived of their places. The Provost resigned.

Anno 1561. Num. XVI.

The account thereof. Paper Office.

But for a more particular account of this visitation, let the Archbishop himself, and his fellow Commissioners, declare it in their letter to the Secretary, dated from Eton. "That being there, they travelled to understand as well "the state of the house in every particularity, as also they "had examined the late elected Provost. And that they "had presently found by overmuch record of witnesses "and other circumstances, that the said election was begun "by disorder, seemingly without consideration of law or "congruence; and so disorderly packed up, that they with "full deliberation could no less do, but extend their service "to the displacing of him. Which intent suspected by him, "he prevented by his voluntary resignation. And that if "his friends would desire to see what had been by search "found out, the most partial of them would think that he "had therein taken the best way for himself; as the re-"cords of the examination, remaining with them the Com-"missioners, might sufficiently declare.

"And then, as for some of the society, who had utterly "denied or refused to agnize their duty to the Prince, and

" to accept the order of prayer now established, those they " had deprived. And some others there were, that had " frowardly absented themselves at this time; these, for " this and other misdemeanors, by decree they had sus- " pended from all commodities of the house: but notwith- " standing had left sufficient persons of the society to 104 " oversee the state of the house, till it should be restored " up again. And the sooner, they said, the better."

The grave advice the Archbishop and the rest gave, for " the supplying the Provost's place, was, " That the office " being void, and he, the late Provost, not meet for it, as " they thought, they wished the Queen so to bestow it, that " that princely foundation might be so preserved, that it " might tend to the flourishing of the realm; and not serve " some private men's affections or commodity." Whereby also the better report might follow of their doing therein.

His advice about a Provost.

The Archbishop the next day being returned home to Lambeth, did more particularly impart to the Secretary the circumstances of that college, as he found them, and mentioned to him some Clergymen, whom he judged fit to be preferred to that weighty and honourable place: telling him, that the causes of removing the Provost Bruerne were so many and so apparent, as well by his own deserts, as upon the contumelious doings of the electors, besides the fond transgressions against the statutes, and other necessary points omitted, required by law; that if it should have come to be revealed, they all would have been further chargeable than they the visitors had ordered them. That they had left three Fellows there, for the necessary preservation of the statutes of the college, till the rooms were supplied. Three that were contumeliously absent they had by decree suspended from all interest in that house, not proceeding yet to the flat sentence of deprivation, upon policy and law. And one recusant was after Michaelmas fully deprived.

What the Archbishop's thoughts were concerning a new Provost, he thus expressed; " That it were pity the college " should be abused by any ambitious Head, that would ad-

Some recommended by the Archbishop for the Provostship; King's Coll.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

"vance the port of the living there above the constituted "allowance, which was worshipful. That the whole health "and wealth of the King's college in Cambridge did de- "pend on such as must only come from Eton. And there- "fore he trusted, the Secretary would help to move the "Queen's Majesty to prefer a meet man, and some expert "ecclesiastical ordered man. That he, the Secretary, once "put him in mind of Mr. Cheny, a good, grave, priestly "man," [who was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.] Besides him, he mentioned to the said Secretary another; namely, his almoner Andrew Pierson, one of his own family. "And "if it were in his disposition, he would, he said, name him. "In whom he knew so much sincerity, and dexterity in "governance, with honest learning, that he durst warrant "his credit upon him. He added, that these two men were "both Bachelors in Divinity, both unmarried, [which were "qualities apt to take with the Queen;] and, but that "neither of them had been in Germany, and peradventure "by a frailty had been at mass in Queen Mary's time, and "therefore perhaps *non ultra omnes exceptiones digni;* "he durst compare them with some Protestants, whom "he heard say laboured to have it. But for persons, what- "soever they were, which should have it, doing their duty "in that office, he assured the Secretary he was indifferent. "But that if the Queen would have a married Minister, "none comparable to Mr. Nowel."

And by the Bishop of London.

But the Secretary, to have a greater choice of worthy men for this dignity to offer to the Queen, therefore sent to the Bishop of London, out of respect likewise to his judgment, to nominate to him some that might be fit to be preferred to that Provostship: but still to make a distinction of married and unmarried persons; as knowing how inclined the Queen was to the single Clergy in the disposing of her preferments. The said Bishop sent him this short letter thereupon, and the names of several reverend persons subjoined:

Pap. Office. E Collec-

"Sir, I send you certain names according to your request.

" It is possible, that upon this sodeyn I may overslip some " meet men: but of this number there is very good choice. " God keep you. Decemb. 1561.

" Yours in Christ,
" Edm. London."

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1561.

tan. Rev. Tho. Baker inde.

105

All married.
- Mr. Nowel, Dean of Paul's,
- Mr. Mulleyns, } These
- Mr. Wattes, } two,
- though they be my Chapleyns, are sober, honest, and learned men.
- Mr. Elmer,

Both unmarried.
- Mr. Cheney,
- Mr. Robinson: Chapleyn to my Lord of Canterbury: and who made a very good sermon yesterday at the Cross.

Unmarried. All married.
- Mr. Daye of Cambridge. } Unmarried.
- Mr. Calfhille. Both eligible by the statutes. }
- Mr. Reve, } All married.
- Mr. Renniger,
- Mr. Rytie of Windsor,
- Mr. Overton of Winton, }

I need not put you in remembrance of { Mr. D. Haddon. Mr. Hen. Knolles.

Of all these the Queen made her choice of one of the unmarried Divines, namely, Mr. Day. And so it remains in a memorial of the Provosts of Eton, *viz. Mr. Guliel. Daye, S. Theol. Bac. 5°. die Januar.* 1562. *dictus est ad præposituram, et stetit annos* 34. *Conjugatus fuit, ut Dominus Tho. Smith.* So that though he was unmarried when he came in Provost, yet he married afterwards.

Day made Provost. Int. MSS. Rev. Tho. Baker.

The Archbishop, with the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Anthony Cook, was framing new statutes for this college of Eton; and in apology for some alterations of the old, he thus addressed to the Secretary; *viz.* That he sent him a copy of the qualification of the Provosts by the Founder's statutes: not that either that statute grounded upon Act of Parliament, or any other, should prejudice better order than was therein devised: as some injunctions which they should devise for their order should not peradventure be agreeable to the old statutes; but yet he trusted such as he, the Secretary, should allow. Thus was our Archbishop usefully employing himself in rectifying those foundations

The Archbishop frames statutes for Eton.

BOOK II.

of learning and religion, now degenerated by the abuse of the times into superstition and corruption.

Anno 1561. Magdalen col. Oxon. visited.

Magdalen college also in Oxford was visited now by the Bishop of Winchester, the proper Visitor thereof. The President thereof, Mr. Coveney, was, it seems, addicted to the Popish superstitions: however many of the Fellows were well affected to religion: and under King Edward had procured Walter Haddon, LL. D. of Cambridge for their President; and under Queen Mary fled abroad. At this visitation in September, Coveney was deprived. But he made his appeal in Chancery. And upon his appeal, commission was granted thence to A. Browne and Weston, two Judges. Who, upon conferences with other Justices and Civilians, resolved, that the appeal did not lie, nor that there was any other remedy for the appellant. We shall hear who succeeded in the next chapter.

Coke's Instit. Pt. iv. p. 34.

A matter of the Bishop of Chester committed to the Archbishop.

There was also in the month of February another business committed to the Archbishop, to whom, as associates, were joined the Bishops of Winton, Ely, and Wigorn. There had some complaint been made to the Queen's Council against Downhame, Bishop of Chester. The matter of the complaint doth not appear; but (if I may have leave in a thing so obscure to conjecture) it seems to have been in relation to some neglect in furthering religion in his diocese, and winking at Popish Priests continuing in their livings, without the public declaration of their faith in the articles of true religion; who did too boldly vent their unsound doctrines and superstitious opinions. And the Council also directed the Archbishop, that an uniformity of doctrine might be prescribed for all to observe and acquiesce in, for the maintaining of peace and good order. It was looked upon as a favour by the Archbishop, that this Bishop was not judged by the Privy Council themselves, but that his case was committed to the examination of those of his own function.

Reminds the Council of a Synod to be called.

And matters of doctrine being not yet settled in the Church, for want of a Convocation, the Archbishop took this occasion to remind the Council of such a Synod, when

the Parliament should come together; wherein the points of religion, and affairs of the Church, might be regularly debated, and brought to some good conclusion; to which all the Clergy might submit, and whereby the professed doctrine of the Reformed Church of England might be better known. For to this purport did our Archprelate address himself to the Lords of the Council: "Giving them hearty "thanks, that it pleased them to remember that old order "in all ages, that the accusation of such parties should be "examined by their brethren or their peers. And yet that "they meant not hereby to use any private respect, but as "might stand with the glory of God, and the due examin- "ation and reformation of things amiss, if they should find "any such. And whereas they understood that the Queen "shortly intended a Parliament, and so consequently a Con- "vocation was to be continued by the state of the Clergy, "for reformation and establishment in matters of religion, "trusting that in the same they might be bold to represent "unto their Lordships both their meanings and doings; so "they had intended, after some hearing of accusations and "answerings, to defer this matter [of the Bishop of Chester] "to that opportunity, when they should be all met to- "gether; as also to their conference with some other per- "sons, with whom they were to commune, to reduce the "godly points of our religion to more certainty, if it should "please God and the Queen's Majesty, with their, the "Council's, honourable assistance, to help them in the same; "to establish them in an uniformity. And so certifying "their Honours thus much, according to the direction of "their letters, they heartily committed their Lordships to "the grace of Almighty God, and to the good guidance of "his Holy Spirit."

106

February 19. from Lambeth. Paper House.

The Bishops that signed this letter with the Archbishop, were Robert, Bishop of Winton, Richard, Bishop of Ely, and Nicolas, Bishop of Lincoln.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1561.

The Queen in her progress displeased with the Clergy. An order against women's living in cathedrals and colleges. The Secretary's letter to the Archbishop; and the Bishop of Ely's to him hereupon. The Queen declares to the Archbishop her offence at Bishops' and Priests' marriages. The Archbishop's thoughts of it.

The Queen will have no women in the cathedrals.

THIS summer the Queen went a progress into Essex and Suffolk. I find her at Colchester the latter end of July; and thence she went to Ipswich. Here her Majesty took a great dislike at the imprudent behaviour of many of the Ministers and Readers; there being many weak ones among them, and little or no order observed in the public service, and few or none wearing the surplice. And the Bishop of Norwich himself was thought remiss, and winked at schismatics. But more particularly she was offended with the Clergy's marriage, and that in cathedrals and colleges there were so many wives, and women, and children seen: which, she said, was so contrary to the intent of the founders, and so much tending to the interruption of the studies of such who were placed there. Therefore she issued out an order to all dignitaries, dated August 9. at Ipswich, to forbid all resort of women to the lodgings of cathedrals or colleges; and that upon pain of losing their ecclesiastical promotions. And this order was to be entered into their books of statutes, and to be reputed as parcel of the statutes. The copy of this order was sent by the Secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his province; to the Archbishop of York for his; and to the Chancellors of the two Universities for their charges. And this injunction was as followeth:

107

By the Queen.

ELIZABETH.

Her order thereupon. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"The Queen's Majesty, considering how the palaces and "houses of the cathedral churches and colleges of this "realm have been both of ancient and late time builded

" and enclosed in severally, to sustain and keep societies of
" learned men, professing study and prayer, for the edifica-
" tion of the Church, and so constantly to serve that com- Anno 1561.
" monweal; and understanding of late, that within the
" houses thereof, as well the chief governor, as the pre-
" bendaries, students, and members thereof, being married,
" do keep particular housholds with their wives, children,
" and nurses; whereof no small offence groweth to the in-
" tent of the founders, and to the quiet and orderly pro-
" fession of study and learning within the same; hath
" thought meet to provide remedy herein, lest by suffer-
" ance thereof the rest of the colleges, especially such as be
" so replenished with young students, as the very rooms
" and buildings be not answerable for such families of wo-
" men and young children, should follow the like example:
" and therefore expressly willeth and commandeth, that no
" manner of person, being either the Head or member of
" any college or cathedral church within this realm, shall,
" from the time of the notification hereof in the same col-
" lege, have, or be permitted to have, within the precinct of
" any such college, his wife, or other woman, to abide and
" dwell in the same; or to frequent or haunt any lodging
" within the same college, upon pain, that whosoever shall
" do to the contrary shall forfeit all ecclesiastical promo-
" tions in any cathedral or collegiate church within this
" realm. And for continuance of this order, her Majesty
" willeth, that the transcript hereof shall be written in the
" book of the statutes of every such college, and shall be
" reputed as parcel of the statutes of the same. Given
" under our signet, at our town of Ipswich, 9th of August,
" in the third year of our reign."

The Queen against Priests' marriage.

When Secretary Cecil sent this injunction to the Archbishop, he knew that it could not be well taken by him, who was himself a married man, and much for the Clergy's liberty of marriage; and so was Cecil himself: but he plainly told the Archbishop, how the Queen still continued an enemy to the state of matrimony in Priests; and was

BOOK II.

near at a point to have forbidden it them absolutely, had he not been very stiff at this juncture. But for her satisfaction he passed over this matter with her by that present device. And this was the Secretary's letter to the Archbishop.

Anno 1561.

The Secretary to the Archbishop. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" Your Grace shall understand, that I have had hitherto " a troublesome progress, to stay the Queen's Majesty from " daily offence conceived against the Clergy, by reason of " the undiscreet behaviour of the Readers and Ministers in " these countries of Suffolk and Essex. Surely here be " many slender Ministers, and such nakedness of religion as " it overthroweth my credit. Her Majesty continueth very " ill affected to the state of matrimony in the Clergy. And " if I were not therein very stiff, her Majesty would utterly " and openly condemn and forbid it. In the end, for her " satisfaction, this injunction now sent to your Grace is de- " vised. The good order thereof shall do no harm. I have " devised to send it in this sort to your Grace for your pro- " vince; and to the Archbishop of York for his; and to " the Chancellors of the two Universities for their charge; " so as it shall not be promulged to be popular.

" The Bishop of Norwich is blamed even of the best sort " for his remissness in ordering his Clergy. He winketh at " Schismatics and Anabaptists, as I am informed. Surely " I see great variety in ministration. A surplice may not " be borne here. And the Ministers follow the folly of the " people, calling it charity to feed their fond humour. Oh! " my Lord, what shall become of this time?

" The Lady Katherine Grey is known to be big with " child by the Earl of Hertford. She is committed to the
108 " Tower, and he sent for home. She saith she is married. " I beseech your Grace devise of some meet Master for St. " John's college in Cambridge, and write to me therein; so " as I may shew your letter to the Queen's Majesty. From " Smallbridge, 12. August, 1561.

" Your Grace's at commandment,

" W. Cecil."

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1561.

By which letter we perceive not only the Queen's displeasure against the Bishops and Clergy, and why; but also in what ill state the English ministry, at least in those parts of the nation, then was, and how averse the common people were to the ecclesiastical habits, and how the people more scrupled the seeing the surplice, than the Ministers the wearing it. And withal we observe here the good and cordial temper and concern of the Secretary, both for the Church and University. But to our subject.

Observations upon the Secretary's letter.

The Archbishop dutifully dispersed the foresaid commandment of the Queen through his province, by the Bishop of London. But how sadly this was resented among the Bishops, may appear by a letter which I have seen, of Cox, Bishop of Ely, to the Archbishop. He considered, what a great inconvenience this would prove, if the Prebendaries' wives should not be allowed to live within the close. This would be a great occasion of non-residence; for they would live with their wives and families. And so there would be more non-residents than before, there being in many cathedrals not above one or two dwelling there, and in his church there was but one with his family. And so all good housekeeping would be destroyed. He trusted the Queen might be brought to allow three or four families in each cathedral. But it may not be amiss to read his letter.

The foresaid order sadly resented.

Bishop of Ely to the Archbishop upon this affair. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" *Sal. in Christo.* I have received of late from your Grace, " by my Lord of London, a copy of an edict from the Queen's " Majesty concerning Priests' wives, not to remain in col- " leges or cathedral churches. Truly methinketh it very " reasonable, that places of students should be in all quiet- " ness among themselves, and not troubled with any fa- " milies of women or babes. But when I considered on " the other part concerning cathedral churches, I mused " upon what ground or information that should be so or- " dained. Forasmuch as it is not needful, but at this present " very miserable, and sounding contrary to the ordinance of " the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures of God. In cathedral " churches ye know the Dean and Prebendaries have large " and several houses, one distant from another. And if

BOOK II.

Anno 1561. "their wives be driven out, I suppose ye shall seldom find "in most of the churches either Dean or Prebendary resiant "there. It is also miserable, for that in some churches "there is not past one or two there dwelling, and have "small livings besides their prebends. Now if their fa- "milies be hurled out suddenly, it seemeth a poor reward "for their preaching and godly travail hitherto. There is "but one Prebendary continually dwelling with his family "in Ely church. Turn him out, daws and owls may dwell "there for any continual house-keeping. It is miserable "that the poor men's families should be turned out; and "miserable that such a number of houses should be left "desolate. God mercifully provided for his Clergy among "his people in Moses's time; neither married Bishop, "Priest, nor Levite, was unprovided for living and house. "Ye will say, that time was Jewish. Nay, God saw that "such marriage was natural, and, as St. Paul saith, honour- "able; and to forbid or deface marriage is the doctrine of "devils. And therefore the Holy Ghost gave a general "rule to Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, that they should "be the husbands of one wife, keeping hospitality, bringing "up their families virtuously; whereby they might be "counted worthier for an higher government in Christ's "Church. Albeit of late years, fond and blind devotion in "the Latin Church hath marvellously perverted this godly "ordinance, with forbidding that which God made free, "and with separating of them whom God hath joined.

"Methinks, I can neither doubt nor distrust, but if the "Queen's tender, merciful, and zealous heart towards God's
109 "truth were humbly and gently moved in this case, she would "bear with my poor man, and some others this winter: and "I trust would hereafter suffer two, three, or four, to re- "main in such vast cathedral churches, as have rooms plenty "and several. What rejoicing and jeering the adversaries "make; how the godly Ministers are discouraged, I will "pass over, and so leave you. *Dominus Jesus*, &c."

The Queen calls upon the Arch- But to shew here what a prejudice the Queen had against the Clergy's taking wives, it may appear hence, that near

this time, or a little after, the Archbishop came according to his custom to wait upon her Majesty, to know if she had any thing to say to him concerning religion or the Church: when she took occasion to speak in that bitterness against the holy estate of matrimony, and especially against this estate in the Clergy, that the Archbishop was in a horror to hear her. Angry in effect she was with the Bishops, and the whole state of the Clergy upon that account, and repented her for making married men Bishops, and wishing it had been otherwise. Which the Archbishop attributed to certain persons about her that hated true religion, and did it to subvert the Gospel of Christ. It grieved him to observe how hereby the Queen diminished the authority of her Bishops, and lessened their credit, and so their power among the people was become very weak for doing her service. This was, as some observed, contrary to the practice of all princes, whoever cherished the ecclesiastical state. The Archbishop took notice of the Queen's order against Prebendaries' wives to remain within the bounds of the cathedrals. The ill policy of which he charged, as driving out hospitality out of those places, and the emptying of the chief cities of good preachers. And he observed how unkind this was, when people of inferior ranks, as porters, and pantlers, and horse-keepers, might have their wives and their cradles going in these places, and only her learned and godly preachers must not have that liberty. This and much more he said in a secret letter to Secretary Cecil, written to him upon this rencounter of the Queen, which he took so heavily. For the sight of this notable letter, I refer the reader to the Appendix. Num. XVII.

Anno 1561. bishop for Priests' marriage.

There was one passage in the Queen's angry speech to the Archbishop, which as it startled him more than all the rest, so I cannot omit the mention of it. Which was, that she told him, she had other manner of injunctions, which should follow; as though she had thoughts of setting out injunctions in favour of Popery. For so the Archbishop seemed to understand her words, when reflecting upon them he told the Secretary very seriously, "That there would not be

And threatened other manner of injunctions.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

" wanting of that contemptible flock, that would not shrink " to offer their blood for the defence of Christ's verity. " And that he would be sorry that the Clergy should have " cause to shew their disobedience to her, and be forced to " use the words of the Apostle, *We must obey God rather* " *than men.* But as he added, he attributed these words " of the Queen to some *humanus æstus*, sudden heat in- " cident to human nature, conceived upon untrue reports " raised against them by their enemies; and doubted not " but her Majesty would well consider in matters of such " importance, and use Theodosius' days of deliberation. " And he trusted, that as she had begun godly in this good " work, [of reforming religion,] so God would stay her heart " and move her to go on and to finish."

110

CHAP. IX.

The Archbishop brings one to subscribe the supremacy. Flacius Illyricus to the Archbishop, concerning collecting ecclesiastical monuments. Application of the Archbishop of Armagh to him. A case of marriage decided by Bishop Jewel. The Archbishop favours Dr. Humfrey for President of Magdalen college. John Fox congratulates him that preferment.

BUT now let us take up some other scattered things, both concerning this Archbishop and religion, happening in this year, and so hasten to the next.

The Archbishop prevailed with Rice to subscribe the supremacy.

The Lords of the Council had committed to the Tower William Ryce, Esquire, a person of quality, and under Queen Mary a great courtier, for breach of the law, having refused to take the oath of supremacy. They now desired the Archbishop to take him into his house, and confer with him, and convince him, if he could, and bring him to good conformity by his good counsel. And if after all his pains he would not be brought to swear to the Queen, he should be sent back again to the Tower. But our Archbishop had good success with Ryce, and prevailed with him to

subscribe to these words, wrote by the Archbishop's own hand on the back-side of the Council's letter to him: "He "acknowledgeth Queen Elizabeth, under God, to have the "sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born "within her realms, dominions, and countries, &c. And so "subscribeth, W. Ryce." Anno 1561. MSS. C. C. C. C.

I leave the reader to conjecture, whether this gentleman were the same with E. Rice, mentioned in the British Antiquities, or some other, of whom it is said that the Archbishop did so mollify and moderate him, otherwise a zealous Papist, that he confessed his error with abundance of tears, and so was dismissed out of custody and sent home. Vit. Matthei Archiep.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the author of the Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth, and a great collector of ecclesiastical antiquities, to shew how the Church in all ages had learned and godly men, that opposed the Pope and his abuses; this learned man wrote our Archbishop a letter dated May 22, 1561. from Jene, an University in Germany, which was in answer to one from the said Archbishop, who had the last year acquainted him with a promise of the Queen's, to send him certain *vetera monumenta*, to assist him as well in the work of his Catalogue, as in his other works of ecclesiastical history. His letter was long, and is extant in the Bene't college library. Therein he earnestly desired the Archbishop to send him those ancient monuments he spake of, having sent over a fit person for them. Such monuments especially he required, as might illustrate the obscured truth of the Church, and reprove the Popish tyranny. Exhorting the Archbishop, and shewing how profitable it would be, if he would make it his business, that all MSS. books more rare should be brought forth out of more remote and obscurer places in this kingdom, and in that of Scotland; and be put into surer and more known places, [that they might be the better preserved from perishing.] He sent the Archbishop at that time by his messenger a general index of the ancient good Church Historians, Illyricus to the Archbishop concerning ecclesiastical antiquities. Vol. Epist. Illustr. Viror.

BOOK II.

Anno 1561.

for the Archbishop's better direction in his pursuit after them in this country. He mentioned how Bale had told him, that he had very many old valuable MSS. of this sort. How profitable would it be, said he, after his death, to convey them, and all others that could be gotten, into the public libraries of the kingdom; because in private houses they would be apt to perish, especially when unlearned heirs should come to possess them. And things of that nature, as he added, necessary for the whole kingdom and Church, were not of private right and peculiar possession, but public. He wished that he might peruse the antiquities of England and Scotland, as he had done many libraries in Italy and Germany: he should hope then to find many things of use and profit to himself and us, and what might serve considerably for the enlargement of his *Catalogus Testium:* but that neither his health, nor time, nor purse, would allow him to come over. And because the Archbishop had wrote to him, that Matthew Paris's Chronicon could not be found among us here in England, [though afterwards the Archbishop met with some copies thereof, and published it in a fair edition,] Illyricus sent him certain *excerpta* taken thence, which a friend had formerly procured him. He sent also a short index of such books as he was ready to communicate to the Queen, if she desired to have them, and would be at the charge of transcribing the copies: excusing himself from parting with them, which he at his great pains and cost had obtained. Also, he sent him by the same messenger a disputation of his concerning *original corruption* and *freewill*, against one who went the Papistical way in solving those points, asserting the power of man's will, and that in conversion man cooperated with God; an opinion that, as he said, much prevailed there since Luther's death. With the rest he presented the Archbishop with another piece of his, *De Fide;* a dissertation which he had dedicated to his predecessor, [Archbishop Cranmer, I suppose;] but whether he ever received it, he could not tell. This he communicated to our Archbishop

111

the rather, that he would impart to him his learned judgment thereof; for in such great points he loved to understand what men of the best learning thought. He conveyed likewise at the same time a list of what good books were at Rome. For the transcription of which, he suggested to him, that it was for men of wealth and power in England to deal: a thing, however earnestly endeavoured by him, past his ability and interest to procure. Anastasius, one of those MSS. at Rome, was, he said, very well worth the pains of transcribing and printing. Lastly, he informed the Archbishop of John Tillius, Bishop of Engoulesm in France, who set forth the Greek canons, and those of Charles the Great, against the worship of images; that he was a favourer of the pure religion, and that he had many ancient MSS. especially of the Councils. He beseeched the Archbishop to use his interest with the said Tillius to obtain copies of them, which might be so helpful to Illyricus in his work of compiling an ecclesiastical history. This letter of this learned man I have cast into the Appendix, as well worthy preserving.

Anno 1561.

Number XVIII.

The Archbishop of Armagh to our Archbishop, for the removal of a bad Irish Bishop.

I meet with a letter without date of year, but I suppose near about this time, writ from Adam, Archbishop of Armagh, to our Archbishop of Canterbury, dated from Trinity college in Cambridge, Sept. 27. Wherein the Irish Archbishop, now not long entered upon his function, hinted how the Archbishop of Canterbury had promised him his aid in all Church causes of Ireland, at his last being in England; especially for the removing the Bishop of Dublin. He was, as he described him, a *known enemy*, and laboured under open crimes: which although he shamed not to do, I am, saith that Archbishop, almost ashamed to speak. So he desired him, now being in England again, to put to his helping hand, and to recommend some zealous man to succeed in that Bishop's place: and that he, the Archbishop of Canterbury, would write to the Court of this matter. These were some of the applications made to our Archbishop concerning foreign matters.

A case now happened, (occasioned, I suppose, by the

BOOK II.

Archbishop's Table of Marriage, set forth the last year,) whether it was not lawful for a man to marry two sisters successively. This was by some learned man propounded to Bishop Jewel: who did answer it in the negative, in a learned letter written by him from Salisbury. The reason supposed why it was lawful, was because the Scripture in Leviticus xviii. seemed to restrain it only till the first sister's death, at least did not forbid it. But Jewel shewed, that God would have us to expound one degree by another. And though we are not forbid by plain words to marry our wives' sister, yet we are forbidden by other words; which by exposition are plain enough. For when God shall command me, 112 that I shall not marry my brother's wife, it follows directly, that he forbids me to marry my wife's sister. For between one man and two sisters, and one woman and two brothers, is like analogy and proportion. But the learned letter may be read in the Appendix.

Anno 1561.

Bishop Jewel's judgment in a case of marriage.

Lev. xviii. 18.

Num. XIX.

Laur. Humfrey obtains to be President of Magdalen.

Covency, President of Magdalen college in Oxford, (of whom something before,) was turned out in the month of September by the Bishop of Winchester, Visitor. Laurence Humfrey, a learned exile of that college, stood for the place now vacant, and obtained the favour of the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, to recommend him to the college. But the Fellows, being as it seems leavened much with Popery, refused to choose him, and signified as much in a long letter to the Archbishop. They urged their conscience, and some statutes of their college. But Humfrey wrote to the Archbishop, that these were but pretences. For as for the statutes of their college, (one of which was, that none shall be chosen but of their own foundation; and another, that they must be gremials,) many of the Fellows at this very time made little of them; being even at that present in the mind to choose one Caius, *alienus et exterus*, (as Humfrey informed,) "a stranger and a foreigner," against their statutes: and that Caius also noted for a lazy Epicurean course of life; which therefore Sir John Mason, their Chancellor, thought unworthy. And that they had none *e gremio*, no gremial. They objected another thing against Humfrey;

viz. that he was a married man: and therefore it was thought indecent to bestow this place upon him: and yet they were ready to grant it to an whoremonger, as Humfrey further informed the Archbishop. But after all this struggling, in December Humfrey was chosen President, having been the year before made the King's Divinity Professor. CHAP. IX. Anno 1561.

But his fellow collegian, and equal in all good learning, John Fox, still remained unprovided for, in his ragged exile condition: who with an eye to this his bare estate, and out of joy of his friend's preferment, writ him a congratulatory epistle: wherein were these expressions between jest and earnest; (which yet he thinking too slight, scratched out afterwards;) *Sed quid nimis ego nugator tibi gratulari incipio, qui multo magis tecum expostulare debeam? Age enim, dic tandem, O bone, itane nos nostrumque gregem et ordinem deseruisse te, ac abiisse? Fugitive, transfuga, non pudere? Atqui ex me exemplum petere debebis majoris constantiæ; quippe qui in eisdem adhuc pannis, et sordibus, quibus me recepit Anglia redeuntem ex Germania, persisto; nec gradum muto, nec ordinem: qui est videlicet Fratrum Mendicantium, vel, si velis, Prædicantium. Atque in hoc ordine eras et ipse, futurus fortasse una nobiscum bonus socius. Nunc tu, relicto ordine* hoc *et classe nostro, nescio quo ascendisti,* Albis, *quod aiunt,* vectus quadrigis. That is, "But why do I trifle thus, and begin to con- "gratulate you your preferment, who should much ra- "ther expostulate the case with you? For come, Sir, tell me, "have you thus left us and our flock, and order, and "gone away? Fugitive, runaway, as you are, be you not "ashamed? You ought to have taken example of greater "constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes, and re- "main in the same sordid condition, as England received "me in, when I first came home out of Germany. Nor do I "change my degree, nor order; which is that of the Mendi- "cants, or, if you will, of the Friars Preachers. And in "this order you yourself were, and was like enough to con- "tinue an honest companion with us. But now you have for- "saken this our order and *classis*, and mounted I know not

Joh. Fox's letter to him.

Ex MSS. Epist. Foxii.

BOOK II. Anno 1561.

"whither; fortunate success, as the proverb is, waiting on "you." Thus wittily did this grave man rejoice at his friend's advancement, and withal give a privy lash to the governors for their neglect of him, and such other sufferers as he; many of them yet remaining unprovided for.

113

CHAP. X.

The Archbishop certifies the Schools and Hospitals in his diocese unto the Privy Council.

Anno 1562. Schools and hospitals in the Archbishop's diocese. Park. Regist.

WHEREAS last February the Queen required an account from the Archbishop of all the schools and hospitals in his diocese; this year, May 3, he gave in to the Barons of the Exchequer a complete certificate thereof. Which was this that follows:

Hospitals.

HOSPITALS.

I. *Hospitale Leprosorum Sancti Laurentii juxta Cantuariam.*

It was first founded by one Hugh, the second Abbot of St. Augustin's in Canterbury. And by the first foundation there was appointed a relief for leprous people. And afterwards a woman was appointed under the name of a Prioress; and certain poor women, Priests' Sisters, who there were placed by the Abbot of St. Augustin's for the time being: having no certainty of the number of the Sisters. And they had the revenues of the house, which amounted to 31*l.* by the year. And the same is taxed, and payeth the perpetual tenth. There be at this present only two poor Sisters, and do receive only forty shillings by the year, paid by the farmer there. The hospital is lamentably misused by reason of a lease made by the Prioress and Sisters of the said hospital to one Sir Christopher Hales, Knight. Which lease, as it is now made, is come to one Mr. Trapps of London.

II. *Hospitale de Harbaldown prope Cantuariam.*

It is of the foundation of the Lord Archbishop of Canter-

bury: and there be placed there sixty poor people, men and women. And they have their corrodies by the Lord Archbishop, for the time being, of perpetual alms. *Item*, They be not charged with the taxes of the tenths. Anno 1562.

Hospitale S. Johan. Baptistæ extra muros civitatis Cant. III.

It is of the like foundation and order that the hospital of Harbaldown is. *Referatur pro ulteriori declaratione ad reverendissimum.*

Hospitale pauperum Sacerdotum civitatis Cant. IV.

It is of the foundation and patronage of the Archdeacon of Canterbury. It was ordained for the relief of poor indigent Priests, who are to be relieved of the revenues of the house. There is a Master of the said hospital, *viz.* one Mr. Bacon, a temporal man, who is not resident, neither maketh any distribution. The hospital house is marvelously in ruin and decay. It is taxed to the perpetual tenths, and payeth xxii*s.* and x*d.*

Hospitale in civitate Cant. vocat. Mainards Spittle. V.

It is of the foundation of the Mayor and Commonalty of the city of Canterbury: and it is endowed by their gift with as much lands and old leases as be worth by the year five mark, and not above. There be placed in the said hospital seven poor people, men and women, by the Mayor and Commonalty; and have no other relief, but only the said five marks, and the alms of the town. They be not taxed to the tenth.

Hospitale de Eastbridge Cant. 114

It is of the foundation of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. There is a Master presented by the Lord Archbishop, and is instituted and inducted, &c. It is appointed by the foundation, that the same shall relieve poor people, vagrants, that is to say, to have lodging and fire for a night, two or three, at the good discretion of the Master. There VI.

BOOK II. Anno 1562.

are competently furnished at this day eight beds for poor men in one chamber, and three beds in another chamber for women: and the people resorting are relieved according to the foundation in good reasonable order. The said hospital is taxed to the perpetual tenths, and payeth yearly xlvii*s.* x*d. ob.*

VII. *Hospitale Sancti Bartholomæi prope villam Sandwich.*

It is of the first foundation of one Sir John Sandwich, Knight; and now of the foundation of the Mayor and Commonalty of the town of Sandwich. And by the said Mayor there be placed from time to time the number of twelve Brothers and four Sisters: who are relieved only of the revenues of the said hospital, amounting to the yearly value by estimation of forty pounds. The said hospital is charitably used to God's glory; and the same surveyed from time to time by the Mayor of Sandwich, and kept in good order. It is not taxed to the perpetual tenth.

VIII. *Hospitale infra villam Sandwich, vocat. Ellys Hospital.*

It was first founded by one Thomas Ellys; and it is now of the foundation and patronage of the Mayor and Jurats of the same. There be placed for term of life eight Brothers and four Sisters. And they are relieved by alms, and the revenue of the said hospital, amounting to twelve pounds by year. The hospital is very charitably ordered and surveyed by the Mayor. It is not taxed to the tenths.

IX. *Hospitale D. Joannis, vocat. S. John's House of Sandwich.*

This house is charitably founded, maintained, and provided, by the Mayor and Jurats; and they have no possessions; and twelve poor people are relieved there.

X. *Hospitale S. Bartholomæi prope Hythe.*

It is of the foundation of Hamon, Bishop of Rochester, in the time of Edward III. There are according to the foundation thirteen poor people, who are relieved by alms, and

by the revenues of the said hospital, amounting to the sum of eight pounds by year with the charges. The said hospital is taxed to the tenth, and payeth viis. iid. CHAP. X. Anno 1562.

Hospitale S. Johannis de Hythe. XI.

It is only founded, ordered, and charitably maintained by the Jurats and Commonalty of the said town. And there are kept and daily maintained eight beds for the needy poor people, and such as are maimed in the wars. The said hospital is endued with so much lands as do amount to six pounds by the year. It is not taxed to the tenths.

Domus Pauperum apud Wy, vocat. Le Almes House. XII.

It is without a foundation, permitted, maintained, and upholden by Sir Tho. Kemp, Knight, only upon his charitable zeal. And there do live certain poor people of alms. It is not charged with any tenth.

Domus Leprosorum apud Bobbing. 115

It is the gift and foundation of George Clifford, Gentleman, of charity. There are harboured none but poor lazar people, who beg for their living. It is not charged with any tenth. XIII.

The declaration of Schools within the diocese of Canterbury. Schools.

First, There is at Canterbury, within the metropolitical church there, a grammar-school by the Queen's Majesty's foundation. The Schoolmaster hath by the year xx*l.* the Usher x*l.* It is not taxed, nor charged with tenths. At Canterbury.

Item, There is at Wy a grammar-school of the Queen's Majesty's foundation, newly erected, *viz.* sithen at the dissolution of the college there. And the Schoolmaster receiveth yearly xiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* It is not chargeable with tenths. At Wy.

Item, There is a school erected by the charge of the Mayor and Commonalty of the town of Maidstone; who have purchased of the King certain lands to that intent, amounting to ix*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* It is not charged with tenths. At Maidstone.

BOOK II.

Anno 1562. At Tenterden.

Item, There is a grammar-school at Tenterden, erected by certain parishioners there, who have of charity enfeoffed certain lands to the value of x*l.* by the year. And by the feoffment, the Schoolmaster is to be elected by the Vicar there for the time being. It is not charged with the tenths.

CHAP. XI.

Commissions from the Archbishop for visitation of All Souls college and Merton, in Oxford. The University of Cambridge apply to the Archbishop. The Archbishop's sentence against the Earl of Hertford's marriage.

All Souls and Merton visited.

THE Archbishop this year gave a commission to Dr. Yale, his Vicar General and Principal Official, and Dr. Kennal, to visit All Souls in Oxford, dated May 16. The Archbishop was Visitor also of Merton college in the same University, wherein was a great Popish faction, headed by one Hall,

Man.

a Fellow. This faction set themselves against Man, the Archbishop's Chaplain, lately placed Warden there; who, the year after this, had translated into English Musculus's Common Places, and dedicated the book to the Archbishop; and whom the Queen afterwards made use of for her Ambassador into Spain. His Grace therefore gave out a commission, dated May 22. to Dr. Yale, Dr. Warner, M. D. and John Kennal, LL. D. who was Canon of Christ's Church, and Archdeacon of Oxon, after the death of Dr. Wright, to visit the said college. But to see to what a pass it was come, and how zealous a great many of them were for the old superstitions, and how loath to let them go; I shall give some account how this visitation of Merton college began, and how carried on.

Visitation of Merton.

It began May 25. On the next day they issued out Articles to be inquired of concerning the Fellows and other Scholars, and officers of the college. Which Articles were these:

Articles of Inquiry for Merton. Park. Regist.

I. How many Fellows there be in this house, and what

kind of study they do severally apply themselves unto. And whether they be chosen according to the mind of their several Founders.

II. Whether all the Fellows of this house do use to dine and sup at the common table, and not elsewhere.

III. Whether they do frequent and use the church upon Sundays and holydays at the time of divine service; and do there continue unto the end thereof. And how often in a year every one of them doth receive the Communion. 116

IV. Whether any of them be defamed with any crime, or be slanderous to the college, or disobedient towards their superiors and elders; unquiet towards their Fellows; causers of strife and debate; negligent at his study, or hath foughten or stricken any of the Fellows of this house.

V. Whether any of them hath stirred or moved any suit; whereby the college hath been charged, or the goods of the college suspended thereby.

VI. Whether any of them have received any more wages, or of the college goods, than by the statutes of the same is appointed.

VII. Whether any of them do break concord and brotherly charity within this college between Master and Fellow, or any other of the same college.

VIII. Whether any do keep any pupils under him, which do not learn logic.

IX. Whether any Fellow hath any scholars living within his chamber.

X. Whether the Bursar or any other officer do keep in their private studies above the sum of five pounds of the goods of the college, above two days together.

XI. Whether they have let any money or other goods of the college to any person or persons without the consent of the Warden, Subwarden, and Fellows.

XII. Whether any of them have spent above the sum of three shillings and four pence, in buying any thing, or in reparations done upon the college, or any other houses or buildings appertaining to the same, without consent as before.

BOOK II.

Anno 1562.

XIII. Whether any of them had any conference with Mr. Hall, or any other of the college, sithence yesterday noon, touching matters of the college; or Mr. Hall with them.

XIV. Whether any of the Fellows of this house be noted to be favourers of Papistry, or of any other corrupt doctrine; or have openly maintained or defended the same; or do resort to any company suspected thereof; or be author of sedition or factions either within the house or without.

XV. Who resisted Mr. Man at his coming to the college.

XVI. Who did cut off the seal from my Lord of Canterbury's citation affixed upon the gate.

XVII. Whether Mr. Hall, for maintenance of his seditious purpose, not being senior Fellow at home, but next senior, took not upon him to call the company together; and to conclude matters, as well for the excluding Mr. Man, as others.

XVIII. Whether the Warden and more part of the Fellows have decreed before Hallontide last, that in the stead of certain superstitious hymns, appointed for certain feasts in the hall, English Psalms in metre should be sung.

XIX. Whether Mr. Hall, contrary to the said decree, did not interrupt Mr. Leach, and snatch the book out of his hand with spiteful words, when he did begin to sing the English Psalm according to the said decree.

XX. Whether the said Mr. Hall have not corrupted and falsified the common register, for the excusing of Mr. Benyon's fault.

Misdemeanors detected;

Especially of Hall, favouring Papistry.

The *comperts* upon these articles of examination were; that one of the Fellows was suspect of buggery, another for resorting to an evil house. Mr. Hall and three more were noted to favour Papistry, by their neglect of coming to sermons and to the service, and by their talk. After the Mass was last put down, Hall with one or two more did hide under a piece of the quire almost all the Popish books of service, with divers other monuments of superstition; where they do lie still. Hall, after such time as he shewed conformity,

travailed with a scholar of his own to persuade him to Papistry, shewing him places out of the Doctor's in the library: which places the boy after shewed to certain Bachelors. When Mr. Leche, according to an order made in the time of Dr. Gervis, the last Warden, to change the superstitious hymns for the Psalms in English metre, on a certain festival, *viz.* Allhallow-day, begun to sing the Te Deum, Hall, before half was done, came up crying like a madman, that they ought not nor should not sing; and struck at the Book of Psalms to have smitten it into the fire out of Leche's hand: and afterwards plucked it by force out of his hand, and threw it away, saying with trembling body, and wan countenance, to the Bachelors, "Are you still piping after his "pipe? Will you never have done puling? I shall teach "you to do as I bid you." And they lacked their singing for a great while, till one Mr. Gifford, who being second Dean, and falling from the faction, began it again. This matter of Hall, the Papists in the town did commend as a just quarrel against heretics. Moreover, Hall caused the gates to be shut by the common servants against Mr. Man, their Master chosen. And when he was almost in, the said Hall caused some to carry him back again, though he had nothing to do in it; and plucked the statute book out of Mr. Man's hand. Hall upon these disorderly doings was sent up by a pursuivant.

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1562.

117

Psalms in English metre.

But to shew a little more of Hall's temper and spirit. Thus he writ in a letter to a friend: *Salve, Jacobe; De rerum apud nos statu te certiorem facere, quoniam id a me expectas, meum esse arbitror. Frigent apud nos hæretici: sed spero eos aliquando fervescere, sicut olim vidimus archihæreticos in fossa illa suburbana, ubi Vulcano traditi fuerunt.* That is, "James, I salute you; I think it my part, seeing "you expect it of me, to certify you of the state of affairs "here. The heretics that are with us grow cold. But I "hope one day they will become warm; as we sometimes saw "the arch-heretics do in that ditch in the suburbs*, where "they were delivered to Vulcan." And to see a little more of him and of his poison, thus he most profanedly ridiculed

A specimen of Hall's spirit.

* Where Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer were burnt.

BOOK II.

Anno 1562.

an instrument of the Bishop's of London; *Edmundus permissione diabolica Londinensis apostata, omnibus et singulis Clericis per nostram diœcesim ubilibet constitutis, simultatem, hypocrisim et maledictionem*, &c. This libel Mr. Benyon did publish among the Bachelors.

Expelled.

The issue of this visitation beforesaid was, that Man was settled in his wardenship, and this dangerous infectious person, Hall, was according to his deserts expelled. And the visitors after this progress made in their visitation, and some adjournments, appointed others to proceed in it, by an instrument dated Oct. 13. *viz.* Thomas White and John Griffith, LL. DD. and John May, M. A.

Cambridge applies to the Archbishop for a favour.

Let us turn our eyes to the other University, which did now earnestly call for the Archbishop's help also. A remarkable occasion now happened for him to shew his seasonable kindness to them in a very great strait. For their High Chancellor, Sir William Cecil, seemed resolved to relinquish his office, and to that intent had sent them a letter of abdication: which must needs not only surprise the University, but afflict them sensibly, to be deprived of so cordial and able a patron. And herein the Archbishop's intercession was required. But let us first hear the chief causes of this resolution of the Chancellor, which were those frequent heats and factions that sprung up among them, and the disaffection many of them shewed to the orders of the Church.

Cecil's letter to the University. E Collect. Epistolar. Rog. Gale, Armig.

In his letter to them it appears, "That this was no sudden "resolution, but that he found daily more and more causes "moving him to surrender that office: divers whereof he "mentioned to them. As, that first, he was not meet for it, "having no learning to judge of men learned. And fur- "ther, that he had not leisure to hear their causes, and much "less to promote them, and consequently no opportunity "to end them. Another great cause was the trouble he "conceived, that so great a part of the colleges were become "so full of faction and contention, and they like to increase. "The redress whereof could not come from him as it ought "to do from a Chancellor, because he could neither skill to "judge of the controversies, being risen upon laws and pri-

" vate statutes; nor could come thither to subdue the same CHAP. XI.
" with his presence, nor with the authority of his office.
" And in fine, which most of all he lamented, he could not Anno 1562.
" find such care in the Heads of the houses there to supply
" his lack, as he hoped, for the ruling of inordinate youth
" to the observation of good order, and increase of learning
" and knowledge of God. For he saw that the wiser sort
" that had authority would not join together earnestly, to
" overrule the licentious parties of youth in breaking of or-
" der, and the stubbornness of others that maligned and de- 118
" praved the ecclesiastical orders established by law in the
" realm. He was sensible, he should shortly hear of no
" good comfortable report from thence: and that to keep an
" office of authority, by which these disorders might be re-
" medied, and not to use it, was to betray the safety of the
" same; whereof, he said, he had some conscience.

" And that therefore he thought it meet, that they, the
" University, should appoint that room to some one such as
" might come thither, and visit the state thereof, and to set
" things in frame. Yet still they might keep an assured ac-
" count of him, that he would remain as careful and willing
" to do good to that University and to every member thereof,
" as before." This was dated in June from the Court.

Now what should the University do in this plunge? For their Chancellor they must not part with, if possible they might prevail with him to continue, the being deprived of whom they call justly *immedicabile vulnus*. First, therefore, they pen a letter to him in a most humble and submissive manner, entreating him not to leave them, and promising all obedience and observance of him for the future. Which letter was dated June the 15th. And two more letters they also writ at the same time, to Dr. Walter Haddon, Master of the Requests, and to our Archbishop, to be intercessors with Cecil in this behalf: and making Dr. Pory and Mr. Hawford, two of their Heads, their messengers to these honourable personages, with their letters.

The contents of the letter the University preferred to the Archbishop were to this effect: " That they would not have The University's letter to

BOOK II.

Anno 1562. the Archbishop. Transcr. à Tho. Baker, S. Th. B. ex Reg. Literar. Acad.

"presumed to disturb his most weighty affairs, had there "not been a great business of theirs, yea of his Lordship's, "(since the University's cause was his,) had required it. "That this cause touched not their fortunes, nor any mem- "ber of their body, but the head itself. A desperate evil, "unless timely prevented. And whether it might be pre- "vented by time, it was uncertain; unless his Lordship "would vouchsafe seasonably to make himself a mediator. "That their most honourable and most worthy Chancellor "(whom the University was bound to, in many respects) "would no longer bear the supreme magistracy over them; "and that they had not only heard of this by messages, "but by a letter writ by his own hand: and that he "seemed to be resolved in his mind about it; alleging di- "vers great causes of his said purpose, which they would "not conceal from him, (whom they made their mediator,) "to arise from themselves, namely, their factions. But that "if he, by his entreaties, could wipe off this great guilt from "them, and obtain of their Chancellor still to remain so, "they doubted not but that there would be a visible reform- "ation of studies and manners in the University. And "they, the Heads, promised to be more watchful over their "colleges, and mend all things amiss, either by their coun- "sel or correction: and being fatherly admonished by their "Chancellor and by him, would always acquiesce in their "authority, embrace their advices, and fulfil their com- "mands." This dated *a Senatu Præsidum*, 15 cal. July, 1562.

He prevails in their behalf.

The Archbishop could not deny this request, and both he and Dr. Haddon wrote their letters to the Chancellor in the University's behalf. Which the said messengers carried to him, to make the better way for that which they brought from Cambridge with them. And the Chancellor by these means was reconciled: sending back by Pory and Hawford certain injunctions, for the reforming the scholars in divers things wanting.

The Archbishop's sentence

Here let me insert a judicial act of the Archbishop, in commission with some other delegates; pronouncing sen-

tence, May the 12th, anno 4. Eliz. against Edward, Earl of Hertford, and the Lady Catharine Gray, his reputed wife. He was eldest son to the late Duke of Somerset; she sister to the late excellent Lady Jane Gray, unhappily set up for Queen, and daughter to the late Henry, Duke of Suffolk, whose wife was of the blood royal. Both he and she pretended a marriage, though at most it seems to have been but a contract, consummated without the ceremony of the solemnization. For this presumption and clandestine act the Queen was exceedingly angry with them, and committed them both to the Tower; and had them at length prosecuted at law, as was said before: notwithstanding he had two sons by her in the Tower, Edward and Thomas. Which Edward had not the earldom, but was contented with his father's first title of Viscount Beauchamp. Some books were then written by their favourers in vindication of them, and for the making it a legitimate marriage. And no question the Archbishop underwent censures for his proceedings. The Lady Catharine soon fell into exceeding grief and melancholy upon the Queen's displeasure and these courses against her: and that produced such bodily sickness, that she had leave granted to remove out of the Tower, and to remain for a time with her uncle, the Lord John Gray, at Pyrgo in Essex; and was then, being at his house, very near death. But I find she died in Suffolk about the end of January 1568. The Archbishop on the day afore specified by his definitive sentence pronounced the Earl's carnal copulation with her to be unlawful and illegitimate, and, for this excess, both him and her to be censured for fornication. Notwithstanding Edward, his eldest son by the said Lady Catharine, bore the title of Lord Beauchamp, who died in his father's lifetime. But had issue William: who, by letters patents, dated May 14. in the sixth of King James I. was instituted into the earldom of Hertford.

Anno 1562. against the Earl of Hertford.

119

Union of Hon. By York.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1562.

A Synod. The Archbishop's doings therein. His character of the Bishops. The oath of the Supremacy. The Archbishop's advice to the Bishops for the moderate administering of it. His letter to the Secretary about it. Dr. Ackworth. The Archbishop's reparation of his palace; and hospitality.

A Synod.

NOW in January sat the famous Synod, wherein great and weighty debates were had about religion. The Queen's brief to the Archbishop for calling together this Synod was dated the 11th of November; and ran to this tenor:

The Queen's brief to the Archbishop. Regist. Grind.

Elizabetha Dei gratia, Angl. Fra. et Hib. Regina, Fidei Defensor, &c. Reverendiss. in Christo Patri Matthæo ead. gratia Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano, sal. Quibusdam arduis et urgentib. negotiis nos securitatem et defensionem Ecclesiæ Anglican. ac pacem et tranquillitatem, bonum publicum et defensionem regni nostri et subditorum nostrorum ejusd. concernentib. Vobis in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis et ponderatis, universos et singulos Episcopos vestræ provinciæ, ac Decanos ecclesiarum cathedralium, nec non Archidiaconos, capitula et collegia, totumque Clerum cujuslibet dioc. ejusdem provinciæ ad comparend. coram vobis in ecclesiâ cathedrali S. Pauli, Lond. duodecimo die Januarii ex futuro, debito more convocari faciatis, ad tractand. consentiend. et concludend. super præmissis, et aliis quæ sibi clarius exponentur tunc ibid. ex parte nostra. Et hoc, sicut nos et statum regni nostri et honorem, et utilitatem ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meips. ap. Westmon. xi. die Novemb. anno regni nostri quarto.

Accordingly the Archbishop sent his mandate to the Bishop of London, to summon the Clergy to the Convocation: which was dated from Lambeth the 27th of Novemb. 1562.

When this Convocation was to meet, the Archbishop had a great eye to the good that he hoped would be done herein, for the settlement of true religion in peace and quiet order, and for the restoring of discipline. Therefore were many matters prepared before, to be moved by the Clergy there; as, for a form of doctrine to be made and received; for rites and ceremonies; for ecclesiastical laws and discipline; for the augmentation of small livings, &c. But though many excellent things were disputed and argued, propounded and endeavoured to be brought to pass with respect to the said particulars, yet little more came to perfection, besides an uniformity of doctrine, contained in Thirty-nine Articles, which were to be subscribed by all Clergymen. The pains the Archbishop took in these Articles of Religion was very considerable. For it was his judgment and care that reduced the forty-two Articles of Religion, framed under King Edward, unto thirty-nine. And there is extant the Archbishop's own original book, wherein appear his corrections, alterations, additions, and expungings, made by his own red lead pen, according to which (in the main) the Articles then passed, and remain to this day. At the end of this book, that the autograph might be most exactly preserved, without any surreptitious additions or alterations, the Archbishop caused it to be written, "That it "was in his keeping, and that it contained nineteen pages, "and that in the first page were four Articles, and thirty-"four lines, and so expressing how many Articles and how "many lines each page consisted of." And then follows a declaration of the Bishops and the other members of the Synod, that they received the said book of Articles; to which all their hands were subscribed. But all this and the other transactions and debates have been largely set down by me elsewhere.

Anno 1562.

120

The Archbishop's pains in the Thirty-nine Articles.

Vol. Synodalia in Biblioth. C. C. C. C.

Reformat. of Rel. under Queen Elizabeth, ch. 27.

Yet it shall not be amiss here to relate, by way of journal, how the Archbishop was present, influenced and directed from time to time in this famous Synod, wherein he favourably to the Gospel presided. And first, that it might be entered upon in a synodal way, with the greater order and

His directory for the Synod.

BOOK II.

solemnity according to antique practice, the Archbishop himself, or some of his officers by his direction, (as it seems,) drew up a directory in Latin, with the form of choosing a Prolocutor, beginning, *Sciendum est*, &c. It is printed both in *The rights and powers of an English Convocation*, and in the *Synodus Anglicana*, in the Appendix to each book. And therefore I shall not here repeat it. But the sum of it in English, taken out of the acts of 1562. pointing out the orders to be observed by his Grace the first day of the Convocation, was as followeth, *viz.*

Anno 1562.

1. Order the first day of Convocation. MSS. Synodal. pen. F. Atterbury, S. T. P. Decan. Carliol.

First, His Grace to repair to Paul's Wharfe or the Black Friars, or to some other place at his pleisure; where the cumpanie of the Doctors and Proctors of Tharches, and other officers of his Graces Courts [are] to mete him: and so to attende uppon him to the greate southe doare of Paules.

2. *Item*, At the said southe doare of Paules, the Dean and Residenciaries, with al other the Ministers of the said church, to wait for his Grace within the said doore; and to attend uppon him to the vestrie of the said church.

3. *Item*, In the vestrie my Lord's Grace and other the Busshops there present put on theire Convocation roobes: and so to go into the quere by the west doare of the same quier. Wheare my Lords Grace to be placed in the Deanes stall; and the rest of the Busshoppes in the stalles of the Prebendaries.

4. *Item*, My Lords Grace and the other Busshopps being so placed, the Ministers of the churche to sing first the Letanye, and afterwards the hymne, *Veni Creator*, in English.

5. *Item*, The Letanye and hymne being so songe, the Preacher to enter into the pulpit, and to preache in Lattin.

6. *Item*, The sermon being done, the Ministers of the churche eftsones to singe the said hymne, *Veni Creator*, in English. Which hymne being done, my Lords Grace to repair to the chapter-house: the rest of the Busshopps and the whole Clergy of the Lower House to attend upon him.

7. *Item*, His Grace and the Busshops being set in the chapter-house, the Busshop of London must retorne his certifi-

cat, and the same to be openlye reade by my Lords Graces Chancelor.

Item, The certificat being so read, and all the Busshopps in the same openlye called, and theire apparences noted by my Lords Graces Register, his Grace to make a short oration to the Busshops and the Clergie. Anno 1562. 8.

Item, The oration being ended, his Grace to commaund the Clergie of the Lower House to repaire to the place of theire accustomed assembly: and there to chuse sum one grave, wise, and learned man of their cumpanie to be theire Prolocutor: and to present him to his Grace, and the rest of the Busshops at a certain other day, by his Grace to be appointed. 9. 121

Item, Theis things being thus done, my Lords Grace to appoint his Chancelor to receive the Busshoppes certificatts, and the proxies of such as shall be absent, and to examine the cause of their absence. 10.

Item, After theis things so done, his Grace to reade a schedule against such as shall be absent: and thereby to pronounce them contumacious, *reservata pœna contumaciarum suarum usque in proximam sessionem.* 11.

Item, The said schedule being thus redd, his Grace to read another schedule of prorogation of the Convocation, until his next sitting. 12.

Item, Theis as aforesaid finished, his Grace with the rest of the Busshops attending uppon him to the Busshop of Londons, there to dine, &c. 13.

The first day of the meeting of the Synod at St. Paul's, *viz.* Jan. the 12th, the Archbishop was not there, but Dr. Robert Weston, Official of the Court of Canterbury, took his place by commission, and continued and prorogued the Synod till Wednesday the 13th of January. Then the Archbishop himself came in person from Lambeth in his barge, and landed at Paul's Wharf: and so to Paul's, entering at the south door, the Dean, Canons, and other Ministers of the said church in their surplices waiting on him, and conducting him to the vestry; there putting on his habit. And the Bishops Suffragans of Canterbury accom- The Archbishop repairs to the Synod. His first coming to Paul's.

BOOK II.

Anno 1562.

panying him, alike habited, he went thence into the choir, and was placed in the Dean's stall, the Bishops in the Prebendaries' stalls sitting on both sides of the choir. Then was sung by the Ministers of the church the Litany in the vulgar tongue, according to the manner and rite of the Book of Common Prayer. Then *Veni Creator* was solemnly sung. Then Day, Provost of Eaton college, in the habit of a Bachelor of Divinity, made a Latin sermon in a fine style, from a pulpit placed in the midst of the choir, the Bishops, Clergy, and people present. Sermon being ended, *Blessed is the man that hath not walked*, &c. was sung in English. And that finished, the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by the Bishop of London, the Archbishop, and all the rest of the Bishops receiving. The Communion being ended, the Archbishop went out of the choir into the chapter-house, together with the Bishops, and the rest of the Prelates of the Clergy. He sat in his place, and his Suffragan Bishops sitting with him on each side; namely, Edmund London, Robert Winton, William Chichester, John Hereford, Richard Ely, Edwin Wigorn, Roland Bangor, Nicolas Lincoln, John Sarum, Richard Meneven, Edmund Roff, Gilbert Bath and Wells, Thomas Coventry and Litchfield, William Exon, John Norwich, Edmund Peterborough, Thomas St. Asaph, Richard Gloucester, and Commendatory of Bristol. Then certain things of form and custom, and the protestation of the Dean of Westminster, being despatched, his Grace made a short speech full of eloquence to the said Fathers and Clergy. Wherein among other things he shewed the opportunity they now had offered them for reforming matters in the Church of England: and further declared how ready and inclinable the Queen and others of the nobility of the kingdom were towards such a reformation. Then he exhorted and bade the Prelates and Clergy of the Lower House to provide a grave, learned, and able man among them for a Prolocutor or Referendary, recommending to them especially Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's: and on Saturday following, to present whom they should choose to him, or

whom he should appoint in his place. After this, he commissionated Dr. Yale, his Chancellor, and Dr. Drury, his Commissary for the Faculties, to receive the Bishops' certificatories, and to look into the proxies of the absents, and to examine the causes of their respective absences. And then pronounced all of the Clergy that appeared not by themselves, nor by their proxies, to be contumacious, reserving the punishment of their contumacies unto the next session. Anno 1562.

The next session being Saturday, Jan. the 16th, the Archbishop came again to the Synod held at St. Paul's, between one and two in the afternoon, with the rest of the Bishops. There, in the chapter-house, first of all prayers were said by him, pronounced with a loud and intelligible voice, in Latin, with the usual Collects, and a new prayer proper to be said in a provincial Synod. These prayers were responsed by the Bishops, the Prelates, the Clergy, and people present. After these things, the Clergy resorting to their own house, the Archbishop sent for them; who being come presented the foresaid Nowel for their Prolocutor, being conducted between the Deans of Westminster and of Christ Church Oxon. The former in a short Latin speech shewed, how deservedly they had elected him, on the account of his virtues and endowments. But the venerable Elect in another speech disabled himself for various reasons for so great an office. Yet lest he should seem to decline a work so godly, he promised willingly to take it upon him. Then the most reverend having some discourse with the rest of the Bishops concerning his fitness for this place, all with one mind concluded and affirmed him most fit for the said office of Prolocutor. Then the said most reverend Father, with the common assent of the rest of the Fathers, in a handsome speech confirmed the election made of so worthy a person. And so dismissed the Lower House. The next thing he did, was to desire the Bishops, that each of them would bethink themselves of such things as in their several dioceses wanted reformation; and that they would propound them in the next session. And then the Archbishop and his brethren had secret communication among themselves, all others being

The Archbishop again at the Synod.

122

Nowel Prolocutor.

BOOK II.

withdrawn. And so by their consent he continued and prorogued the Convocation to the Tuesday following, being Anno 1562. January the 19th, appointing that next meeting to be in King Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster.

His third presence at the Synod.

When the Archbishop was there again in person. Beginning the session with the prayer mentioned before. Now the most reverend Father, with the rest of his Suffragans, held a conference or disputation concerning some articles relating to the Christian faith. And afterwards sent for the Prolocutor; who with six others of the Lower House appeared before the Bishops; and certified them, that some of their house had exhibited certain sheets of paper concerning matters to be reformed; being respectively devised by them and reduced into writing. Which sheets by common consent were delivered to certain of the graver and learneder sort of that Lower House, whom they had pitched upon for this purpose, to take a careful view of them, and to consider them: and that it was appointed them to reduce these sheets into chapters, and to exhibit them the next session before him, the Prolocutor. And he further proposed that the Articles in the London Synod, set forth, as he said, in the time of King Edward VI. might be delivered to some other of their company, chosen also for this purpose, to take a diligent view, examination, and consideration of them; and, as they thought good, to correct and reform them; and the next session also to exhibit them. All this the most reverend did approve and allow, and willed and commanded them to proceed in the same according to their determination. And then he continued and prorogued the Convocation to the next day, *viz.* Jan. the 20th.

Present again divers times.

The said day the Archbishop was again present, with the rest of his brethren, the Bishops. Where, after prayers begging the Divine assistance, being set, for three hours space they treated and held communication between themselves, upon certain articles touching Christ's holy religion: whereof mention was made in the acts yesterday. And so the Convocation was prorogued and continued to Friday, January the 22d: when the diligent Archbishop was pre-

sent again with the rest of the Bishops. And so he was with them constantly every session after, for some time, *viz.* Jan. 25. 27. and 29. consulting with his brethren commonly for three hours together before they brake up, upon the articles of doctrine, and matters to be reformed. On which 29th day they subscribed their names unanimously, to certain articles of orthodox faith, *viz.* the Thirty-nine Articles, and sent them down to the Lower House to be subscribed there. In this session also the most reverend, with the consent of his brethren, chose these Bishops following, *viz.* of London, Winchester, Lincoln, and Hereford, to devise certain heads for a *discipline* in the Church, the *doctrine* of it being now so well despatched. Anno 1562.

He was present also in the session February the 3d, consulting then with the rest of the Upper House in secret communication for about three hours. After which he committed his place to some of the Bishops. Because by this time, as it seems, they were come to a resolution concerning discipline, and matters that required reformation. But after three sessions, in the session Febr. the 13th, being Saturday, the Archbishop appeared again; the reason whereof was for the forwarding a subsidy to be raised by the Clergy: as he was present the next session, Febr. the 15th, upon the same business: and likewise Febr. 22. when it was despatched and finished. 123

And though the most reverend Father was present divers times after, (for the knowledge of which, recourse may be had to the journal of this Convocation,) yet I shall mention only one of his comings more, which was on Friday the 19th of February, having then a weighty business to offer to the consideration of the Lower House; which declared his patriarchal care for the state of the poor Clergy, to stop (if possible) some severe counsels of laying heavier burdens upon them. For having now at this session sent for the Prolocutor; and he with six others of the said House appearing, the Archbishop gave him certain articles in writing; and bade them all diligently to inquire into the contents thereof: and whatsoever they should find, to re-

The Archbishop delivers articles to the Prolocutor.

BOOK II.

duce into writing, and deliver and exhibit to him. The Articles were these:

Anno 1562. The Articles.

"*First*, Whether yf the writt *De melius inquirendo* be "sent forth, the likelyhod be, that yt will turne to the "Quenes commoditie.

"*Item*, Whether sum benefices ratable be not les then "they be alredie valued.

"*Item*, To enquire of the manner of dilapidations, and "other spoliations, that they can remembre to have passed "upon theyr lyvinges; and by whom.

"*Item*, How they have bene used for the levying of "arrearages of tenths and subsidies: and for how many "years past.

"*Item*, How many benefyces they fynd that are charged "with pensions of religious persons.

"*Item*, To certify how many benefyces are vacant in "every dyocese."

These inquiries, I make no doubt, were framed by the Archbishop, that the answers to them from the Clergy throughout the nation (which the Lower House represented) might declare their poverty and miserable harassed condition. Which, being offered and better known to the Court, might facilitate compassion to be shewn them, and prevent more rigours designed against them. But I do not find any answers brought in from the Lower House to this paper.

This Synod, after thirty-six sessions, by virtue of the Queen's writ to the Archbishop, was, on the 14th of April 1563, prorogued and continued to the third day of October ensuing, by Dr. Yale, commissioned thereto by the said most reverend Father.

Conference between the Archbishop and Secretary concerning the Bishops.

The Synod being thus broke up, and the Bishops and inferior Clergy, the members thereof, departed and gone home, our Archbishop and Secretary Cecil, in an evening soon after, had a serious conference between themselves concerning the Bishops, their tempers, dispositions, discretions, abilities, qualifications, and fitness for their office. The Archbishop found many of them, by the late experi-

ence he had of them in the Synod, to have had their frailties: which chiefly consisted in their not proceeding with that prudent moderation with regard to Papists, as he reckoned convenient: which he still pressed upon them, as he wrote in a private letter to the Secretary about this time. The Queen on the other hand, as he proceeded to tell the Secretary, thought him too soft and easy. And indeed towards the Popish sort he acknowledged he carried himself affably, sparing punishment. Yet towards the wilful of them severe enough.

Anno 1562.

The statute for assuring the Queen's power.

But now happened another occasion for our Archbishop to shew his wisdom and moderation. In this fifth year of the Queen, Jan. 12. her second Parliament began to sit. Wherein an act was made for the assurance of the Queen's power over all estates. The chief intent was to fortify the Queen's power ecclesiastical, in her own dominions, against the Papal pretences. By virtue of this act all people whatsoever, ecclesiastical as well as lay, that took any preferment upon them, whether in the Inns of Court, or University, or in the Church, were bound to take the oath framed in the Queen's first Parliament in the first year of her government. Which ran to this tenor:

124

The oath of supremacy.

" I *A. B.* do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, " that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor " of this realm, and of all other her Highness' dominions " and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical " things or cases, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, " person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, " any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or au- " thority ecclesiastical or temporal within this realm. And " therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign " jurisdiction, powers, superiorities, and authorities; and do " profess, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true " allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful " successors; and to my power shall assist and defend all " jurisdictions, privileges, preeminences, and authorities, " granted or belonging unto the Queen's Highness, her " heirs and successors, or united or annexed to the imperial

BOOK II.

" Crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the con-
" tents of this book."

Anno 1562. The penalty.

This oath the Archbishops and Bishops were empowered to administer to all their Clergy. The penalty, pain, and forfeiture of the refusal of this oath was, that the first time they proceeded against the refusers by the statute of *provisions* and *premunire*, made in the 16th year of King Richard II. And the Bishop was, within forty days after the refusal, to certify under his seal into the King's Bench, the name, place, and degree of the person so refusing. And if the same person did within three months after the first tender of the oath to him refuse again to take it; that then, for the second offence, he was to forfeit, lose, and suffer such like and the same pains, forfeitures, judgments, and executions, as were used in cases of high treason.

One speaks against this bill.

Against the severity of the penalty of this bill did a member of the Lower House stand up and argue. " And
" whereas some had said in behalf of this law, that by the
" common law of the nation the offence of not owning the
" Queen's supremacy was treason, and that the offenders
" were traitors, as men that sought to take away the
" crown from the King's head, and give it to the Pope;
" this gentleman denied this. And that if it might be
" proved, that the maintenance of foreign jurisdiction was
" not by the laws ever accounted treason; then the offence
" not being so great, the punishment ought not to be great
" neither. He heard the preachers say, that though in the
" old law idolatry was punished with death, yet since the
" coming of Christ, who came to win the world by peace,
" the greatest punishment taught by the Apostle was that
" of excommunication. That religion, as they said also,
" must sink in by persuasion, it cannot be pressed in by
" violence. And for the dealings in Queen Mary's days,
" they much misliked them, calling the Bishops *bloodsuckers*,
" and bade *fy on the tormentors*, that delighted in nothing
" but in the blood of innocents, that threatened the whole
" realm with fire and fagot: that they were murderers,
" worse than Caiaphas and Judas. And that they spake

" with such vehemency, that he wondered how it should be " that they should now desire to establish that as a law, " which they thought then so far unlawful. That indeed " many a solemn Clerk and holy Father had been in the " Church, that much misliked these cruel handlings, and " wished rather the opinions of the men to be taken away " than the men themselves. Then he undertook to shew, " I. The cause why in all Christian realms offenders in reli- " gion were punished with death. II. How far the punish- " ment in this bill devised, exceeded that in rigor and " cruelty. III. How offenders in this cause of religion " ought not to be punished by the one, nor by the other, " but liberty of their consciences allowed them." This whole speech is set down in the Annals of the Reformation; to which I refer the reader.

Anno 1562.

Annal Reform. ch. 26.

The Lord Mountague also made another speech in the House of Lords (as the former was made in the House of Commons) against passing this bill: and his discourse ran upon these three arguments; *viz.* That this law was not necessary, was not just nor reasonable, nor that it was possible and commodious, apt or fit to be put in execution. Yet, notwithstanding the best arguments the Papists could make, the bill passed. This Lord's speech also is set down at large in the book above said.

125

And so does the Lord Mountague.

But to our Archbishop this severe act created some pensive thoughts; being a matter that might occasion much hard speech against the Bishops, if any by their information (which they were by the act directed to make) should come to lose their lives. The result of the Archbishop's deliberation in this matter was, privately to send his letters to his brethren, warning them to have a great regard, and use much prudence, in executing that act, and not to tender the oath a second time to any (as they might be provoked probably by the Papists' obstinacy sometimes to do) before they had sent to him, giving him notice thereof, and had received his letter in answer thereunto. This tenderness of the Archbishop, in requiring the Bishops not to offer the oath the second time without his notice, was very commend-

The Archbishop's moderation in the execution of this act.

BOOK II.

Anno 1562.

able; that none might have occasion to clamour against them or their order as cruel, or affecting the shedding of the blood of those that differed from them, or revenging themselves for former injuries. And having drawn up the minutes of the said letter, he sent it to Secretary Cecil for his judgment and advice, and according to his approbation he would proceed therein. Which letter ran thus:

His letter to the Bishops thereupon. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

"To his loving brother, &c. After my right hearty "commendations to your Lordship, this is upon good and "deliberate consideration to require you, as also upon your "obedience to charge you, to have a very grave, prudent, "and godly respect, in executing the act of the establishment "of the Queen's authority over her ecclesiastical subjects, "late passed in this Parliament. And that if upon very "apparent cause your Lordship shall be as it were com-"pelled, for the wilfulness of some of that sort, to tender "the oath mentioned in the same act, the peremptory re-"fusal whereof shall endanger them in *premunire*, that im-"mediately upon such refusal of any person you do ad-"dress your letters to me, expressing the disorders of such "one who is fallen into such danger; and that ye proceed "not to offer the said oath a second time, until your Lord-"ship shall have mine answer returned again to you in "writing. Which upon your declaration of the behaviour "of such wilful recusants shall, I trust, extend to the pu-"nishment and abolishment of such corrupt members, "if reason and clemency will not convince their wilful "error and stubborn ignorance. Praying your Lordship "also not to interpret mine advertisement, as tending to "shew myself a patron for the easing of such evil-hearted "subjects, which, for divers of them, do bear a perverse "stomach to the purity of Christ's religion, and to the state of "the realm thus by God's providence quietly reposed, and "which also do envy the continuance of us all so placed by "the Queen's favour, as we be: but only in respect of a "fatherly and pastoral care; which must appear in us, "which be heads of his flocks, not to follow our private af-"fection and hearts, but to provide *coram Deo et hominibus*,

" for saving and winning of others, if it may be so ob-
" tained.

" And I also pray you to assure and persuade yourselves, Anno 1562.
" that this manner of my sudden writing at this time is This was added to these minutes by Secretary Cecil's hand.
" grounded upon great and necessary consideration, for the
" weal and credit of us that are governors in the Church,
" under the Queen's Majesty, and yet for divers respects
" meet to be kept secret to yourselves, as I doubt not but
" your wisdoms will easily see and judge."

This device aforesaid did the Archbishop send unto his friend the Secretary, together with a letter to him, explaining his reason of penning it in his own name, rather than in the Queen's, who also was privy to this business, not willing to have this act executed to the extremity. Wherein also he gave some character of his brethren the Bishops, of whom he had now better knowledge since the late Synod. And this was the Archbishop's letter:

" Sir, in consideration of yesternight's talk, calling to my 126
" remembrance the qualities of all my brethren, in experi- The Archbishop to the Secretary concerning the Bishops. MSS. G. P. Arm.
" ence of our Convocation societies, I see some of them to
" be *pleni rimarum, hac atque illac effluunt*, although in-
" deed the Queen's Majesty may have good cause to be
" well contented with her choice of the most of them, very
" few excepted. Among whom I count And
" furthermore, though we have done among ourselves little
" in our Queen's cause, yet I assure you our mutual con-
" sciences have taught us such experiences, that I trust we
" shall all be yet the better in governance for hereafter.
" And where the Queen's Highness doth note me to be
" soft and easy, I think divers of my brethren will rather
" note me, if they were asked, too sharp and too earnest in
" moderation. Which towards them I have used, and will
" still do, till mediocrity shall be received among us.
" Though towards them *qui foris sunt*, I cannot but shew
" civil affability, and yet, I trust, inclining to no great
" cowardness, to suffer wilful heads to escape so easily.
" *Sed ista parerga.*

" I have thought to use this kind of writing to my bre-

BOOK II. Anno 1562.

" thren, already departed home; not to recite the Queen's " Majesty's name; which I would not have rehearsed " to their discouragement of the honest Protestants; nor " known too easy, to the rejoice of the adversaries, her " adversaries indeed. I had rather to bear the burden my- " self, to sustain the note of what they both will, than the " good cause should be touched like to [produce] much " quiet obedience. Whereupon though I shall thus write, " as having no warrant in writing, to stay full execution of " the impartial laws, as it may be so far forced; yet if the " jeoparding of my private estimation may do good, that " the purpose itself may be performed, that the Queen " would have done, it shall suffice, I think. If ye shall " allow this device, I pray your Honour to return it me " again, with your correction as you shall think meet." Which the Secretary did with an addition of his own pen, as we saw above.

The favour of the State to the Popish Bishops. Reproof, p. 11.

The effect of this was, that none of the Popish Bishops nor Divines had this oath now administered to them, except that bloody man Boner; so tender was the State of the estates and lives of these men. And this Nowel, the Dean of St. Paul's, confidently tells Dorman his adversary in print, saying, that the oath was never required of them.

Dr. Ackworth admitted Advocate.

This year the Archbishop sent a commission to Dr. Weston, Official of the Court of the Arches, to admit George Ackworth, LL. D. to be an Advocate in that Court. This Ackworth, a learned man, was entertained by the Archbishop in his family: he was Orator of the University of Cambridge, and made an eloquent speech at the restitution of Bucer and Fagius; and was employed by the Archbishop, not long after this, in answering a part of Saunder's book *De Visibili Monarchia;* and was one of the learned men he made use of in his courts and visitations, as we may hear hereafter.

What the Archbishop hitherto had done.

In these first four years our Archbishop settled many things relating to the state of religion and God's service in his province. In that time he discharged his first-fruits, and furnished his house with provisions and householdstuff

suitable to the dignity of his place. Then he fell upon the thoughts of repairing the palace of Canterbury. In which, when it was finished, he made extraordinary feasting, and kept vast hospitality there divers times, and sometimes for some days together. And at the assizes he had his feastings, that he might have the opportunity of entertaining all the gentry of the county. Here also was noble entertainment at the confirmation of the Archbishop of York. But this was some years after, as we shall be told. Anno 1562.

The next year when he went down to Canterbury, his presence and directions greatly set forward the work of the said palace. He repairs the palace at Canterbury.

But the fair progress religion had by this time made by his prudent government and wary counsel, in the midst of so many difficulties and oppositions, redounded more to his praise. And "how gravely, (according to the observation "of one in those days,) learnedly, and Christianly, his Grace "and others the Bishops, by their most godly travail, with "the good help of the Queen's laws in that behalf pro- "vided, had reformed the state of the corrupt Church, re- "stored to God his due honour in public service, planted "true obedience to her Majesty in the hearts and con- "sciences of her subjects, delivered the thralled minds of 127 "true Christians from their heavy bondage and oppression, "drawn deceived souls out of most dangerous error, and to "the people's eternal comfort published the most glorious "light of God's most holy truth, both her Majesty, to her "great contentation, joyfully beheld, and they the flock "committed to her charge, and under her to his execution, "did both feel to their benefit, and right worthily did con- "fess with most loving memory." This public acknowledgment was thought due to him. Preface to Muscul. Comm. Places, by J. Man. pr. 1563.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

CHAP. XIII.

The Council's letter to the Archbishop for St. Paul's. The Archbishop goes down to his diocese. Book of Homilies; both parts. Letters to him from the Council; requiring an exact account of his diocese. His certificate thereof. His metropolitical visitation continues. The ignorance of the Curates.

The work of Paul's is at a stand.

THE contributions made by the Clergy of the province of Canterbury for repairing the damages made by fire in St. Paul's church, anno 1561, which we heard of under that year, enabled the work to go commendably forward hitherto. But now in 1563, it received a stop for want of money to carry it on, and to buy lead for the covering; whereby some parts of the church unfinished, being exposed to the weather, received injury: some of the Clergy being backward in their payments by reason of their poverty, and some, it seems, refusing any benevolence at all. The Council therefore, to back and give the more authority to the Archbishop to gather up the arrears in his diocese, sent him a letter rehearsing the condition of that church, and exciting him to hasten the collection; which was as followeth:

The Council's letter to the Archbishop hereupon. MSS. C. C. C. C.

"After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship: "whereas we understand, that according to such order as "ye received from the Queen's Majesty, ye have directed "your letters to all the Bishops of your province for the "levying of a contribution of the Clergy within the same "towards the re-edifying of the church of Paul's, according "to certain limits in that behalf; so it is that at this pre- "sent the works of the said church, being one of the most "notable monuments of this realm, which hitherto with great "diligence and like success have been prosecuted, are now "compelled to cease; and some part of the roof thereof to "stand bare and uncovered for want of lead and present "money, to sustain the charges of such a work; not only

" to the decay of the places uncovered, but also to some " note and slander in the sight of the world.

" These are therefore to require your Lordship forthwith, Anno 1563. " with all diligence, according to the rate of the book of " tenths and subsidies, to collect all the arrearages of the " said contribution remaining unpaid, as well of all the dig- " nities and prebends of your cathedral church, as of all " other spiritual promotions within your diocese of Canter- " bury, which for exility are not exempted from the said " contributions by your former letter; and to pay the same " unto the treasurers of the same works of Paul's, at or be- " fore the first day of August next; taking further order " for those that will deny or refuse the payment thereof, " according to the said rate before limited, as to your wis- " dom shall seem good. And thus we bid your Grace right " heartily well to fare. From Greenwich, 26th of June, 1563.

" Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

" N. Bacon, C. S. Will. Northampton.
" Arundel. Pembroke. Will. Howard. R. Duddely.
" E. Clinton. F. Knollys. W. Cecil."

This letter no question forwarded the work; but all was not finished before the year 1566. 128

Soon after Midsummer the Archbishop went down to his diocese, to visit it in person, that he might, as he told the Secretary, thoroughly know the state thereof himself personally, and take order among the Clergy. And this year he obtained a licence of the Queen to retain forty persons; perhaps that he might now make the greater appearance. The Bishop visits his own diocese.

The Book of Homilies as yet lay before the Queen to be considered of. But in the month of June he earnestly excited the Secretary to put her Majesty upon resolving herself concerning this book, which had been revised and finished, with a second part, by him and the other Bishops, and printed the year before, and waited only for the Queen's allowance to be publicly used in the parish-churches of the nation. And this motion the Archbishop now made the rather, because he was minded to deliver these books to each The Book of Homilies.

BOOK II.

parish one, as he should go along in his intended visitation, and give his charge to the respective Ministers to read those Homilies for the people's profit and edification. And I find two editions of them (perhaps there were more) this year 1563, printed.

Anno 1563.

He resolves to keep a good table in his visitation.

In this visitation he was resolved to maintain a table, befitting his quality; and during his being abroad to receive both the Clergy and gentry with the ancient hospitality of an Archbishop of Canterbury. But he had no parks, or at least others had spoiled them of their venison. For he complained, that the most part of his brethren, meaning the Bishops, were better furnished in that provision than himself. Therefore, as he said, to avoid the shame of his table, if he should not have to bid his neighbours to a piece of flesh, he requested of the Secretary to procure him from some of his friends in Kent a couple of bucks. And the like request he made to the Lord Robert Duddely (the same that was afterwards the great Earl of Leicester) and other of his friends. And gave an hint to the said Secretary, that if he durst as boldly speak to the Queen, as he was wont formerly to find grace in Queen Anne's favour in such like requests, he would offer his suit to her for three or four bucks out of her park at Canterbury, as some recompence for taking away his Broyle in Sussex: which was and still is a very large and noble park near Lewis in that county. But in some kind of sullenness for that disregard and contempt of the Clergy, that then was visible enough at the Court, he thought it best to say nothing to her Majesty, and content himself with his beef; telling the Secretary between jest and earnest, "Marry, "because I doubt in these days whether Bishops or Min-"isters may be thought worthy to eat venison, I will hold "me to my beef, and make merry therewith, and pray for "all my benefactors." This also must be added to the memorial of his generosity in his visitation, that it was at his own cost; not taking of his Clergy the procurations that were due to him for visiting.

Takes no procurations of his Clergy.

In July the Lords of the Council wrote a letter to him, to give them an exact account of the diocese, (which indeed

contained a common order to all of the Bishops.) And this was the tenor of it. CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1563.

The Council's letter to him. MSS. C. C. C. C. Vol. Certificator.

" After our very hearty commendations to your good " Lordship; the Queen's Majesty, upon certain good consi- " derations moving her to understand in some part the state " of your diocese, hath commanded us to write unto your " Lordship with all speed possible; and thereby to require " the same to make answer by writing distinctly to us of " all these articles following.

" I. How many shires or counties your diocese doth con- " tain, or into how many it doth extend.

" II. Into what manner of regiment the same is divided; " whether the same be into archdeaconries, deaneries, or " such like. And how many the same be, with their dis- " tinct names. Who occupieth those rooms at the present; " and where they are, to your understanding.

" III. What exempt or peculiar places are within the " circuit of your diocese, where you have not full jurisdic- " tion as Ordinary; and what the names thereof be; and " who hath the ordinary jurisdiction thereof at this present.

" IV. How many churches within every such archdea- 129 " conry, deanery, or other regiment. Which be parochial. " How many of them have Parsons, Vicars, Curates. And " whereas the parishes are so large, as they have divers " chapels of ease, which have or ought to have Curates or " Ministers in them; to certify how many be of that sort in " every such parish, with the names of the towns or hamlets " where the same churches or chapels are so situate.

" V. How many households are within every parish, or " within any such member of any parish, that hath such " churches and chapels of ease.

" VI. And lastly, wheresoever any such exempt places " be within the circuit of your diocese, wherein you have " no such jurisdiction, as you can presently make sufficient " answer to the former articles, her Majesty would, that " you should in writing copy out so much of the substance

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

" of these five former articles as shall seem convenient for " the purpose: and with speed send to such persons as have " the jurisdictions of those exempt places, or their deputies, " residing next unto you; willing and commanding them in " her Majesty's name forthwith to send distinct answers " thereunto; to be sent either to yourself, or by them sent " to us.

" And because the greater part of these former articles is " such, as we doubt not but ye are by means of your visit- " ation able to cause sufficient certificate to be made unto us " with speed, we require your Lordship to use therein all " the diligence that you can, and not to defer any time " therein; but either by this messenger, or within two or " three days at the farthest, to return us answer. And for " some such part thereof as speedily you cannot certify, with " conference had with your Chancellor, Commissioners, " Archdeacons, Deans, or other inferior officers, our like " earnest request is, that you do procure information there- " of without delay of time; and to command in her Majes- " ty's name the like to be done by all other, having, as above " is said, any exempt jurisdiction; so as her Majesty may " be amply and certainly satisfied therein. And so fare " your Lordship right heartily well. From Greenwich, the " 9th of July, 1563.

" Your Lordship's assured friends,
" T. Norfolk.
" Pembroke. R. Duddely.
William Cecyl."

Sends up a certificate of his diocese.

And accordingly he sent up his certificate to the Lords with such speed as they required; naming not only the parishes in each deanery, and the Parsons and Vicars respectively, but the number of households in each of those parishes for the most part.

The Certificate was as followeth, bearing this title;

The Certificate of the most reverend Father in God, Matthue,

Archbishop of Canterbury, according to the letters missives of the Lords of the Queen's Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in that behalf directed, bearing date the 9th of July, ann. Dom. 1563. Anno 1563.

Imprimis, The diocese of Canterbury extendeth to a part of the county of Kent only, and to none other shire or county. MSS. Hon. Robert. Harley, Armig.

Item, There is in the same diocese only one Archdeacon, by the name of Archdeacon of Canterbury: who is at this present Edmond Geste, Bishop of Rochester, the Queen's Majesty's Almoner.

Item, The diocese is divided into eleven deaneries, [which are by and by expressed.]

There is no part of the diocese exempt from the Archbishop; but the said Archbishop hath the sole and plenary jurisdiction ordinary throughout all the said diocese.

Item, The number of churches and chapels of every 130
deanery aforesaid, with the states and qualities thereof, are here under written.

In the deanery of Canterbury,

The parish church of Fordwiche. The town of Fordwiche is served by a Parson. Households 24.

The parish church of Sturry. The town of Sturry is served by a Vicar. Households 42.

The parish church of St. Paul, in the city of Canterbury, is served by a Vicar. Households 80. And so the certificate proceeds, enumerating the parishes in the deanery: and at the foot is set down the sum of the churches and chapels within this deanery, *viz.* 16. And the sum of the households, *viz.* 493.

In the deanery of Bridge, after the parishes are all specified, then follows the sum total of the churches and chapels of this deanery, *viz.* 34, households 1135.

In the deanery of Charing, parish churches and chapels 24, households 2286.

In the deanery of Sutton, churches and chapels 26, households 1474.

BOOK II.

In the deanery of Syttingborn, churches and chapels 26, households 783.

Anno 1563.

In the deanery of Ospringe, churches and chapels 25, households 933.

In the deanery of Limpne, churches and chapels 36, households 1094.

In the deanery of Westbeere, churches and chapels 15, households 737.

In the deanery of Sandwich, churches and chapels 27, households 591.

In the deanery of Dover, sum of the churches and chapels 20, households 551.

Sum total of all the churches and chapels of the diocese of Canterbury as before expressed, 276. And of all the households before particularly expressed, 10,948.

Bristol and Ely visited.

The Archbishop still continued his metropolitical visitation. For besides a commission to Cottrel, LL. D. dated May 23, for visiting Bristol, the day of August 1563, he gave out a commission to Thomas Yale, LL. D. John Pory, D. D. and Edward Leeds, M. A. to visit the city and diocese of Ely.

Becon collated to Back church.

The 10th day of the same month he admitted a famous man, both for his sufferings under King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, and also for his many useful writings, to be Minister of St. Dionys Back church, London, *viz.* Thomas Becon; who was also one of the Prebendaries of the church of Canterbury.

The Curate of Cripplegate.

The ignorance of the ordinary sort of Clergymen, Curates, and such like, is commonly said to be great about these times. For notwithstanding all the pains that was used to deliver the Church of that blindness that enveloped the Priests in the late Popish times, it would not yet be dispelled. For an instance of this, I bring in here the Curate of Cripplegate, one Tempest, a well-meaning man; who having upon some occasion (perhaps the metropolitical visitation) been before Pcerson the Archbishop's Chaplain, was asked by him some questions: and among the rest, what was the meaning of the word *function*. Which hard word he

could not well tell what to make of: for which it seems he was reprehended. But soon after, to vindicate himself, and to make his excuse by the pretence of a surprise, he wrote a right learned letter, which may be read in the Appendix. Numb. XX.

CHAP. XIII. Anno 1563.

CHAP. XIV. 131

The Archbishop at Canterbury. His pious motion. An Office of Prayer and Fasting appointed for the plague and other judgments. The Archbishop's concern therein. The state of the church of Durham. Whittingham Dean there; his letter concerning it. An Office of Thanksgiving.

IN the latter end of the month of July I find our Archbishop at his house at Bekesbourn, near Canterbury, a place of retirement, healthfully and pleasantly seated, which he took a great deal of delight in. Here he piously considering how the nation was at this time afflicted universally by war, and the pestilence broken out at London, and a famine at Canterbury, the people wanting necessary provisions, as was reported to him; he thought good to call upon the Mayor of Canterbury, and his Commonalty, to meet him on Friday at the cathedral church: where he did himself exhort them to prayer: and then appointed Friday for the future to be set apart for prayer and preaching in the cathedral, and Mondays and Wednesdays in the parish churches: prescribing for this occasion a form of prayer, muchwhat the same with that that had been before appointed by authority in the Guises' time, a few words only in the same being altered. For you must know, that about the year 1559 or 1560, the nation was in great fears and apprehensions of Queen Elizabeth's safety, upon the malice of the Duke of Guise and his brother, who ruled all France in those times: and being uncles to the Queen of Scots, laboured to reduce Scotland under France, and to wound England on that side. And, having a peculiar hatred to Queen

The Archbishop at Bekesbourne.

Appoints fasting and prayer at Canterbury.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563. Camd. Eliz. ad ann. 1560.

Elizabeth for the sake of her religion, "bent themselves "with might and main," as Camden writes, "to work her "destruction, relying upon the promises of some English "that were averse to the Protestant religion." Upon these jealousies a form of prayer had been drawn up, probably by our Archbishop, and ordered to be used in the kingdom for her Majesty's safety, and the good estate of the nation, and of the religion professed therein.

But not in the rest of the diocese; and why.

These prayers, after the Archbishop had accommodated them to the present occasion, he prescribed now to be used in Canterbury. This he did, not enjoining the like to the rest of his diocese, nor to the rest of his province, for want of sufficient warrant from the Prince or Council, lest he might otherwise run into some transgression of the laws. But he writ to the Secretary, that he marvelled he had no advertisements from above, enjoining him to take order for so pious a purpose, in a time that so much required it. And lest it might be objected to him and the rest of the Bishops, that they by their vocation should have had special regard of such matters, he answered, "That they were holden "within certain limits by statutes, and so might stand in "doubt, how it would be taken, if they should of them-"selves have given order herein." This was the cause that he thought it prudent not to charge the rest of his diocese with injunctions for fasting and prayer, but left them to their own liberty to follow them in the city for common prayer, if they would. But withal the Archbishop desired a warrant from the Council for the same; that he might direct his precepts, as he thought it very necessary, to exercise the said public prayers.

A public form of prayer and fasting ordered.

The Archbishop having made this good motion, Cecil, the Queen's Secretary, immediately acquainted the Queen therewith, and recommended the devising a form of solemn prayer and fasting, unto Grindal, Bishop of London, chiefly for the judgment of the plague then lying upon the nation, brought over from Newhaven in France, when the English surrendered it. This very matter that careful and pious Bishop had already thought on, and made some progress in

before the Secretary's letter came to him for that purpose; having sent to the Dean of St. Paul's, Alexander Nowel, to pen an homily meet for the time; which the said Dean accordingly did. But that Bishop meant it at first but for his own cure, to use his own expression, meaning, I suppose, thereby his cathedral, or the city of London, or at most his diocese. But since the Secretary had admonished him to prepare a form of prayer to be used more generally, he proceeded further by the help of the said Dean. And having finished it, he sent the Secretary a copy of it; advising him, after he had perused it, to send it speedily by one of the printer's men to the Archbishop. Accordingly the Secretary having reviewed it, and adding somewhat in divers places thereof by his own hand, without delay despatched it to Canterbury; desiring the Archbishop's last review thereof, and so to remit it to be printed. And withal procuring, according to the Archbishop's request, the Queen's letters to the Archbishop, to authorize him to publish a public form of prayer and fasting to be observed through the nation, he sent those letters also.

Anno 1563.

132

Prepared by the Bishop of London.

Revised and corrected by the Archbishop.

For this the Archbishop thanked him, and keeping the copy by him about a week, altered some parts thereof, not in substance and principal meaning, but in the circumstances; and that for this reason. "Because, as he said, he saw "offence grew by new innovations; and he therefore doubted, whether it were best to change the established form "of prayer appointed already by law, in this alteration of "prayer for a time, as that formular [of Bishop Grindal's] "would infer, which directed all the service to be said in the "body of the church. Which being once in this particular "order devised, he judged they abolished all chancels. And "therefore the Litany, with the new Psalms and Collects, "he judged might be said, as Litany is already ordered, in "the midst of the people." But the other parts, containing a second service, he approved to be celebrated in the chancel. "In short, the Archbishop said, he had no otherwise "altered the book, but to make it draw, as nigh as could "be, to the public book and orders used. And whereas the

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

"Collects were somewhat long, he wished they had been "shorter: fearing the service to be too long, as he said, "for their cold devotions." But the composers had designedly made them long, for this reason, that the people might continue in prayer till four in the afternoon, and then to take one meal. And this also the Archbishop seemed not to like, saying, that all things agreed not every where.

Used in the province of Canterbury.

This book was soon printed, and began to be exercised in London in the month of August, and so likewise in all the province.

An account of this form of prayer.

This form was to be used in common prayer twice a week. And there was an order of public fast to be used every Wednesday during the time of mortality and other afflictions, wherewith the realm at that time was visited. In the beginning of this book is published a copy of the Queen's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: which ran to this import; "That he, having devised a form, and considered of "some good order to be prescribed therein, and required "the application of her authority for the better observation "thereof among the people; she therefore commanded all "manner of Ministers, ecclesiastical or civil, and all her sub-"jects, to execute, follow, and obey such godly and whole-"some orders, as he, being Primate of all England and Me-"tropolitan, upon godly advice and consideration, should "prescribe and publish, for the universal usage of prayer, "fasting, and other good deeds." This was given under her signet at Richmond, August 1. This letter taken from the original shall be found in the Appendix.

The Queen's letter, authorizing the form.

Num. XXI.

The Preface.

Then follows a Preface, which began in these words, *viz.* "We be taught by many and sundry examples of holy "Scriptures, that upon occasion of particular punishments, "afflictions, and perils, which God of his most just judg-"ment hath sometime sent among his people, to shew his "wrath against sin, and to call his people to repentance, and "to the redress of their evil lives; the godly have been pro-"voked and stirred up to more fervency and diligence in "prayer, fasting, and almsdeeds; to a more deep consider-"ation of their consciences; to ponder their unthankful-

" ness, and forgetfulness of God's merciful benefits towards
" them, with craving of pardon for the time past, and to
" ask his assistance for the time to come, to live more godly :
" and so to be defended and delivered from all further perils
" and dangers. So King David, &c. Now therefore, call-
" ing to mind that God hath been provoked by us to visit
" us at this present with the plague and other grievous dis-
" eases ; and partly also with trouble of wars ; it hath been
" thought meet to set forth by public order some occasion
" to excite and stir up all godly people within this realm
" to pray earnestly and heartily to God to turn away his 133
" deserved wrath from us, &c. For the effectual accom-
" plishment thereof it is ordered, &c." And then follow particular rules and orders to be observed both by Ministers and people, *viz.*

First, That all Curates and Pastors shall exhort their parishioners to endeavour themselves to come unto the church, with so many of their families as may be spared from their necessary business ; (having yet a prudent respect in such assemblies to keep the sick from the whole, in places where the plague reigneth ;) and they to resort, not only on Sundays and holydays, but on Wednesdays and Fridays, during the time of these present afflictions, exhorting them reverently and godly there to behave themselves, and with penitent hearts to pray unto God to turn these plagues from us.

Secondly, The said Curates shall then distinctly and plainly read the General Confession appointed in the Book of Service, with the residue of the Morning Prayer, using, for both the Lessons, the chapters hereafter following. That is to say, for the first Lesson one of these chapters out of the Old Testament, 2 King xxiv. Levit. xxvi. Deutr. xxviii. Jer. xviii. unto these words, *Let us*, &c. and chap. xxii. 2 Paral. xxxiv. Esa. i. Ezek. xviii. and xix. Jer. ii. 2 Esdr. ix. Jonas iid and iiid chapters together. Which chapters would be read orderly on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. And for the second Lessons, one of these chapters out of the New Testament, Matth. iii. vi. vii. xxiv. xxv.

BOOK II. Anno 1563.

Luke xiii. Acts ii. beginning at these words, *Ye men of Israel*, &c. to the end of the chapter. Rom. ii. vi. xii. xiii. Gal. v. Ephes. iv. v. 1 Tim. ii. Apoc. ii.

Order of Wednesday's fast.

The order for Wednesdays, which were the days appointed for general fast, was this: "After Morning Prayer "ended, the Curates and Ministers were to exhort the "people to give themselves to their private prayers and "meditations. For which purpose a pause was to be made "of a quarter of an hour or more, by the discretion of the "Curate. During which time, as good silence should be "kept as might be. That done, the Litany was to be read "in the midst of the people, with the addition of certain "prayers afterwards mentioned. Then followed the ad-"ministration of the Communion, so oft as a just number of "communicants should be thereto disposed, with a sermon, "if it could be, to be made by such as were authorized by "the Metropolitan or Bishop of the diocese. And they "were to treat of such matters especially, as were meet for "that cause of public prayer; or for want of such Preacher, "to read one of the Homilies appointed, after the reading "of the Gospel, as had been accustomed. And so the "Minister, commending the people to God with the ac-"customed benediction, should dismiss them. If no Com-"munion, then, after the Litany, the Ten Commandments, "the Epistle, Gospel, sermon or homily done, the general "usual prayer for the *state of the whole Church*, as is set "forth in the Common Prayer, was to be read. After which "followed two prayers, *viz. Almighty God, the fountain of* "*all wisdom*, &c. and, *Almighty God, which hast pro-*"*mised*, &c. and the benediction."

Order for Friday.

The order for Fridays was, that then should be used only the Morning Prayers and the Litany, with the prayers now appointed to be annexed to the same.

Homilies appointed to be used.

The Homilies to be read in order. 1. A Homily concerning the Justice of God in punishing of Impenitent Sinners, then newly set forth, made by Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's. 2. The eighth Homily of the first tome of Homilies, entitled, *Of declining from God.* 3. The ninth Homily of the same

tome, entitled, *An Exhortation against the Fear of Death.* 4. The Homily of Fasting. 5. The Homily of Prayer. 6. The Homily of Alms-deeds. 7. The Homily of Repentance. These four last in the second tome. When these Homilies were once read over, then to begin again, and so to continue them in order.

The prayers after the Litany.

After the Litany was to be used a prayer. Three are set down in the book: and the Curate was to use them one after the other on different days. The first is somewhat long, being a confession consisting of five sides and above: which I think was that which gave some dislike to the Archbishop, as was hinted before. The second is shorter; and about the same length is the third prayer; both consisting of about two sides.

The first prayer began thus penitently: "O Almighty, 134
"most just and merciful God, we here acknowledge our-
"selves most unworthy to lift up our eyes unto heaven.
"For our conscience doth accuse us, and our sins do re-
"prove us. We know also that thou, Lord, being a just
"Judge, &c." The second beginneth thus: "O eternal and
"ever-living God, most merciful Father, which of thy long-
"suffering and patience, &c." The third thus: "It had
"been the best for us, O righteous Judge, and our most
"merciful Father, that in our wealthes and quietness, and
"in the myddest of thy manifold benefits bestowed upon
"us, &c."

Then followeth a short meditation to be said of such as were touched in affliction, beginning, "O Father, doubtless "our own wickedness do reward us, but do thou, O Lord, "according to thy name, &c."

Then were added certain Psalms that might be sung or said before the beginning or after the ending of public prayer.

Order for the general fast.

Then followed the order for the general fast; when the Minister was to begin with these words: "It is most evident "to them that read the Scriptures, that both in the Old "Testament under the Law, and in the primitive Church "under the Gospel, the people of God had always used

BOOK II. Anno 1563.

" general fasting, both in times of common calamities, &c." Wherein I do observe, that it was here acknowledged as a fault, that this was the first fast that was kept in the Queen's reign, and said to be *for a beginning of redress herein.* Then were prescribed the rules of this fast; which may not be impertinent to transcribe here: and the rather because I believe they were of the Archbishop's drawing up.

I. It was ordained that the Wednesday of every week shall be the day appointed for this general fast.

II. All persons between the age of sixteen years and sixty (sick folks and labourers in harvest or other great labours only excepted) shall eat but one only competent and moderate meal upon every Wednesday. In which said meal shall be used very sober and spare diet, without variety of kinds of meat, dishes, spices, confections, or wines; but only such as may serve for necessity, comliness, and health.

III. *Item*, In that meal it shall be indifferent to eat flesh or fish; so that the quantity be small, and no variety or delicacy be sought. Wherein every man hath to aunswer to God, if he, in such godly exercises, either contempne publique order, or dissemble with God, pretending abstinence, and doing nothing less.

IV. *Item*, Those that be of health and habilitie ought that day to abate and diminish the costliness and variety of their fare, and encrease therewith their liberality and alms towards the poor. The same poor which either indeed lack food, or else that which they have is unseasonable, and cause of sickness, may thereby be relieved, and charitably succoured, to be maintayned in health.

V. Last of all, this day, being in this manner appointed for a day of general prayer and fasting, ought to be bestowed, by them which may forbear from bodily labour, in prayer, study, reading or hearing of the Scriptures, or good exhortations, &c. And when any dulness or weariness shall arise, then to be occupied in other godly exercises. But no part thereof to be spent in plays, pastimes, or ydleness, much less in lewd, wicked, and wanton behaviour.

Then follows this order; when there is a sermon, or other just occasion, one of the Lessons may be omitted, and the shortest of the three prayers appointed in the Litany by this order may be said, and the longest left off. Anno 1563. An order.

Then comes the new homily, entitled, *Concerning the Justice of God in punishyng of Impenitent Synners, and of his Mercies towards all such as in their Afflictions unfeignedly turn to him: Appointed to be read in the time of Sickness.* Beginning thus: "The most ryghteous God, "and the same our most mercyful Father, abhorryng all "wickedness and impiety, and delighting in all ryghteous-"ness and innocencye, and wyllyng that we his people "and chyldren should herein be conformed, &c." A very good, pious, and plain discourse, and consisteth of two parts. The homily.

The Secretary prevailed with the Queen likewise to send her letters to the Archbishop of the other province, *viz.* of York, to enjoin him to cause the form to be used there, conveying withal some few of these books of prayers, to begin with, in the city of York, and promising that the impression for that province should follow with convenient speed. I find it observed in Durham in the month of December, on Wednesdays and Fridays, attended also with preaching. In which quarters give me leave here to insert also what progress religion made; and particularly what care was taken for the public service of God in the cathedral, and for the instruction of youth in the city. A prospect whereof will be shewn in a letter from W. Whittingham, Dean of that church, to Secretary Cecil; which ran as ensueth: 135 The fast enjoined in the province of York.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord. "Albeit I am not ignorant how unbeseeming it is to trouble "your Honour with letters of small importance, yet I colde "not in so long tyme omit to shew some signification of my "special duety; aswel to yielde unto your Honor most "humble thanks, with promise of my service where you "shall appoint, as also to certify you of our doings here. The Dean of Durham to the Secretary. The state of their church. MSS. Cecilian.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

" First, in the morning at six of the clock the grammar " schoole and song schole with all the servants of the " house, resort to prayers into the church. Which exercise " continueth almost half an houre. At nyne of the clock " we have our ordinary service; and likewise at thre after " none. The Wenesdays and Fridays are appointed to a " general fast, with prayers and preaching of God's word. " The Sundaies and holydays before none we have sermons; " and at after none the catechisme is expounded.

" Because we lak an able scholemaster I bestow daily " three or four hours in teaching the youth, till God pro- " vide us of some that may better suffice.

" The people in the country are very docile, and willing " to hear God's word; but the towne is very stiff, notwith- " standing they be handeled withal lenitie and gentleness. " The best hope I have, that now of late they begyn to re- " sort more diligently to the sermons and service. God " make us all profitable setters forth of his glory, and pre- " serve long, bless, and direct your Honour to his glory and " all our comforts. My brother Mr. Hallyday most humbly " saluteth your Honour: so doth Mr. Benet. From Dur- " ham, this 19th Decemb.

" Your Honours most humbly to commande

" W. Whittingham."

This Dean Whittingham I find, September 12. had so much favour, as to preach before the Queen, then at Windsor.

A thanksgiving appointed for the ceasing a plague.

January 22. the plague ceasing, there was a short form of thanksgiving drawn up and appointed to be used Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, instead of the common prayer used in the time of the mortality: set forth by the Bishop of London. It consisted of an hymn composed of divers suitable verses taken here and there out of the Psalms, and prayer of some length.

The thanksgiving used in the diocese of Ely.

To which I may add, that there was another different form of thanksgiving also appointed by the Bishop of Ely, entitled, *A short Form of Thanksgiving to God for ceasing*

the contagious Sickness of the Plague; to be used in common Prayer on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, instead of the common Prayer used in the Time of Mortality; commanded by the Lord Bishop of Ely to be used in his Cathedral Church at Ely, and the rest of his Diocese. This Office is transferred to the Appendix: the reading of which may be acceptable to some, studious of the devotions of our Church in those times. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1563. Num. XXII.

CHAP. XV. 136

Some of the Archbishop's doings in his diocese. He hears of some writings of Archbishop Cranmer. Searches after them. Recovers them. Visits Sandwich. Furthers the foundation of a freeschool there. The good behaviour of the strangers settled there.

ARCHBISHOP Parker being now in his diocese was loath to be idle, but took into his consideration how he might be serviceable to God and the Queen in those quarters. And that none might escape his diligent inspection, nor the benefit he was minded to do them, he divided his flock into the Laity and the Clergy. The Laity he divided again into the common sort, and into those of highest rank and quality. As to the common sort, his care was to maintain and settle a peaceable and quiet state among them. As for the other, whom he called *the better sort*, he consulted for the making them instrumental to maintain and further the Queen's service and her affairs. And as to both, he sent up at length this account to the Secretary, that he found them all in so good order, that he rejoiced therein. And for the ecclesiastical persons, he signified, that with them he dealt indifferently, and found obedience in them. And in this good case stood his diocese at this time, occasioned, as one may rationally conjecture, by the long care and diligency of Archbishop Cranmer: the influences of whose paternal

His pious endeavours in his diocese.

The good state in which he found the laity and the ecclesiastics.

BOOK II.

government, notwithstanding the interval of Queen Mary, still remained in Kent. Though afterwards the county ran into such ecclesiastical disorders, as created a great deal of trouble to Whitgift, one of this Archbishop's successors; as may be shewn hereafter.

Anno 1563.

He is in pursuit of some writings of Archbishop Cranmer.

As one of our Archbishop's designs, wherever he came, was to retrieve as much as ever he could the British and Saxon antiquities, or any other ancient writings of our own countrymen, whether Divines or Historians, of which there had been such a fatal destruction by the dissolution of monasteries, when the respective libraries of those houses underwent the same fate with the places where they were kept; so he being now at Canterbury made this one of his businesses, to pick up what he could of this nature. And by *searching and prying*, (as he styled it himself,) among other things, he found by very credible information, in whose hands the learned writings of his predecessor Dr. Cranmer did remain. But the parties denied they had them. However, he, loath to be deprived of such a treasure, in the month of August earnestly requested the Secretary to procure him the Council's letters, to authorize him to make the best search he could after them, and to give him all the advantage that might be, strictly to examine such as he suspected might have them. Which letters were prepared for him by the Secretary, being himself a person so studious of learning, and having so high a value for, and having been so great a friend and acquaintance of, the said Cranmer. Of this I had occasion to look into in the memorials of that Archbishop; into the Appendix to which I did transfer Archbishop Parker's letter concerning this matter: to which I refer the reader.

Cranm. Memor. p. 217.

Dr. Nevinson has the writings.

But to give some larger relation hereof, and to shew what kind of books these were that the Archbishop was in this earnest pursuit of, and in whose possession they were. They were in the possession of Dr. Nevinson, one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury. Yet was he not, it seems, the rightful owner of them, but somebody else, that appears not. But who could that be but Cranmer's heir? And who was he,

but Thomas his only son, who, I suppose, was now at Canterbury, and perhaps gave Archbishop Parker the first notice of these writings. But whoever it were that gave the notice, the same informer asserted, that he had seen them with his own eyes in Nevinson's study: however, Nevinson had denied he had them. Which when Parker was acquainted with, he thought not fit to require them himself of the said Nevinson, concluding he would give him the same answer; *viz.* that he had them not. But he privately speeds away a letter to Windsor, where the Court and his friend the Secretary was, requesting the Council's letters as before was said, but omitting Nevinson's name. To which, two or three days after, the Secretary made him this answer.

Anno 1563.

137

The Secretary's letter to the Archbishop concerning them. E Biblioth. D. Hen. D. Episc. Lond. in Dom. Petrens. Lond.

" May it please your Grace, I thank the same for your " letters. I am glad that you have heard of such hid " treasures, as I take the books of the holy Archbishop " Cranmer to be. I have of late recovered of his written " books five or six, which I had of one Mr. Herd of Lin- " coln. Your Grace writeth to have letters from the Coun- " cil; but to whom they should be written, or who the " persons be of whom the writings should be demanded, " your Grace's letter maketh no mention. And therefore " knowing no such earnestness here, or care of such mat- " ters, I forbear to press the Council therewith, especially " being not liable to render them an account, who hath the " writings. But upon advertisement thereof, I will not fail " but procure such letters. From Windsor, where we are, " yet in health, thanked be Almighty God. On Tuesday " the Spanish Ambassador died here within two miles, of a " burning ague. 25 Aug. 1563.

" Your Grace's at commandment,
" W. Cecyl."

The Archbishop in his next letter informed the Secretary of the possessor's name; as appears by these minutes of his letter.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

The Archbishop's answer. Ubi supr.

"Where I did write to your Honour to procure the Coun-
"cil's letter for the obtaining of certain ancient written books
"of the Lord Cranmer; and belike did not express par-
"ticularly either to whom these letters should be directed,
"or the persons of whom they should be demanded; your
"Honour shall understand, that the party to whom be-
"longed these books sued to me to recover them out of
"Dr. Nevinson's hands, in whose study the owner plainly
"avoucheth that he saw them with his own eyes, and did
"then require them of him. But he denied to have them.
"And I am persuaded he would do the same to myself, if
"I should demand them, and therefore desired the Coun-
"cil's letters, &c." The rest is so defaced that I cannot read it. Dated Sept. 7.

The Council writes to Nevinson;

The Secretary now soon obtained letters of the Council for this purpose. One whereof they wrote to Nevinson himself, ordering him to deliver these writings to the Archbishop. And another to the Archbishop, to empower him, in case of Nevinson's refusal, to search his study, or any other places for them, and to take them into his custody; especially considering these writings contained matters of divinity, very proper to be consulted at this time, when true religion was in restoring and settling. But behold the letter.

And to the Archbishop. Ubi supr.

"After our very hearty commendations to your good
"Lordship. Being given to understand, that certain writ-
"ten books, containing matters of divinity, sometimes be-
"longing to Archbishop Cranmer, your Lordship's prede-
"cessor, are come to the hands of Dr. Nevinson, being very
"necessary to be seen at this time; we have somewhat
"earnestly writ to the said Mr. Nevinson, to deliver those
"books unto your Lordship. And like as we doubt not
"he will forthwith deliver the same unto you, considering
"they are for so good a purpose required of him; so if he
"shall deny the delivery thereof, we think meet that your
"Lordship, by your own authority, do cause his study,
"and such other places where you think the said books do

" remain, to be sought: and if the same books may be " found, to take them into your custody. And thus we " bid your good Lordship most heartily farewell. From " Windsor Castle, 23. Sept. 1563. Anno 1563.

" Your good Lordship's most assured loving friends,

" N. Bacon, C. S.	W. Northampton.	Pembroke.
" R. Duddeley.	E. Clynton.	Franc. Knollys.
" William Petre. S.		W. Cecyl."

And by these means the Archbishop at length obtained the books desired. They are two volumes in folio, consisting of collections made by that most venerable Father, Cranmer, in order to the furnishing himself with a sound knowledge of the true state of the ancient Church, for his good proceeding in the great work of reforming the Church of England; being vast transcriptions out of the Fathers and ecclesiastical authors, as well as holy Scripture, digested by him under proper heads or common places; shewing what the doctrines and practices of the Church in the ancient times were; and thereby making it evident, how much the present Church of Rome was warped and gone off from it. Parker caused both these volumes to be copied out for his own use, and then restored the originals, I suppose, where they belonged. These transcribed volumes I have seen in the MS. library of the right reverend and right honourable the present Bishop of London, into which by his favour I had free access. In the former volume Archbishop Parker had caused to be inserted, *ob memoriam rei*, the three letters by me above specified. He numbered also all the pages with his red lead pencil. There is also at the beginning a *Tabula Repertoria*, shewing the various matters or common places treated of in these volumes. Which index, I suppose, was drawn up also by Parker. I have presented it to the reader in the Appendix, for the giving more light into these valuable writings. 138 The Archbishop obtains these writings. Henry, Lord Bishop of London. Number XXIII.

During the Archbishop's stay here at Canterbury, he became the instrument of founding a freeschool at Sandwich. The townsmen were well disposed to build it at their charge: Is instrumental in founding the freeschool at Sandwich.

BOOK II.

and the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, by our Archbishop's particular solicitation, were willing to grant an acre
Anno 1563. of ground belonging to their Church, whereon to found it: and Mr. Manwood, he who was afterward Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, being born in the town, and taught in a school there belonging to a chantry, which with the chantry was dissolved, was fully determined to give to that foundation twenty pounds *per annum in perpetuum*, of his own possessions presently. And his lands were ready for assurance. And nothing was wanting but the Queen's licence to the town of Sandwich; and to the Dean and Chapter for their alienation, or to make a lease in fee-farm of the said piece of land. Whereupon our Archbishop, having brought matters to this ripeness, on the 27th day of the month of August, despatched, his letters to his friend the Secretary, who was never wanting in such good works, to obtain such a licence from her Majesty: urging to him the opportunity; which being such, he doubted not of the Queen's Majesty's good and gracious assent. As he learned by the experience of a former suit, which he had made to her in a thing of the like nature;

Regained of the Queen the stipend of the Schoolmaster of Stoke college.

namely, for the recovery of the Schoolmaster's stipend at Stoke college, whereof he had formerly been Dean. Which college was dissolved in the beginning of King Edward, and the whole revenue, with the Schoolmaster's allowance also, swallowed up into the Exchequer; which nevertheless he obtained of the Queen, though that money went now out of her own coffers. By which he perceived, as he said, the Queen's godly zeal for the furtherance of learning.

Commends Mr. Manwood's intended liberality to Sandwich school.

He took notice also of the good zeal of Manwood in this business; "Considering, as he said, how persons of his vo-
"cation (that is, towards the law) were commonly judged
"rather to employ all their abilities to their own posterities,
"than to such common respects; and that he, being not
"without issue, and daily like to have more, might have
"followed the common example, in leaving the gains of his
"time to his offspring. Therefore, he said, he wished his
"purpose were favoured, both for example to others, and

" also to put away the common judgment which ran upon CHAP. XV.
" such as were of his calling. He added, that he took it to
" be a motion of God: in consideration, said he, that we Anno 1563.
" poor Bishops be not now able to succeed our predeces-
" sors in their so liberal foundations." And to signify, that now, since the fleecing of the Clergy, it was incumbent upon secular persons of wealth and interest to promote such charitable foundations, he used these words to the Secretary. " Now you, such as you be, and as Mr. Manwood
" is, must lay hands to the furtherance of such public en-
" dowments, or else ye be not like to leave to your succes-
" sors that which ye have received of your ancestors."

And this pious purpose took effect. And for the lasting 139
good name, both of the Archbishop and the Founder, let it The pious purpose succeeded.
be further remembered here, that besides what he settled upon this school himself, he procured of his brother Thomas Manwood, Mayor of Sandwich, ten pounds per annum; and of one Thomson, a Jurat of that town, eight pounds more per annum, for the use of the said school. He built also a school-house for the habitation of a master, an usher, and sixteen boarders. And in the year 1586, he procured letters patents of the Queen, for incorporating the school, with the lands and revenues thereunto belonging, to the Mayor and his brethren of Sandwich, and their successors. And moreover he obtained two Scholars' places in Caius college in Cambridge, and two more in Lincoln college in Ad ann. 27. Regin.
Oxford, for such as should be removed from this school; and four marks yearly to be paid to each of the said four Scholars: as Holinshed relates at large in his history.

And this was not all our pious Archbishop did for the Rides to Sandwich.
furthering this good design; but to take a view of the ground and situation, as well as for other good causes, he rode on Sunday morning from his house at Bekesborn to Sandwich, which was about five or six miles; and got thither by seven o'clock; that by coming so soon he might prevent their formalities of receiving him, and partly to be present at their whole service. But notwithstanding, the townsmen prevented him: for though that morning were very foul

BOOK II.

Anno 1563. and rainy, yet he found the Mayor and his Jurats ready at the town gate to accompany him to his lodging, and so to the church. Of whom he gave this character to a friend at Court, " That they were men of honest civility, and of " comely grave personages, and of good understanding. " And that their streets were clean, as might be for the " straitness of them. That their service was sung in good " distinct harmony and quiet devotion. That the singing " men were the Mayor and the Jurats, with the head men " of the town, placed in the quire far and distant, in as " good order as he could wish." The Archbishop himself then preached before an auditory great and attentive: and took that occasion to declare the Queen's pleasure concerning the prayers and fast before mentioned. And, in sum, to their credit he said of them, " That he saw not, but the " Queen's Majesty would have of them good subjects and " true orators."

Commends the inhabitants;

Thus being here according to his function, he inquired diligently into the behaviour of the inhabitants, as likewise of the strangers, who had fled hither for the sake of the Gospel from foreign parts, whether French or Dutch, or both; and had here settled themselves. Of these also he took notice, and found them, as he wrote to the same friend at Court, very godly on the Sabbath day, and busy in their work on the week day: and their quietness such, as the Mayor and his brethren had no causes of variance between themselves, coming before them.

And the strangers there.

Our Archbishop indeed was a friend to all strangers that fled over hither, if they were truly pious and sober. " Pro- " fitable and gentle strangers" (they are his own words) " ought to be welcome, and not to be grudged at."

Def. of Priests' marriage.

And for disorders there, reformable by ecclesiastical laws, he had, before his coming here, deputed their Minister, a grave learned man, to exercise, by his Grace's authority, ecclesiastical censures as he should see cause; of which little had been spied. The finding things in this good state, in this outward corner of his diocese, created much joy to him. Which he did communicate unto the Secretary, as

Deputes the Minister to manage ecclesiastical matters there.

he said, that he might be the willinger to help them in this affair of the school before spoken of; and in so doing, he used these moving words to him, *Mercedem reportabis a Domino in resurrectione justorum;* i. e. You shall receive your reward from the Lord at the resurrection of the just. CHAP. XV. Anno 1563.

140

CHAP. XVI.

Bishop Thirleby and Dr. Boxal with the Archbishop at Bekesborn. Queen Mary's Bishops and Divines favourably dealt with. Archbishop Hethe, Bishop Bourn. John Bale, the antiquarian, Prebendary at Canterbury, dies.

IN the month of September this year, the Queen's Council were so kind to Thirlby, late Bishop of Ely, and Boxal, late Dean of Windsor, (whom the Lord Burghley * called "a person of great modesty and knowledge,") as to remove them for their preservation from London, where the plague grew now very hot: and having been with the Archbishop before at Lambeth, appointed them to harbour with him now at his house at Bekesborn. And their keeper, who conveyed them thither, brought also letters from the said Council to the Archbishop, signifying upon what conditions he was to receive them. Concerning this resolution of the Council, Thirlby also had wrote him a letter before. But this was some surprise to him, not only in regard of the inconveniency of the entertainment of them here, such was the straitness of his house, having not many less than an hundred persons uprising and down lying therein; besides divers of his family, which were forced to lodge abroad: but chiefly because of the great danger of harbouring persons that came from a place infected. And that if any peril should arise from them, the country would make such exclamation, which he saw was wonderfully afraid of all such as came from London. Nor did he, as he writ his

Thirlby and Boxal placed with him at Bekesborn.

* In his book entitled, Execution for Treason, not for Religion.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

friend, in respect of his own person, repine at this appointment, nor would he be thought slack to gratify his old acquaintance, so far as his faith to God and his word, and his allegiance to his Prince and her government, might bear with it. But for the prevention of any danger of infection, he desired the Secretary that he would prefer his request unto the Lords of the Council, that it might stand with their pleasures, that for the fear his household was in of them, coming from a contagious air, he might place them in the town, not far from his house, in an house then standing empty, till such time as they were *better blown*, as his phrase was, with that fresh air for a fourteen days. He would see to their provision, and for the custody of their persons. As to one of them, he said, he was surely persuaded that he would not disappoint the Council's expectations: which, I suppose, was Thirlby; with whom probably he might have contracted a good acquaintance, having been Bishop of Norwich (the Archbishop's native city) in King Edward's days. But the nature of the other he was not so well acquainted with. Whereupon, if ought should chance in the mean time, till he should receive them to himself, he trusted the Council would rather bear with him, in avoiding the danger of infection, as might be feared, than for their behoof endanger his whole family.

This he prudently thought good to signify to the Secretary's own hands, praying him to be a means that his doings might be taken in the best part.

Thirlby lived and died with the Archbishop. Catal. of Bishops.

And so was Thirlby entertained henceforward with the Archbishop in all courteous and gentle manner, both here near Canterbury and at Lambeth, until his death, which happened Aug. 26. in the year 1570. "Taking more pleasure," as Bishop Godwin assured himself, "in this time "of his imprisonment, than ever heretofore in the midst "and fullest stream of his highest honours." The Archbishop took care to have him decently buried in the chancel of Lambeth church, and a fair stone laid over him, with an inscription in brass, still remaining.

He was born in Cambridge, Fellow of Trinity hall, and

in degree Doctor of the Civil Law; and the first and last Bishop of Westminster.

Anno 1563.

Favour to Queen Mary's Bishops in the Tower.

And here I will take this occasion to cast an eye back upon Queen Mary's Bishops and other ecclesiastics. Reason of state, and their incompliance with the laws now established, made it necessary to take them up and lay divers of them in the Tower. In the year 1560, they petitioned 141 the Lords of the Council that they might have liberty to come together at their meals. This suit of theirs was left unto the discretion of the Archbishop, as head of the Queen's Commissioners ecclesiastical, that if he judged it not convenient that this liberty should be granted them, then they desired him by the Secretary to signify it unto the Lords: but if he approved it, then to send his orders to the Lieutenant of the Tower to allow them so to do as they had desired, prescribing nevertheless the order unto them: which was, that Dr. Hethe, Dr. Boxal, Dr. Pates, and Dr. Fecknam, be admitted to one company to one of the tables: and to the other table Dr. Thirleby, Dr. Bourne, Dr. Watson, and Dr. Turbervile. Which favour, no question, the Archbishop readily yielded them.

They are removed thence for fear of the infection.

And so they, or some of them, continued under an easy restraint till the year 1563, the year wherein the nation, and chiefly London, was visited with the plague: when they desired the Lords to be removed, because of the danger of infection. Whereupon the Lords dispersed them among the Bishops in their respective places of habitation, where they might be safe. Fecknam was sent to the Bishop of Winchester, Bourn to the Bishop of Lincoln; and to the Archbishop the Council wrote, to receive Thirleby and Boxal, his former guests, as was mentioned before; and "to give them convenient lodging, each of them one "man allowed them, and to use them as was requisite for "men of their sort; and that they should satisfy his Lord-"ship for the charges of their commons." This letter was dated September 15. Upon this order, Dr. Thirleby wrote to him concerning his coming into his family, saying, "That he was an unbidden guest, who, according to the pro-

BOOK II. Anno 1563.

" verb, wotteth not where to sit; and that he would bring " all his family with him, that is, his man and his boy." To which the Archbishop made this very friendly answer:

The Archbishop to Dr. Thirleby.

" Sir, as an unbidden guest, as you write, knoweth not " where to sit, so a guest bidden or unbidden, being con- " tent with that which he shall find, shall deserve to be the " better welcome. If you bring with you your man and " your querister too, ye shall not be refused. And if your " companion in journey [Dr. Boxal] can content himself " with one man to attend upon him, your lodging shall be " the sooner prepared. Your best way were to Maidstone " the first night, and the next hither. I would wish your " coming were the sooner afore night, that such as shall " come with you, being once discharged of their charge, " may return that night to Canterbury, two miles off, to " their bed. And thus God send you a quiet passage. " 20th September, 63."

Ex Archiv. C. C. C. C. Vol. intit. Epist. Principum, &c.

Thirleby had lodgings in Black Friars.

Thirleby continued with the Archbishop to his dying day; though sometimes, it seems, he lodged in London in Black Friars, at one Mrs. Blackwell's. In whose bedchamber some years after died one Mrs. Catharine Carus, a Lancashire woman, a zealous Papist, widow of a Justice of Peace of that name. Which gentlewoman, it is likely out of her devotion, hired that chamber in her age to die in, upon the supposed holiness and merit thereof, which the said Thirleby might be thought to convey to it. This news of her death thus Fleetwood, Recorder of London, writ to the Lord Burghley. " Katherin Carus, the late Justice wife, " my countrywoman, with all her pride and Popery, is this " week gone, I trust, to God. She died in Bishop Thirleby's " chamber in Mrs. Blackwell's house in the Black Friars."

Boxal removes.

Boxal after some time removed to Bromley, whether it were to the Bishop of Rochester's, or to some other habitation of his own there, it is uncertain to me. Thence he wrote a letter of thanks to the Archbishop for his hospitable entertainment. Which was in these words:

" I have none other business to trouble your Grace with " a letter, but only to render unto the same my humble " thanks, as well for my very good entertainment, which so " long time without desert your Grace exhibited unto me, " as also for your gentleness shewed at this my removing " from your Grace's house to Bromleigh. Which I do ac- " knowledge, and most heartily wish I were able by any " means to declare myself mindful of it, as I am, &c.

Anno 1563.

His letter to the Archbishop.

Ex Archiv. C. C. C. C. Vol. ubi supra.

" Your Grace's debter and well-willer
" to his small power,
" Jo. Boxall."

This Boxal, it seems, after some time returned to the custody of the Archbishop again, and was, as were the aforesaid Thirleby and Bishop Tunstal, a guest at his table continually. But afterwards falling sick and shook with a fever, he went to a friend of his at London, and there expired a little after of that disease. He was Doctor of Divinity of Oxford, Dean of Peterburgh, Norwich, and Windsor, Secretary and Counsellor to Queen Mary. He abstained under that Queen from shedding innocent blood, or giving his consent thereto. There was in him as it were by nature a great modesty and courteous disposition.

142

He dies.

Mattheus.

As for Hethe he seemeth before this time to have had his liberty of dwelling at large, and might be gone to his seat at Cobham in Surrey, where he lived and died at full ease, quiet, and safety, and as handsomely as most gentlemen in England. For Cobham (according to a particular of that manor which I have seen among Sir Michael Hicks's papers) was situate twenty miles from London, four miles wide of Windsor, held in sockage. It contained five hundred acres of land, meadow, wood, and pasture. The wood and timber valued at eight hundred pounds. A fair house, garden, and orchard. The whole ground paled about. It was rented at 180*l.* a year. The price of the purchase 3000*l.* It was now Sir Francis Lee's; formerly Mr. Hethe's, the heir, I suppose, of Dr. Hethe. This was that grave man's easy retirement in his old age.

Hethe lives at liberty in his own.

Cobham.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563. Kindness exercised to the Popish Clergy.

And yet so ungrateful were the Papists of those times, that they were not only unsensible of this kind usage of their Bishops and chief Divines, but represented them in their ordinary discourses and public prints as miserable prisoners. Thus Dorman about this very time had the confidence to publish these words: "How many notable "men of the Clergy, said he, both for life and learning, "only for refusal of this oath [of supremacy] suffer they "to pine away in prison?" To which false suggestion let me by the way subjoin the answer which Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, gave; telling Dorman, "That this oath was "never required of them; and they *pined* not, but fared "well, and of other men's cost too, a great many of them. "They were well fed and in good liking, and some of them "so fat as they might wallow too. That they neither sat "nor hung in stocks by legs or fingers, nor had their necks "in chains. That they were neither whipped nor scourged, "as some of them used others, [meaning Bonner's dealing "with the professors of the Gospel.] And that in sickness "time, they had their progresses both for health and plea-"sure too." Having in his eye, no question, the sending of these two unto the Archbishop from the sickness at London; as well as others of them, that had now permission granted them to retire from London to their friends, or places of more safety.

Nowel's Reproof, p. 11.

So that it was a most true denomination by which our Archbishop called these Popish dignitaries, *viz. his guests, and not his prisoners.*

Bourn with the Bishop of Lincoln.

Such gentle and good usage did Bourn, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, receive at the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln, with whom he was now placed. Though whether it were before or after this he lived with Cary, Dean of the chapel, as Godwin writes, I know not. But with the said Bishop I find him in January 1565. When he desired the Archbishop to be a suitor to the Secretary to obtain licence, that his *guest*, Mr. Bourn, for so he called him, might be at his own house, which he had in London, for the Parliament time, being sufficiently bound to be quiet, and

to return again with him, or otherwise, when the said Bishop should repair home; because his own lodging at Lambeth was too strait. He lodged, I suppose, at Lambeth, that he might be near the Archbishop, where the commission court was kept, he being one of the ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Archbishop, according to the Bishop of Lincoln's request, writ to the Secretary to the effect above mentioned, adding, that if they of the commission might do it, they would not wish it to be moved to the Queen or Council; and so prayed the Secretary to grant his desire. Whence we may conclude, that Bourn had the liberty to dwell at his own house, under some easy conditions of living peaceably; and so enjoyed himself and his friends about him. And so did divers others of Queen Mary's Bishops and Divines.

Anno 1563.

In the month of February the Archbishop being at his Palace at Canterbury, I find his two guests, Thirleby and Boxal, still with him. But there being at this time a great consternation in those parts, upon apprehension of the French's invasion of England thereabouts; he put it to the Secretary's consideration, what were best to be done with them in that time and country, and in such vicinity [of the French.] Though he judged by their words, which they now spake, that they were true Englishmen, not wishing (as he said) to be subject to the governance of such insolent conquerors.

Upon apprehension of some attempt from France, sends to the Court concerning his two guests. 143

In November died a famous man, John Bale the antiquary, formerly Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, but a Prebendary now of this church of Canterbury, where he resided after Queen Elizabeth possessed the crown. He was once a White Friar in Norwich, and very hot and devout in that way of religion. In one of his books speaking concerning the worshippers of images, and the practisers of Popish superstitions, he added, "Yea, I ask God mercy a thou-"sand times, I have been one of them myself." Afterwards, being convinced of his superstitions by the Lord Wentworth, and well observing himself the unclean and shameful practices used too commonly in the monastic life, he left

John Bale dies.

BOOK II.

his Order, and became a zealous decrier of the Papal supremacy and worship, between the years 1530 and 1540.

Anno 1563.

And sometimes we find him in the north, where Lee the Archbishop imprisoned him; and sometimes in the south, where Stokesly, Bishop of London, met with him. But making his supplications to the Lord Crumwel, the King's Vicar General, he escaped out of their hands. The said Crumwel used to be delighted with reading certain witty plays composed by Bale in Latin. At Crumwel's death he thought it not safe for him to abide any longer in the land, especially persecution growing so hot upon the Six Articles; so he with his wife and family went beyond sea, and tarried in Lower Germany for eight years: that is, till King Edward came to reign.

The Archbishop labours to get his Antiquities;

The decease of this man created our Archbishop two businesses. The one was to get into possession of the antiquities which Bale had by great diligence, industry, and charges, for many a year been picking up and collecting. These our Archbishop took care speedily to bespeak before others, and was promised to have them for money. And this he writ to his friend the Secretary, as knowing him to be a great antiquarian himself, and a studious retriever of such monuments; and therefore an acceptable piece of news to him. The other was to procure Mr. Bale's prebend for a Chaplain of his, who was Andrew Peerson, his Almoner. Which by the instant intercession of the Secretary with the Queen he obtained. But instead of a presentation, the ordinary instrument in such cases, there was brought to the Archbishop a donation under the Great Seal, for the Chaplain's enjoyment of the prebend. This did a little disturb our Prelate, who used to be very punctual in keeping to old ecclesiastical statutes and orders, and was no further for any innovations than was necessary. For this instrument was not in such order passed, as both by laws ecclesiastical, and statutes of the house, was required. This caused him to send another letter to the Secretary, urging to him, how this would work a subversion of order in the Church, and a breach of statute, besides other inconveniences. He blamed

And his prebend conferred upon his Chaplain:

the clerks, wishing they would better consider the order of such privy seals. He took notice also of another mistake, namely, that the Queen's grant was two days before Bale's departure. Which little error, he said, might peradventure be hurtful to the party to come into that prebend, which was not void when the grant was made: though the Great Seal bare date after his decease. But he earnestly desired the Secretary that he would get the instrument reformed, that it might pass by presentation as it ought. Which was accordingly procured.

Though the next prebend that fell in that church was promised to another.

But there happened not long after another matter, that gave fresh occasion for the Archbishop to solicit the Secretary again in his Chaplain's behalf about this prebend. There was one Tamworth, who had obtained so much favour from the Queen, that she had granted him the next avoidance of a prebend in that church; and so ought to have been admitted into Bale's place. But it seems he was not quick enough; nor did the Archbishop, when he solicited on his Chaplain's behalf, know of any such grant to Tamworth. But observing a prejudice done to him, and that his Chaplain's title might not be so firm in case the other should have tried to reverse the possession the said Chaplain had therein: to make therefore some amends for the prejudice, and to secure his domestic, he entreated the Secretary that he would prefer the said advowson to the Queen's Highness, to have it renewed for the next hereafter. Which, he said, was no more cost, but her favourable grant to be the same, that once was granted to take place at the next turn: seeing it was of late otherwise at her free favour bestowed.

144

BOOK II.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1563.

The Archbishop judges a cause of contract of marriage. Fears of a French invasion in Kent. The Archbishop's service, and his letter to Court on this emergence. The evil condition of the nation at this time. The Archbishop's judgments of commendams *for St. Asaph and small bishoprics. His care about the bishopric of Landaff, now void.*

Judges of a contract made without the parents' consent.

ABOUT this time also came a case before him, as judge thereof; in which a certain young gentleman, named Bernaby Goge, was concerned. He had been a retainer to Sir William Cecil the Secretary, and his relation, now a Gentleman Pensioner to the Queen; and for whom the said Knight had writ to the Archbishop, desiring his case might be heard according to law and equity. The business was; a young gentlewoman, named Mary, the daughter of Mr. Darrel of Kent, had privily contracted herself to Goge, without the knowledge of her parents. Which she seemed to do, to prevent her parents from marrying her to one Sampson Lennard, living at Chevening, a certain rich man, a Protonotary; but a person belike whom she could not affect; being not so much moved with the consideration of his money, as her parents were.

Some relation of the case.

The Secretary had writ to Lennard the father, (who depended also upon him,) in favour of his kinsman Goge, who had informed the said Secretary that he was hindered by Lennard's means from his marriage with Mr. Darrel's daughter, by disparaging of him; giving out that he was destitute of friends, and that the Secretary looked upon him but as one of his men. The Secretary wrote, that the matter was made plain to him by the maid's letter and her father's, that she had assured herself to Mr. Goge; and so praying Mr. Lennard to pleasure his honest kinsman, and to order his son to desist his suit, seeing she was engaged already. But Lennard with some heat answered the Secretary, that for his marriage, he might and must have done

with honesty as he did, though it had touched his (the Secretary's) son, or the best subject's in the realm: shewing him, how her parents were very earnest, and more earnest than he, to bring about the match for his son, who indeed had a great amour for her. Whereupon, he said, he had often discoursed with the maid about matching with his son; when she, as well as her parents, seemed very inclinable, and never offered any delay to be his son's wife, but seemed desirous of it in word and gesture. But in truth, of these her two rivals, Mr. Goge had the greater share in her affections: and she entertained young Lennard chiefly in obedience to her parents, who were much for him because of his wealth. But Lennard the father, being by reason of his riches both proud and hasty, plainly told the Secretary at last, that he should be no gainer by this match, but should forego a thousand mark, which he might have had in matching his son with as good a stock in the country where he dwelt. And that now he and his son might give up the suit with honesty, and so would. For that he would have been too mad to match his eldest son, where any entangling was, and no stedfastness at all. And that his son now said, that though she would, he would not; and I say, saith he, he shall not have her. He shewed great offence against Goge, who, he said, seemed to have a hot head and a sick brain: 145
and complained that he had written very disrespectfully to him. But this was after Goge had obtained some words from the gentlewoman, amounting to a promise. Which made him, when he could not draw her father to consent, to speak somewhat indecently to him: as that he would tell the Queen of him, and that a Serjeant at Arms should fetch his daughter from him, or that the Secretary should fetch her within a month.

The process.

The Archbishop, to understand the business more fully, had the young woman before him, to learn from herself the state of the case; who remained firm and stable to stand to that contract which she had made. The father and mother also personally appeared; whom the Archbishop found most earnest against it, and pretended a precontract to Lennard.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

This he supposed they did, that it might serve as an occasion to draw the case into the Arches, to spend money. Which rich Lennard and the wilful parents would fain have done; thinking thereby to weary out Goge, peradventure not superfluously monied. But the Archbishop not liking these dilatory courses, though in his own Courts, meant to dull that expectation, [of going into the Arches,] resolving himself to go to work *plane et summarie*, without the tedious formalities of the law. In the mean time, he sequestered the young gentlewoman out of the parents' hands into the custody of one Mr. Tufton, a *right honest gentleman*, (for that was the character he gave of him,) until the precontract, which the parents pretended, were produced. I find no more of this business; and so cannot relate the issue thereof.

Lennard Pronotary, or Clerk of the Crown.

Lennard's riches, I suppose, might accrue to him by a wealthy office held by him and his father. For in King Edward's book of warrants for the seal, under the year 1550, there is specified the grant of the office of Pronotary, or Clerk of the Crown, to John Leonard and Tho. Leonard for life, and the longest liver, of the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecknock, and Radnor, in all courts, terms, sessions, &c. together with the making and entering of all manner of writs, processes, declarations, &c. with all fees and profits thereunto belonging, without account making.

His course of dealing in this cause justified.

In this case our Archbishop may seem to some to be blameworthy: as though he gave too much countenance to children in disposing of themselves in marriage without or against the consent of their parents; and suffered himself to be biassed in his judgment, upon the Secretary's letter to him to favour his kinsman. But the ignorance of the circumstances of this business makes us uncapable of passing a true judgment thereon. Nor did the Secretary desire any thing else at the Archbishop's hands, than to take cognizance of the cause, and to proceed according to law and equity. Which whosoever governs himself by, cannot make an unrighteous decision. Neither did the Archbishop approve of matrimonial contracts made by children without

the privity of their parents. But all he was now to do was to pass a judgment, where a contract had been already made; and it may be, to deliver a young woman from being matched with a person whom she loved not: and thereby to rescue both from an unhappy life; which might in all possibility have followed from a forced marriage. Anno 1563.

This year the French had prosperous success against the English. So that they, or rather the hand of God by a pestilence, which cost abundance of brave captains, as well as other soldiers, their lives, had forced this nation to surrender Newhaven to them, about August or September. In January following, the French forces lay upon the seacoast, over against Kent; which put the country, especially about Canterbury, in great fears and disorders, expecting no less than an invasion every moment. And the castles on that coast, as well as the people of the country, were altogether unprovided. This put our careful Archbishop upon despatching his letters to the Secretary, letting him know the condition of the county, and desiring to receive some comfort from the Court to animate the people. The sum of his letter was, "That the country there was in much per-
"plexity and fear, doubting what might follow of the pre-
"parations they heard of, made by the French. That there-
"fore he thought good to write to him privately, how small
"soever his skill in such cases was, trusting he would bear
"with it, in respect of his zeal to his country. That the
"fear indeed arose upon consideration, that Dover castle,
"Walmer and Deal castles, and Quinborow castle, were as 146
"forsaken and unregarded for any provision. The country
"was destitute of the Lord Warden and of a Lieutenant;
"whom in such straits men might resort to. The people
"but feeble and unarmed, and commonly discomforted."
The day he writ his letter, he sent his man to Thanet to Sir Henry Crispe; who, as the Archbishop proceeded to acquaint the Secretary, stood in much doubt. The said Sir Henry had understanding of a French pinnace to have searched as far as the Thames mouth, to know how the Queen's ships were appointed. And he thought they were like to land in

A noise of warlike preparation made by the French puts him upon writing to Court.

Sends a servant to Thanet;

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

Shepy, to keep the Queen's ships within the Thames, and not to come forth: whereby they might be the bolder to arrive where they intended. The Archbishop added further, "That he feared, that if the country were not comforted, "some folks of wealth would be removing their household "and substance. Upon which example more might do the "like. And, but that he reposed his whole trust and con- "fidence, next to God, in the Queen's carefulness, and their "prudent foresight toward that quarter, seeing no great "trust in the furniture of men, munition, or artillery, he "would else be carried with mistrusts of the worst, as others "were most commonly."

And another to Dover.

As he had sent a servant to Thanet, so he sent another to Dover to the Lieutenant. Who sent word back, that the people in the town were amazed, and had their hearts cold, to hear of no preparation towards this feared mischief. Which caused the Archbishop to add, "That though they "[at Court] saw fully all manner of proceedings, and could "note the furthest sequel of them, yet in his opinion it were "not amiss that some participation of advices proceeded "into those quarters, to speed them abroad to the stay of "the people. For to whom to go, upon whom to stay, they "know not. He said, they had too few Justices; and "between Canterbury and Dover none: wishing that Mr. "Edward Boyes were one, whom he took to be an honest "gentleman.

"He prayed his Honour to send him some information by "his servant. Not that he could see any ability in himself "to do service that way; yet he could, he said, cause his "neighbours to trust well, and cause his Chaplains to com- "fort the people in their sermons in the poor villages: which "was the best they could do in their skill. And so beseeching "God to assist the Queen, and all their circumspections, *ita* "*maturare consilia sua*, that peace and unity might still "reign among them in their days." This was writ from his house at Bekesborn, Jan. 20.

The same apprehensions put

These fears still continued among them, and little was done at Court to the satisfying of the country. Only six-

teen days after the Archbishop's letter, the Lord Cobham went to Dover castle; but a naked man, without strength of men. This put his Grace, now at Canterbury, upon the writing a second letter to the Secretary: "Requesting him "to be an instant means, to have special respects of the "country there, to the Queen's Majesty and her Council: "assuring his Honour that he feared the danger, if it were "not speedily looked to, would be irrecuperable; if the "enemy should have an entry, as by great considerations "of our weakness, and their strength, of their vigilancy, "and our dormitation and protraction, was like. And then "the Queen's Majesty would never be able to leave to her "successors that which she found delivered her by God's "favourable hand. He said, that posts and letters with re-"quests were sent, but little return was made, as he heard, "and small aid and comfort came to the Lord Warden, a "good gentleman, and that meant honourably. But what, "saith he, can a man do more than may be done, by a man "almost destitute of men, money, and arms?" He also desired to put it to their consideration, what were best to be done at that juncture with his two guests, which they had sent him; meaning Thirlby and Boxal. What order was sent back concerning them I do not find: but I suppose they still remained with him, and returned with him to Lambeth when he returned.

Anno 1563. him upon writing the second time. Dated Feb. 6.

But by good providence these fears and dangers went off without any other harm done. For the Court was at this very time busily transacting a peace with the French: which about the beginning of the next year was concluded between both nations. And probably the French had made this great show of arms almost in the sight of England, thinking thereby to procure to themselves a more advantageous peace.

But peace with France follows.

In truth, about this time, the gravest and wisest men apprehended the kingdom to be in a very ill condition, not only in respect of France and enemies abroad, but of the loose and bad order of things at home. The Queen's subjects lived dissolutely, vainly, and luxuriously, with little fear of God

1563. The ill state of the nation at this time.

BOOK II.

and care of honesty, and in a neglect of that honour and obedience that was due to her. So that now the clouds ga-

Anno 1563.

thered thick over the nation. Which Sir John Mason, an old and wise counsellor, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, well perceiving, exhorted much to the striking up a peace with France upon this necessity; that so the Queen might the better look after her concerns within the realm. In March, being retired for his health into the country to Gonelsbury, he signified these his apprehensions, and suggested this counsel to the Secretary. The Secretary had in a former letter spoke of the present *infirmities* of the king-

Sir John Mason's sense thereof. MSS. penes me.

dom. The said Sir John in his answer told the Secretary, "That the cure of his own sickness was much lessened by "his great care of the many sicknesses that he saw in the "commonwealth; which was to him more dear than was "either health or life. He wished to God they were but "*infirmities*, as the Secretary had termed them, *ac non* "*potius* κακοήθεις, *seu quod genus morbi iis sit magis immo-*"*rigerum, et ad sanandum rebellius.* And, (that worse "was,) *cum universæ partes corporis nobis doleant, a ver-*"*tice capitis usque ad plantam pedis. Dolorem tamen* (for "any care was seen to be had thereof) *sentire non vide-*"*mur: quod mentis ægrotantis est indicium.* A great argu-"ment whereof was, that *in tot reip. difficultatibus, editur,* "*bibitur, luditur, altum dormitur, privata curantur, pub-*"*lica negliguntur, ceu riderent omnia, et pax rebus esset* "*altissima.* The fear of God, whereby all things were "wont to be kept in indifferent order, was in effect gone, "and God seemed to weigh them, and to conduct their do-"ings thereafter. The fear of the Prince went apace after, "whereof they saw daily proof both by sea and by land. It "was high time therefore for her Highness to take some good "way with her enemy, and to grow with him to some rea-"sonable end, yielding to necessity; *cui ne dii quidem resist-*"*unt, et non ponere rumores ante salutem:* and to answer "their friends in reason. So as *rebus foris constitutis*, she "might wholly attend to set things in better order at home. "The looseness whereof was so great, as being not remedied

" in time, the tempest, he said, was not a little to be feared, " *cum tot coactæ nubes nobis minantur.* Which God of his " mercy by the prayer of *decem justi a nobis longissimè* " *avertat.*" CHAP. XVII. Anno 1563.

London also, the metropolis of the kingdom, was in ill case, by reason of the late plague, poverty, and other judgments: " There being, as the said Sir John Mason wrote, " in the said city and about it, numbers of men in much " necessity; some for lack of work, and some for lack of " will to work. So that if they, with others that possessed " the highest ways round about, were not by some good " means kept in awe, he feared there would be ill dwelling " near unto London." And therefore, whereas the Queen was intending to take a progress northward that summer, he advised to the contrary; and " he thought no good man " would counsel her thereunto. That the Prince's face, " turned towards these loose citizens, must needs be a great " bridle to them. Whereunto he trusted her Highness " would have good respect. Besides the great discomfort " that needs must be to many of her good subjects there, to " see her Majesty to turn her countenance from them." The state of London.

Our Archbishop had an occasion offered him now in March, whereby to shew his wisdom and his care, both of the Church, and of the credit of those that were preferred to the government of it. The Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Thomas Davies, consecrated in the year 1561, enjoyed some benefices, together with the bishopric, without any legal warrant, or royal indulgence, as it seems, so to do. Whereupon, it being discovered, endeavours were made by certain persons to get themselves presented, and invested into those livings. This put the Archbishop upon suing to the Queen and her Council, that he might not be deprived of his small benefices, considering the smallness and incompetency of his bishopric. This being the cause of a Bishop within our Archbishop's province, and the Council valuing his judgment in matters of this nature, referred the thing unto him, to consider how meet and convenient it were to yield to his suit, and by what means his benefices might be legally A business of the Bishop of St. Asaph referred to the Archbishop.

BOOK II.

continued to him. Concerning this he wrote his judgment unto the Secretary to this purpose: "That to the mainte-

Anno 1563. "nance of his hospitality it were needful for him to obtain

148 "so much favour, for the *commendam* of his benefices, at

March 18. "the Queen's Majesty's hands, as to have her warrant to "the faculties. Which grace, he said, was such as was "commonly heretofore granted, when livings were better, "and victuals cheaper. And though these *commendams* "seemed, as he said, to be a kind of appropriation, yet that "inconvenience might be thought less, than that the order "of godly Ministers in that function should be brought "to contempt for lack of reasonable necessaries. Which "though before God it made no great matter, nor needed "honest Ministers to be abashed within themselves, to ex-"pend no more than they may; yet the world looked for "port agreeable. And wise grave men thought, there was "done already enough toward that state for bringing super-"fluity to moderation."

His judgment of *commendams* and pluralities.

It was his judgment, that the port of a Bishop ought to be preserved, for his better countenance in the world; which is apt to despise the function when those that are of it are poor and live nearly. And though he did not like of *commendams* nor pluralities; yet in small bishoprics and preferments he thought them a less inconvenience, than that hospitality and the credit and esteem of the Clergy should be lost. Whereby religion itself might be subject to the contempt of the people: and lest any might object, that the Clergy were to be kept poor upon political accounts, he thought the Church had been sufficiently stripped, to prevent any evil that might arise to the commonwealth at any time from their pride or faction.

Takes care about the see of Landaff.

And as it was a piece of his paternal care that the Church should be full, and that the revenues thereof might not be more diminished, so the bishopric of Landaff, being now to be provided for, and the house called Mathern, belonging thereunto, being alienated, whether by Dunstan, the late Bishop, a monstrous dilapidator of that see, or by some other means; our Archbishop earnestly reminded the Secretary

to procure some to be preferred to it, and to get the house restored back to the bishopric; that so it might be a means to oblige to residence such as should be admitted Bishops there. And signifying how highly convenient it were that Bishops should reside in their dioceses, he used these words; "That how little soever they did severally in their dioceses, "it was a good stay in divers respects to the insolent affec- "tion of the people." Meaning that they would be awed by the presence of a spiritual father among them. This letter makes it evident, that Godwin's Catalogue is misprinted, where this Bishop is made to decease anno 1566, which should be 1563.

Anno 1563. Mathern.

CHAP. XVIII.

Coverdale made Minister of the parish of St. Magnus, London. A message to the two Archbishops from the Assembly of Divines in Edinburgh. Musculus's Common Places translated, dedicated to the Archbishop. An Admonition (prefaced as it seems) by him.

AND these are the matters that passed through the hands of our Archbishop while he was in his diocese in Kent. Now let us take notice of some other things. Miles Coverdale, that assisted at the consecration of our Archbishop, sometime Bishop of Exon, being now old and poor, the Bishop of London committed to his charge the church and parish of St. Magnus, at the bridge foot, London. But the height of the first-fruits being 60*l.* 16*s.* 10*d. ob.* beyond his ability to satisfy, made him in the month of January write to the Archbishop, (as he did also to others of the Court,) that the setting his age and his poverty before the Queen, would prevail with her to forgive him that debt. The contents of this letter to the Archbishop, which will set forth his present condition, were, "That it would please him to join with the "Bishop of London in suit for him to the Queen, that in

Coverdale collated to St. Magnus, London.

149

His letter to the Archbishop for

BOOK II.

Anno 1563. his first-fruits; MSS. C. C. C. C. Vol. Epist. Princip.

" favourable consideration, how destitute he had been of a " competent living in the realm ever sith his bishopric was " violently taken away from him; I being," said he, " com- " pelled to resign, and how I never had pension, annuity, " or stipend of it these ten years and upwards; how unable " also I am to pay the first-fruits, or long to enjoy the said " benefice, going upon my grave, as they say, and not like " to live a year; her Majesty, at the contemplation of such " reverend, honourable, and worthy suitors, will most gra- " ciously grant me her warrant and discharge for the first- " fruits of the said benefice. And as I am bold most humbly " to crave your Grace's help herein, so am I fully persuaded, " God willing, to shew myself again as thankful, and in my " vocation, during my short time, as fruitful and as quiet " as I can. 29 Jan. new year.

" Myl. Cov. *quond.* Exon."

And to the Secretary Cecil.

MSS. Cecilian.

He wrote also in the beginning of February to Cecil, the Secretary, to the same import, to be a means for him to the Queen, to grant him the first-fruits of the said St. Magnus, " which the Bishop of London had gently granted him the " pastoral office and benefice of. That heretofore (he praised " God for it) his Honour had ever been his special help and " succour in all his rightful suits. And that if now (that " *poor old Miles* might be provided for) it would please " him to obtain this for him; he should think *this enough* " to be as good as a feast. And so beseeching him to take " this his boldness in good part, he committed him and all " his to the gracious protection of the Almighty. From " London, 6 Feb. Subscribing,

" Myles Coverdale *quondam* Exon."

His first-fruits forgiven.

Coverdale wrote a month or six weeks after to the Archbishop again, signifying, that the Lord Robert Duddely sent him a message, that the Queen had granted him his first-fruits. He lived little more than two years after, and died aged eighty-one, living, as he promised the Archbishop, *quiet*, though not coming up to the uniformity required, which

had occasioned so much unquietness in others: and perhaps relinquishing his parish before his death: for he was buried not at St. Magnus, but St. Bartholomew's.

Anno 1563.

The Divines in Scotland in their Assembly about the latter end of this year, sent a message to the Archbishops in England. To both which most reverend Fathers on the 10th of February, Spotswood Superintendant of Lowthian, Knox and Craig Ministers of Edinburgh, wrote their letters. The occasion pretty strange, and hardly weighty enough for the cognizance of so solemn an assembly: and it was this. One Baron a Minister had made complaint to the General Assembly then met at Edinburgh, that his wife Anne Goodacre, an English woman, I suppose, departed from him, and went away for England without his leave, after great rebellions by her committed, and after several warnings given by him to her. She remained for a season at York. The General Assembly at Edinburgh, as well of the nobility as of the superintendant Ministers, and Commissioners of Churches, upon Baron's petition and complaint, gave their commandment to the said Spotswood, Knox, and Craig, to write to and request the two Archbishops, being principal in ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the realm of England, that they would in their respective jurisdictions cause by public edicts, or else personally to apprehend, summon, charge, and warn the said Anne to compere before the superintendant Ministers and session of Edinburgh, in their Consistory, the sixth day after their summons, there to come and answer for herself and for her crimes.

The wife of a Scotch Minister goes away into England.

The Assembly at Edinburgh to both Archbishops to apprehend her.

Archbishop Parker was now at Bekesbourn near Canterbury; and surprised herewith, writ to the Secretary Cecil, April 14, signifying, "That he doubted how agreeable it "were for him to satisfy such requests; praying him to im- "part his counsel, the rather for that, he said, it might "seem to touch the state and order of the realm. That the "request in his opinion was strange, for that this vicissitude "was used at the request of them, which agnize one supe- "rior governor, as subjects of one realm or empire: and was "also used, where the abode or continuance of the party to

The Archbishop confers with the Secretary. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist. 150

BOOK II.

Anno 1563.

" be called is certainly known in whose territory she con-
" tinueth. And doubtful, added he, it is to me by what
" authority these requesters do exercise their conference.
" For they make no mention of their warrant or commis-
" sion. And further, I take, that the party is not bound
" to obey any such commandment of theirs in England, to
" appear in Scotland, the cause as it is. And some doubt may
" rise, whether they go about to practise a precedent by our
" assents, to divorce the parties, and to license the innocent
" to marry again. And further, it may be considered, how
" it may be taken at the Queen's Majesty's hand, to com-
" mand any resiant within her dominions to appear before a
" foreign power out of her realm. Besides, that the exam-
" ple may be dangerous, if in any time the like practice
" might be. And therefore to jeopard the indemnity of the
" godly where extreme princes be, or evil prelates do reign,
" to desire to torment the poor Protestants. Now if they
" require justice it might there, as there, be ministered
" of us by the Queen's laws; which I trust do not much
" differ from God's words well understood.

" I am bold to write to your Honour my fancies; whereto
" I do yet incline: notwithstanding ready to redress my
" cogitations, if your wisdom, in respect of gratification of
" such neighbourhood as is now betwixt us, I mean betwixt
" England and Scotland, may think it convenient. If it
" were but a matter private, I would not trouble your other
" affairs; but seeing it may be drawn to a great importance,
" I will stay till I may hear from your Honour, praying the
" same, as your opportunity will serve, to return your
" advice. My Lord Marquis [of Northampton] I have
" acquainted with it, being with me at Bekesborn, who
" telleth me he will help to some certain resolution at his
" next repair to the Court." I make no reflections on all this, only cannot but contemplate the wise, wary, and deep judgment of our Prelate appearing in these lines of his.

Musculus's Common Places dedicated to the Archbishop.

I shall mention only one thing more under this year, and that is, that Musculus's Common Places came forth this year in folio, translated out of Latin into English, for the

use of English Divines and others, in order to instruct them in a body of sound divinity, purged from the errors of Popery. The author was a learned Professor of Divinity in Berne in Switzerland, and reckoned among the most profound Doctors that had writ in the Church of God. The translator was Mr. Man, Head of Merton college in Oxford; who dedicated the book to our Archbishop. CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1563.

After this Epistle Dedicatory is an Admonition to the Reader; which seems to be done by the Archbishop himself, to prevent any offence that might be taken at something in the Common Places, or incline any to fall into dislike with some usages in our Church. As, "That in rites and ceremonies the primitive Church was not so precisely to be followed, but that it was left free to all Churches to dispose them indifferently, as they might know to make to edification. And that whereas this author pressed some particularities, not agreeable to the Church of England, he meant himself none otherwise to charge the reader to any necessity of receiving his judgment and opinion in things of mere circumstance: and professed in divers places of his book, that he meant not to prejudice the judgment of any others, who might extend such matters in question. That it was fit for the good English reader to be an obedient subject to all orders prescribed unto him in this realm where he dwelt; whatsoever difference he might read in writers uttering their opinion: which for their countries seemed most convenient, and were so practised in the same. And therefore where this author seemed to disallow the interrogatories that were made at the christening of infants; yet at the end of his discourse of these matters, he said, *I do prescribe or give order to no man; but by other men's leave I do only declare what I think most profitable and expedient.* That as for the opinion of Doctors, the Archbishop said (if he be the writer of the said sober and wise Admonition) that neither this Church of England nor any other ought to be subject thereto, but to be left to their particular determination, as should be thought good unto them." An Admonition subjoined.

BOOK II.

Anno 1563. 151

This was the prudent and safe rule he gave for reading the opinions of authors about the government of Churches. And that if readers would observe this caution in perusing of Musculus's works, or any other such, it would have this great benefit, "That it would serve to stay them from any "innovation of things quietly reposed; and from uttering "such judgments in contention, to win a singularity in "newness of opinion, to the disturbing of the quiet in- "struction of the people."

CHAP. XIX.

The Archbishop labours an Uniformity among the Ministers; in habits and other ceremonies appointed. Dr. Turner, Dean of Wells, refractory to them. Varieties used in the service of the Church. Information of this to the Archbishop out of the country. The Queen's letter to the Archbishop for enjoining the habits. The Bishop of Durham's letter occasioned hereby: and the Archbishop's to the Bishop of London. What the Bishops did hereupon; and the Puritans. Dean Whittingham's letter to the Earl of Leicester: and Kingsmil to the Archbishop.

Anno 1564. Attempts to reduce the Clergy to uniformity.

THE next year the Archbishop, being returned back to Lambeth, entered upon a new and troublesome work, which cost him much pains and sorrow, struggling in it as long as he lived. It was his endeavour to oblige Ministers to an uniformity and agreement in their attendances upon the service of God. For the Queen had taken great offence at many of the Clergy, having information how remiss they were, both in the University and out of it, especially in the city of London, in wearing the habits appointed for the Clergy to use in time of ministration, and at other times: chiefly the square cap, the tippet, and the surplice.

Some Ministers' detestation of the cap and surplice.

It is marvellous to consider how much these were abhorred by many honest well meaning men; accounting them

Antichristian ceremonies, and so styling them; and by no means to be used in a true Christian Church, because used in the apostate Church of Rome. It may suffice as a sign how averse many were unto these habits, only to mention one or two. Crowley called them *conjuring garments of Popery*, and would not therefore be persuaded to minister in them: and in the year 1565, Dr. Turner, the Dean of Wells, enjoined a common adulterer to do his open penance in a Priest's square cap. Of which the Archbishop complained to the Secretary. And two years before this; *viz.* the latter end of the year 1563, he used to call the Bishops *white coats*, and *tippet gentlemen*, with other words of reproach; contemning moreover their office, and asking, "Who gave "them authority more over me, than I over them, either to "forbid me preaching, or to deprive me, unless they have "it from their holy Father the Pope?" Gilbert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was so incumbered with this his Dean for such talk, and for his indiscreet behaviour in the pulpit, meddling with all matters, and unseemly speaking of all states, that he first advertised him by writings, and admonished him secretly by his own friends. But persisting herein, he was forced to advertise our Archbishop of it; and proceeded to entreat Secretary Cecil to write a few lines to him, which he believed might stay his undiscreet doings. To add one passage more of him, which is intendedly related for his credit by Martin Marprelate, that he had a dog full of good qualities; and having invited a Bishop to his table, in dinner while he called the dog, and told him that the Bishop did sweat; the dog flies at the Bishop, and took off his cornered cap; and away goes the dog with it to his master.

Anno 1564.

Particularly Turner, Dean of Wells.

152 Epist. to the terrible Priests, p. 43.

And the confused varieties that divers Ministers in these days used in the service of God, and in their habits which they wore, gave much offence, and were complained of. Insomuch as I find a paper among the Secretary's MSS. specifying these varieties, dated Febr. 14, 1564, which was the month before the articles for uniformity, afterward mentioned, were devised by the Archbishop and the other Bishops. This paper I think worthy our transcribing, for

The varieties used in the service and habits.

BOOK II. the illustrating our present history. Which is as follows *verbatim:*

Anno 1564.

Varieties in the service and administration used.

MSS. Cecilian.

Service and Prayer. Some say the service and prayers in the chancel; others in the body of the church. Some say the same in a seat made in the church; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Some keep precisely the order of the book; others intermeddle Psalms in metre. Some say with a surplice; others without a surplice.

Table. The table standeth in the body of the church in some places; in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall yard. In some others in the middle of the chancel, north and south. In some places the table is joined; in others it standeth upon tressels. In some the table hath a carpet; in others it hath none.

Administration of the Communion. Some with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; others with none. Some with chalice; some with a Communion cup; others with a common cup. Some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened. [He might have added, some with wafers, some with common manchet bread.]

Receiving. Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting.

Baptizing. Some baptize in a font, some in a basin. Some sign with the sign of the cross; others sign not. Some minister in a surplice, others without.

Apparel. Some with a square cap; some with a round cap; some with a button cap; some with a hat. Some in scholars' clothes, some in others.

Information of these varieties.

An application made this year to our Archbishop by one of his Clergy for his advice will further declare these mat-

ters, and shew how the Clergy in the countries about this time behaved themselves in their ministration. The Archbishop had placed one Richard Kechyn in some benefice near Bocking in Essex, which seemed to be one of his Peculiars: and upon his admission had charged him to follow the orders and rules appointed and established by law, and to make no variation, whatsoever others should or might do or persuade him to the contrary. But now this year in his ministerial course, he met with many rubs and checks by one, a neighbouring preacher, (or English Doctor, as they loved then to call themselves,) who came into his pulpit, being a licensed preacher, and there openly condemned him, the incumbent, for certain things. We must know that Kechyn had in the Rogation-week gone the perambulation with his parishioners; and according to the old custom and the Queen's injunctions, had said certain offices in certain places of the parish. And several women of the parish accompanied as was wont, and joined in the prayers that were said. And all was ended in a good friendly dinner: wherein such poor women and others that attended were refreshed and relieved. Kechyn had also upon occasion shewed his mind concerning preaching in ordinary assemblies upon predestination: and that he thought that deep point were better be let alone, to be argued and discoursed among the learned. He also constantly wore the surplice in his ministration, and in reading the divine service turned his face to the east.

Anno 1564. Cures given the Archbishop.

153

This one Holland, Curate of Bocking, thought fit to check this man for. And the Sunday next following the Rogation-week, coming to preach at his parish, his sermon went on two arguments only, *viz.* of predestination, and of women's walking the perambulation in Rogation-week. Of predestination he said, "That it should and ought to be "preached in every sermon and in every place, before all "congregations, as the only doctrine of salvation. And that "they that granted a truth in it, and would not have it "every where preached, as well as they that denied it, were "enemies to God and the eternal predestination." The

MSS. G. P. Armig. vol. A.

Preaching of predestination.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

like he judged of them that said, it was a high and secret mystery, and fitter for learned men in schools and Universities: against which he boldly spake, as far as he durst, and would fain have said more as might well appear. And whereas certain women in the parish had followed the rest in the Rogation-week, as they were always accustomed, and heard the Gospels read with the rest, and assisted with their prayers, rendering of thanks, saying *Amen* to the curses, [one whereof appointed by the Injunctions to be said was, *Cursed is he that translateth the bounds and dolls of his neighbour*,] and so forth, as the Injunctions did permit: this he condemned as unlawful; and pretended the Queen's authority for this his new doctrine, and the judgment of the learned Bishops of the realm; and laboured at large to confute what might be said in favour of this custom.

Women going the perambulation.

The Dean of Bocking, (who, I think, was Mr. Cole,) having some jurisdiction over Kechyn and some other Ministers thereabouts, had charged him and the rest not to turn their faces to the high altar in service-saying, which was a new charge and not given before. But this Dean in his visitation usually gave new articles every year. And lastly, offence was taken against him that he used the surplice.

Upon this occasion, the said Minister thought convenient to acquaint Peerson, the Archbishop's Almoner and Chaplain, with these things, to impart them to the Archbishop, that he might have his counsel and direction. He told the Almoner in a letter to him what his practice was, that though he turned his face upward, as he had done hitherto, yet his Church was small, and his voice might be heard. That the Litany he said in the body of the church; and when he said the service he kept the chancel, and turned his face to the east; and that he was not zealous in setting forth predestination. And for these matters they were much offended with him. He beseeched the Almoner therefore to let him understand his Grace's mind in the opinions above rehearsed. For though the cause was flat, as he had before reported to him, yet he had not, he said, taken in hand to disclose or confute openly in the church any of

The Archbishop consulted about some usages. Jul. 3.

these matters wherein these English Doctors had been and were wrestling at this day. That he would do nothing against his lawful Ordinary's mind. That if he willed him to leave off the surplice, as others did, he was ready; to forbid the women to pray in the Rogation-week, &c. he was also ready. That in such cases he depended upon them that had authority to alter ceremonies; and not upon the new brethren that seemed and would be thought to have authority, but had none. Further, that he would gladly learn what articles his Grace caused to be inquired of in his visitation; because the Dean their Visitor had every year a new scroll of articles. And this, of charging all not to turn their faces to the high altar was one; which he called a *new charge*. That, for his suffering the women to pray in the fields in Rogation-week, he said, that the poorer women (as God knew) that lacked work the last week were glad of the relief that was accustomably provided for them; and that the substantial men took part with him in it.

Then Kechyn took the liberty to acquaint the Archbishop's Chaplain with some character of this Holland, that took so much upon him in his pulpit; and with the practices now brought in, in the churches. That though this man had called these perambulation feasts, feasts of Bacchus, shewing his skill in poetry; yet if one should have asked him how to decline Bacchus, he would have been put to his shifts: however he would appear to be seen in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He cried out, that the Schoolmen had infected all the country with superstition, as he termed this going of the women. That in his sermons he used much Latin, and took great pleasure in pronouncing it much like the good fellows that went about with foot plays. He asked, if this were not at length a fit learned man to preach predestination in such presumption. And added, that he marvelled much that his Grace permitted him by his licence to preach out of his cure, or any proud English Doctor of them all, as the good man, raised into some passion, expressed himself. But that now, he is no English Doctor with us, as he proceeded, that hath not some singu-

Holland a Puritan preacher.

154

BOOK II.

lar opinion to inflame the multitude withal against those that live under laws and obedience. That in short, by means of these, learning was had in derision of most men. That he was sorry to have occasion to pen these matters for his reading; and might think he spake of affection, but he assured him he did but write as other men talked: and that he thought much of the sauciness of these bold rude English Preachers and Doctors*: he wished it by punishment and penalties to be reformed. For he knew his Grace had taken order for such in some points; but that they were no more regarded. And he wished that he (to whom he wrote) might see where the fault was.

Anno 1564.

* The Puritans affected that title from Eph. iv. 11.

Liberty taken.

And lastly, he shewed him the liberty that was commonly used among the Clergy there, in varying from the appointments of the Church. How that some conferred Baptism in basins, some in dishes, [rejecting the use of the font,] as he himself had seen. Some held there must be seven godfathers. Some would either, that every father should christen his own child, or at least admit him to be chief godfather. Some took down the font, and painted a great bowl, and caused to be written on the outside BAP | TIS | ME, as was notably known. Some taught that women might not pray in the Rogation-week. Some detested the surplice in ministration. And that in Bocking it had been laid a water (as he expressed it) by Holland the Curate there for many a day.

How this liberty became retrenched.

Thus by this letter, shewing the state of the Church-service, and the Ministers thereof, in one part of the nation, may be guessed how it was every where else: and had it not been for the great disturbances in the Church, occasioned by these varieties, and the common omission of what was prescribed by the Queen's Injunctions; and for the rude and insolent behaviour of some that refused the habits towards those that quietly used them, and conformed themselves to orders, (as in the case of Kechyn aforesaid,) probably the urging of them so strictly afterwards would not have been. And had the scrupling brethren peaceably and silently used their liberty in the omission of some few things

which their consciences scrupled, it might not have been with such rigor afterwards restrained. For hitherto, as far as I find, they were indulged and connived at by the Bishops, as much as they might, without giving offence to the Queen, or disparaging her Injunctions. For when these and some other matters enjoined by the Common Prayer Book were charged upon the Bishops by Bullinger, Pastor of the Church of Zurich, and some other learned foreigners of the Reformation; they replied in their letters, "That "none of them were of the Parliament House at the passing "of the book; and that they had therefore no voice in "making of the law. But that after it was passed, they "being chosen to be Bishops, must either content themselves to take their places, as things were, or else leave "them to Papists or Lutherans. But in the mean space "they promised not to urge their brethren in those things: "and when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation "of them." Which letters were shewn to George Withers, a Divine, by Bullinger and Gualter at Zurich in the year 1567, as the said Withers wrote to the Lord Burghley. Whose letter I shall hereafter have occasion to produce, when about the year 1583 subscription was enjoined to the Book of Common Prayer: upon which occasion it was writ.

The Queen directs her letters to the Archbishop to promote uniformity.

These practices therefore, being so contrary to the Queen's Injunctions, set out in the year 1559, and begetting so much dissension, difference, and disorder among Christians of the same profession, redounding so much to the disparagement of the reformed religion among the enemies thereof; the Queen directed her letter this year, 1564, in the month of January, to her Archbishop, requiring him, with other Bishops in the commission for causes ecclesiastical, that orders might be taken, whereby all diversities and 155
varieties among the Clergy and Laity, as breeding nothing but contention and breach of common charity, and against the laws and good usage and ordinances of the realm, might be reformed and repressed, and brought to one manner of uniformity throughout the realm. A draught of

BOOK II.

which letter I have thought worthy to reposit in the Appendix. Whereby may be perceived, that this was the second time the Queen had called upon the Bishops to restrain these differences; and that neither those our Archbishop, nor the rest of his brethren, were ever forward to prosecute that did vary from the appointed rites and ceremonies; but had, for peace sake, winked a little at the non-observance of them. For she in the said letter blames the Archbishop and Bishops, "for their lack of regard "that should have been given hereto, and their sufferance "of sundry varieties and novelties: and moreover, straitly "charged and required him, that hereafter she might not be "occasioned, for lack of his diligence, to provide further "remedy against the Dissenters, by some other sharp pro-"ceedings."

Anno 1564. Number XXIV.

The difficulties of it.

But the compassing of this business, the Queen had now put him upon, had its great difficulties; not only in respect of the earnest prejudices many had taken to the apparel, because not used in other, which they esteemed purer, Churches; but also because these Dissenters had many secret favourers, both among the courtiers and the Bishops too. And chiefly Pilkington, the Bishop of Durham, formerly an exile for the Gospel: who not only disliked the cap and surplice, (though he wore them,) but when he observed this matter was going to be pressed, he wrote a large and earnest letter, dated October 25. to the Earl of Leicester, a great man with the Queen, to do his endeavour to oppose it, and to defend this cause, though he should incur some displeasure thereby: and that though he had sundry times spoken in this cause without the success desired, yet importunity commonly procured many things in time. He urged also to him that passage of Mordecai to Esther; *If thou hold thy peace, deliverance shall come another way, but thou and thy father's house shall perish.* He said, "It was Satan's malice to raise great "troubles for trifles. That Paul circumcised Timothy, "when there was hope to win the Jews; but when they "would have it of necessity, he would not circumcise Titus.

The Bishop of Durham writes to Leicester to stop proceedings.

" That compelling should not be used in things of liberty. " That in those superstitious parts where he lived, Priests " went with swords and daggers, and such coarse apparel as " they could get, not regarding colour or fashion. But it " was lamentable, that among those that were more civil, " such offence should be taken at a cap. He bade the Earl " consider, how all reformed countries had cast away Popish " apparel with the Pope, and that we contend to keep it as " a holy relic. That many Ministers would rather leave " their ministry and livings, than be like to Popish teachers " of such superstitions. And the realm had a great scarcity " of teachers, and many places were left destitute of any. " That it would give incurable offence to the favourers of " God's truth in other countries: that St. Paul bade men " use such apparel as became those that professed godliness: " but if we forsake Popery as wicked, how shall we say " their apparel becomes saints and professors of the Gos- " pel ?" But I will not any further forestall the reading the letter itself, which I have put in the Appendix. Num.XXV.

The Archbishop's letter to the Bishop of London upon the Queen's letters to him.

The Queen having sent her letters to the Archbishop, as was above said, for pressing conformity upon the Ministers throughout her realm, he, in obedience to her commands, within two days after, wrote letters to the Bishop of London, shewing him, " How discomfortable these varieties and con- " tentions were to her Majesty, and how she apprehended " danger and ruin at last by them; and that she had there- " fore, in the beginning of her reign, provided laws and ordi- " nances to stay and knit her people in unity; but that for " want of regard in the Bishops, notwithstanding the Queen's " charge given to them, for due execution, varieties, and " novelty in opinions, and external ceremonies, were crept " in. That thereby good religion was impaired and defaced. " And the Queen saw these disorders still to increase, and " not to diminish, and was now resolved to have these diver- " sities against the laws to be expelled, and to have uni- " formity throughout the realm. And that she had there- " upon commanded him, the Archbishop, according to the " power and authority he had under her, to have consider-

BOOK II. Anno 1564. 156

" ation of the same in such form as was expressed in her letters; and to understand of every person having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, both in the Universities and elsewhere, " what varieties were used in doctrine or ceremony, and in " the manners of the Clergy; and to seek the reformation of " the same. And that none should be admitted to any place " or benefice, but such as should be disposed to follow common order, and before admittance should promise to use " themselves in true unity and concord, and to keep order " and uniformity. And that none that maintained these dissensions should remain in authority, whereby her sovereign authority might be frustrate. And that she commanded him, the Archbishop, to inform her of all such as " were not reformable, and to refer them to her further order. And that otherwise she would impute to him the " cause thereof. Therefore, for declaration of his allegiance and obedience to her authority, and to avoid her " indignation, he had sent his letter to him, the Bishop of " London, desiring his Lordship, and in her name straitly " charging him, to expend and execute the premises; and " to signify the same to the rest of his brethren in the " Archbishop's province, that they should see the laws and " ordinances already established, to be without delay and colour executed: and such as were incorrigible, to send up, " and the causes and demerits of the said persons. And " the said Bishops to charge their inferiors, having any jurisdiction, to do the same: and to certify up what varieties " there be in doctrines and ceremonies, and behaviour of the " Clergy. And this to be returned by the last day of February ensuing." This is the sum of the Archbishop's letter. But in the Appendix it may be found at length.

Number XXVI.

How the Bishops resent the Queen's order:

This was no very grateful work to the Bishops; many of their Clergy in their respective dioceses, otherwise learned and sober, using these variations from the laws, and taking a liberty to wear other habits, out of a detestation of Popery. Yet the Bishops were sensible of the discord these differences occasioned, and wished for a redress. Alley, Bishop of Exeter, wrote a letter, containing advices for the

Bishop Alley.

Church in matters of doctrine and discipline. Therein, for his own diocese, he wished some order might be taken for the habits; for that there was such preaching about them, to the great disturbance of the people. He said, he knew one that boasted he had preached seven or eight sermons against the habits. He wished, that they might either be confirmed by authority, or laid aside; that so there might be no more contention about them. Anno 1564.

And the Puritans' courses hereupon.

But upon these motions for bringing all Ministers to an uniformity in rites, according to the laws in force, great were the strivings and strugglings of the refusers. They wrote letters, made friends, marshalled up their arguments against the use of these things. And many that used these rites, disliked their imposition: such were some of the Bishops themselves. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, wrote a letter to this purpose, as was said before, to the Earl of Leicester, who set up for a patron of the Puritans, upon some displeasure against our Archbishop, and for other ends. And so did Whittingham, the Dean of Durham, writing a very large letter to the same Earl, his patron, who had procured him the deanery: shewing therein his reading in the Fathers: passages out of whom he quoted liberally, in confirmation of his arguments. He said, "That through packing of ene-

Whittingham writes to the Earl of Leicester.

"mies he thought it past remedy, and that the decree was "either passed, or at hand, to compel all to wear the old Po-"pish apparel, or to lose their livings. That that which "made a shew for the wearing the apparel, was the opinion "of indifferency. But he on the other hand said, that he "that would persuade to any thing in religion must prove "that it tended to God's glory, consented with his word, "edified the Church, maintained Christian liberty. Which "conditions and circumstances, if it wanted, that which by "nature was indifferent did degenerate and become hurtful. "He demanded, how could God's glory be advanced by gar-"ments which superstitious men and Antichrist have invent-"ed, for the maintaining and beautifying of idolatry? That "St. Austin required two points in things indifferent; *viz.* "that they induced to a better life, and so served to edifi-

BOOK II. Anno 1564.

" cation; and next, that we bewared lest offence came " thereby. That to use the outward shew and manner of " the wicked, is to approve their false doctrine. And where- " as it was said, that this apparel served not to set forth Pa- " pistry, but reserved as a thing merely tending to the con- 157 " servation of polity, he said, that this was *vox tantum et* " *præterea nihil.* That it was a poor policy to think by this " means to change the nature of superstition, or to deck the " spouse of Christ with the ornaments of the Babylonish " strumpet, or to force the true preachers to be like in out- " ward shew to the Papists, Christ's enemies. That when " he considered how Jeroboam maintained his calves in Dan " and Bethel, under the persuadable name of policy, it made " him tremble so often as he saw the Popelike garments " avouched and set forth under the vizard and countenance " of policy.

" That as for those that said, they that refused these " habits did this out of singularity rather than conscience; " he answered, that if that apparel they at present wore " seemed not so modest and grave as their vocation requir- " ed, and that it sufficed not to distinguish them from men " of other callings, they refused not to wear such as should be " thought to the godly magistrates for these uses most de- " cent; so that they might keep themselves ever pure from " the defiled robe of Antichrist. He exhorted all earnestly to " pray and to call unto God, that he would illuminate the " Queen's heart, as he did in time past, for the true reform- " ation of religion, the minds of so many godly princes, whom " he inflamed with the zeal of his glory, as Hezekiah, Josias, " and other princes. And urging how many Papists enjoyed " liberty and livings that had neither sworn obedience, nor " did any part of duty towards their miserable flock, he cried, " Alas! my Lord, that such compulsion should be used to- " ward us, and so great lenity toward the Papists. Oh no- " ble Earl, at length be our patron and stay in this behalf, " that we may not lose that liberty which hitherto by the " Queen's benignity we have enjoyed." But the letter of Dean Whittingham being penned in a notable moving style,

I present it to the reader in the Appendix. This letter the Earl, to whom it was writ, delivered to the Bishop of London, to consider, I suppose, the arguments therein, and to communicate it to the Archbishop. Yet this Whittingham afterwards wore the habits required; and when one of his Geneva fellow-exiles had reproached him for so doing, he justified himself by Calvin's judgment, whom he and others had heard say, "That for external matters of order, they "might not neglect and leave their ministry: which would "be for tithing mint, to neglect the weightier things of the "law."

Number XXVII.

Ath. Oxon. p. 153.

Kingsmil also, another learned man, (the same, if I mistake not, with Andrew Kingsmil, of All Souls college, Oxon; of whom it is related, that Sampson, Humfrey, and he, were in the year 1563 the only preachers in that University,) this man now wrote a long letter to the Archbishop against urging the habits. Which letter is preserved among Mr. Petyt's manuscripts.

Kingsmil's letter.

CHAP. XX.

The Archbishop and other Bishops compose the Book of Advertisements. Why so called. The difficulty the book met with at the Council Board. The Archbishop in some heat about it. The Dean of St. Paul's chidden at Court.

THE Earl of Leicester's power and interest was not so great with the Queen, (or at least he thought not fit now to try it,) as to hinder her purpose of bringing in an uniformity, nor to stop the proceedings of her letter before mentioned, whereby she had given her commands to the Archbishop to that intent. In obedience to which, the Archbishop, and some other Bishops of the ecclesiastical commission, proceeded to compile certain articles, to be observed partly for due order in the public administration of the holy Sacraments, and partly for the apparel of persons ecclesiastical. These arti-

The Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners compose the Advertisements.

BOOK II.

cles were printed with a Preface this year 1564, by Reginald Wolf, according to Bishop Sparrow's Collections, and entitled *Advertisements*. Though by a writing on the back-side of the fair copy that was sent to the Secretary, when they were first framed, it seems they were not presently published nor authorized. For these are the words written upon them by the Secretary's own hand, Mar. 1564. *Ordinances accorded by the Archbishop of Cant. &c. in his province. These were not authorized nor published.*

Anno 1564. 158

Not authorized.

The matter, I suppose, was this: When these articles (by Leicester's means no question) were refused to be confirmed by the Queen's Council, the Archbishop however thought it advisable to print them under his and the rest of the Commissioners' hands, to signify at least what their judgment and will was; and to let their authority go as far as it would. Which was probable to take some effect with the greater part of the Clergy; especially considering their canonical obedience they had sworn to their Diocesans. But because the book wanted the Queen's authority, they thought fit not to term the contents thereof *Articles* or *Ordinances*, by which names they at first went, but by a modester denomination, viz. *Advertisements*.

Some difference in the MS. copy.

This was the reason that there is some difference in the Preface thereof, as we have it printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collections, from that which is in the MS. copy sent unto the Secretary. That Preface is all the same, but only, whereas in the MS. it ran thus, [The Queen's Majesty—— hath by the assent of the Metropolitan, and with certain other her Commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, decreed certain rules and orders to be used, as hereafter followeth,] in the said Collections we read thus, [The Queen's Majesty—— hath by her letters directed unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan, required, enjoined, and straitly charged, that with assistance and conference had with other Bishops, namely, such as be in commission for causes ecclesiastical, some orders might be taken, whereby all diversities and varieties among them of the Clergy and the people, as breeding nothing but contention, offence, and

breach of common charity, and be against the laws, good usage, and ordinances of the realm, might be reformed and repressed, and brought to one manner of uniformity throughout the whole realm: that the people may thereby quietly honour and serve Almighty God in truth, concord, unity, peace, and quietness, as by her Majesty's said letters more at large doth appear. Whereupon by diligence, conference, and communication in the same, and at last by assent and consent of the persons beforesaid, these orders and rules ensuing have been thought meet and convenient to be used and followed.] There be also some other small alterations. As the word *constitutions* in the MS. is changed into *temporal orders* in the Collections: and *positive laws in discipline*, is changed into *rules in some part of discipline*. I have also diligently compared the printed book with the aforesaid MS. copy, and find them different in many places, and sundry things are left out which are in the copy; the Archbishop thinking fit in that manner to publish them, because of their want of the stamp of authority to oblige persons to the observance of them. This hath inclined me to put it into the Appendix as I find it, being sent from the Archbishop to the Secretary; thinking it worthy the retrieving such acts of the governors of the Church, the better to enlighten our ecclesiastical history.

Number XXVIII.

Some further account of these Articles or Advertisements.

But to give some more particular account of these Articles, published afterwards under the name of Advertisements, and of the opposition they met with at Court. They were nothing but such as had been before agreed upon by the Queen's Commissioners, only now reviewed and corrected, and some things added. And thus the book with the alterations and additions, partly interlined, and partly in paper fastened on, was sent by the Archbishop to the Secretary, being the first view, and not fully digested, that he might peruse it and give his judgment, and so return it back; that so it might be fair written, and presented to the Council. The devisers, as the Archbishop signified to the Secretary, were only the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, and himself, though it were agreed upon and subscribed by one Bishop more, *viz.*

BOOK II. Anno 1564. Rochester, and other Commissioners, as appears by the subscription in the printed Advertisements. Among the rest of these amendments of the old book, this was one, that whereas preachers were restrained before from meddling in their sermons with any controversies, this was now in the present book omitted; it being thought very fitting, that the errors
159 of the Popish religion should be treated of and confuted, for the vindication of the Reformation. And especially considering the coming over, it seems, at that time beyond sea, of great numbers of books of the adversaries; which were conveyed privately to persons in the Court, impugning the verity of our religion. After the Secretary had seen this foul copy, which had been thus sent to him by the Archbishop, March the 3d, he soon returned it. For five days after, the Archbishop sent the fair copy thereof, signed by the Bishops and himself, that the Secretary might take his opportunity to present it to the Queen and her Council: signifying, that he had rather he, the Secretary, should present it, than himself, for the avoiding of offence that might grow, as he said, by his own imprudent talk. For he knew there were some in the Council that would be apt to make opposition to this book, and so occasion might be given him of some more hot discourse than were convenient in such a presence.

Foresaw the difficulty of its passing the Council. He foresaw well that it would be difficult to pass the Council, in order to the obtaining the Queen's authority for the decreeing the observation of it. But he told the Secretary, "That if the Queen's Majesty would not authorize it, " the most part [of the orders therein prescribed] were like " to lie in the dust, for execution on their parties, laws were " so much against their own private doings." By which words suggesting that many of the leading Clergy (and probably some of the highest order) neglected the enjoined apparel and rites; and so would be very backward to execute and perform the directions of the book, unless the Queen's absolute commands were annexed. "But if she " with consent [thereunto] would publish her pleasure con- " cerning these Articles, he trusted, out of the awe the Cler-

" gy had of her, she should be obeyed." But notwithstanding these endeavours of the Archbishop, and his applications to his friends at Court, he could not gain the Queen's authority to ratify the book: so prevalent was that party in the Council that disliked it, and who adhered to such of the Clergy as were not forward for these observances. CHAP. XX. Anno 1564.

This somewhat chafed the zealous Archbishop, and the rather because the Court, and particularly the Secretary himself, were the first movers of this matter, and which had put the Archbishop upon the labour of redressing this evil. He said, " It was better not to have begun, except more " were done: and that all the realm was in expectation. " *Sapienti pauca.* And that seeing his Honour principally " had begun, *Tuâ interest* (said he) *ut aliquid fiat.*" Adding, concerning them of the commission, " That if this ball " should be tossed unto them, and then they have no author- " ity by the Queen's Majesty's hand, they would sit still. " And that if they of the Council laid not to their helping " hand, as they did once, he said, in Hooper's days, all that " was done was but to be laughed at." This Hooper was he that was Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester in King Edward's days, and suffered martyrdom in the reign of Queen Mary. Him that King and his Council sent down into his diocese, fortified with their letters and authority, to make search into abuses in those superstitious parts of the land, and reform them. Which he did vigorously, and to good purpose, by virtue of this countenance from the Court, inflicting punishments as he saw occasion. Insomuch that Judge Morgan, at one of the Bishop's examinations before Gardiner, threw in his teeth what a stir and rout he made at Gloucester, railing at him, and saying, that there was never such a tyrant. No question those parts, labouring more than the rest under Popish corruptions, required a stirring Bishop: and good reformation he made there, by the assistance the Council's letters gave him. But this by the by, to shew what the Archbishop hinted at.

His concern at the book's ill success before the Council.

Fox's Mon.

Soon after this, the Bishop of London was at Court in the Queen's presence; but scarcely a word was spoken by her to

And at the Queen's neglect.

BOOK II. him, to excite him to redress the neglect of conformity in London. For the said Bishop had told our Archbishop, Anno 1564. that not six words were spoken from the Queen to him for uniformity of his London, where, it seems, it was most disregarded. This neglect of the Queen created a new concern in the mind of our Prelate. Which made him signify this very thing unto his old friend the Secretary; hinting again to him hereupon his desire, that a letter from her Majesty should be sent him to back their endeavours, adding in some heat these words; "If you remedy it not by letter, I
160 "will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who "will." This letter was dated March the 8th. Such a strong party had the disaffected then in the Council and Court, that the Queen was stayed from seconding her own letter to the Archbishop, by her own authority to confirm what they had drawn up and prepared by her own order.

The Clergy little favoured at Court.

And no wonder, for the Bishops and Divines themselves had but little countenance given them at the Court by divers of the great ones there; who did what they could to prejudice the Queen against them. For, but the day before, *viz.* March the 7th, the Archbishop, and the other Bishops and Divines of the ecclesiastical commission, being at the Court, and the Queen present, one of them, the Dean of St. Paul's, Alexander Nowel, a person that had been much favoured by her for his excellent learning and education, and whom she used to permit to discourse before her; being, I suppose, appointed then to preach a *Lenten sermon*, among other things spoken of, entered into speech concerning a very lewd Popish book lately published. It was stuffed not only with Papistical doctrine, but in many places tainted with immodest and unhonest language: and so, guilty of irreverence and impudence towards the Queen: for to her it was dedicated. This caused him in that presence to shew his dislike of the book, though liked much of some indiscreet subjects, and of their judgments too. But, it seems, upon some words unwarily by him spoken, or rather by some of his captious and prejudiced auditors taken hold of, they browbeat him, and run him down with much severe language, and the

Vid. Annals of the Reformat. p. 407.

Offence taken at a sermon of the Dean of St. Paul's.

Queen also reproved him. This unexpected usage astonished the modest man greatly: insomuch that the Archbishop, then present, for pure pity took him home that day to dine with him, and to give him some countenance and comfort, *being utterly dismayed*, the very expression the Archbishop used, speaking to the Secretary concerning him. And the next day the Dean wrote a letter to the said Secretary, giving an account of the cause of that his discourse against the book, namely, "That it was his due reverence to his gracious "Sovereign, so lacking in that book, and the impudency of "the author to her: and though it were fallen out otherwise "than he, so long accustomed to his Sovereign's gracious pa- "tience with him, could well foresee, yet what error soever "was admitted in the utterance thereof, he said, he enjoyed "the testimonies of sound doctrine, recorded as well in the "Scriptures, as the ancient Doctors, and the conscience of a "good intent, and most humble reverence towards his most "gracious Sovereign." The letter may be read in the Appendix. Anno 1564. Number XXIX.

But to return to the Advertisements. At length, it seems, the Archbishop's patience and persistance prevailed, and these ecclesiastical rules (now called Advertisements) recovered their first names of Articles and Ordinances: as may appear by the metropolitical visitation of the church of Gloucester, anno 1576, by Laur. Humfrey, Herbert Westphaling, Doctors in Divinity, and some other Civilians, by the Archbishop's deputation; when among the Injunctions (eight in number) given to that Church, one was this, "Not "to oppose the Queen's Injunctions, nor the Ordinations nor "Articles made by some of the Queen's Commissioners, "(which are there said to be, Matthew, Archbishop of "Canterbury; Edmund, Bishop of London; Richard, Bishop "of Ely; Edmund, Bishop of Rochester; Robert, Bishop of "Winton; and Nic. Bishop of Lincoln;) January the 25th, "in the 7th year of the Queen's reign." To which that Archbishop (next successor to our Archbishop) subscribed his name. Where we may observe, that these Ordinances of The Advertisements become of force. Regist. Grind.

BOOK II. Anno 1564.

the Queen's Commissioners are joined with her own Injunctions to be observed. Of such force they were now become.

CHAP. XXI.

The Archbishop's proceedings for Uniformiy. He excites the Bishop of London.

The proceedings of the Archbishop in relation to uniformity.

THUS stood the Court affected. In the mean time the Archbishop and his fellows of the ecclesiastical commission did go on, as far as they could, to reduce the Church to one uniform order, the Queen still calling upon them so to do, reckoning their own authority sufficient. They cited many before them, conferring with them, admonishing them, and threatening their censures to those that would not comply. But the effect did not correspond at all: but rather what they did proved the occasion to others of becoming more refractory. And whereas the habits had been the only or chief matter they boggled at, now the rest of the Church's rites began to be called in question too: such an influence had the connivance of the Court. But now the Queen shewed herself much offended that so little had been done all this while. The Archbishop takes this occasion again to write to his friend at the Court, signifying the great mischief of these delays and irresolute proceedings. He wished, "that the Secretary and the rest had not stirred *istam* "*camarinam*, or else to have set on it to some order at the "beginning. For that delaying wrought daily more incon- "venience, *et obfirmatiores fiunt.* So that he saw it not "best to send up for disordered persons. For after they "espy, saith he, how the game goes, *redduntur multo præ-* "*fractiores.* Adding, that he thought *non solum periculum* "*verti in ritibus vestium tantummodo, sed omnium rituum* "*in universum, i. e.* that not only the rites of apparel were "now in danger, but all other rites universally." And therefore he advised, that prudence would be taken. And whereas he understood it was purposed by some, probably

March 24.

that secretly favoured these men, to send for some of the chief of them to the Council, and give them a chiding before the whole body of the Council, he said, if that were all that should be done with them, to be foully chidden, they were *verba tantum et præterea nihil;* i. e. words only, and nothing else: and he doubted whether it would work a quietness. That the deformities were to be openly entreated. Adding this proverb, according to his dialect, *All men be not one man's childern.* By which he might mean, that all men were not to be dealt with alike, but some more roughly than others, because of the difference of their tempers. He propounded also, that the Secretary, and the Earl of Leicester, would do well to resort to the Lord Keeper, and to consult with him, how to deal in this case, to do good, and to pacify the Queen's Majesty. And he thought it would be a piece of an afternoon well spent. And if the Secretary should think good, he and the Bishop of London would meet them at the Lord Keeper's. And that peradventure they might take some occasion from their information to treat this cause with the less offence. For that he and the said Bishop now knew the whole state and complexion of the causes, and the parties. Which they might well do, having before this time summoned before them the chief of the Ministers of this judgment both in London and the Universities, and fully understood their arguments and pretensions from themselves.

Desires a meeting with some of the Council hereupon.

And now we have mentioned the Bishop of London, it brings to my mind another difficulty the Archbishop had to struggle with: which was to gain him over to join vigorously with him in this business: whose temper was naturally mild, and averse from rigorous methods. Whereby our Archbishop thought him not active enough in his diocese; London at that time having many Ministers beneficed therein, who wholly neglected the observance of the habits and rites prescribed. And he knew what an influence their example would have all the nation over. This made him urge this Bishop to a more quick execution of the ecclesiastical laws and injunctions. And by his arguments he at length

Stirs up the Bishop of London to execute the laws.

BOOK II.

brought him to a good resolution therein. And to back his own endeavours, he writ to the Secretary to obtain a private letter from the Queen to that Bishop, to execute her Majesty's pleasure in that regard. For he had told the Archbishop, that if he were so charged, he would out of hand see reformation in all London. "And ye know, saith he, in "his letter to the Secretary, there is the most disorder, and "then is the matter almost won through the realm. And "so prayed him earnestly to procure these letters expeditely, "for that he was then in a good mood to execute the law; "and that it would work much more than he would think."

Anno 1564. March 3.

162

CHAP. XXII.

Sampson and Humphrey of Oxford, summoned before the Archbishop and Ecclesiastical Commission. Their supplicatory letter to the said Commission for forbearance: and to the Earl of Leicester. The Archbishop consults with the Secretary about displacing them. They are put up to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

MENTION was made before of the Archbishop's sending for divers persons that refused the habits, to appear before the Commissioners: two whereof, and they the chief heads of that party, were Thomas Sampson, and Lawrence Humphrey; the one Dean of Christ Church, and the other President of Magdalen college, Oxon. These were of great esteem in the nation, being men of good learning, and having been both of them exiles in Queen Mary's reign. Therefore the Archbishop and Commissioners appointed them to appear at Lambeth on the 3d of March in the afternoon, with four other Ministers in London of the same opinions: that the Commissioners might confer with them, and to understand their reasons for their omissions of what was enjoined. The Archbishop signified this in the morning to the Secretary, desiring his company, and that he would step over to them, advising him in these words, *in tota hac causa nè nimium*

Sampson and Humphrey cited to Lambeth.

tendas funiculum. What this *straining of the cord too much* means, whether referring to too much indulgence towards them, or severity against them, I leave to the reader's conjecture. But that by the way. Anno 1564.

The issue thereof.

The effect of this appearance of Sampson and Humphrey, among other things, was, that the Archbishop urged to them the opinions of those learned foreigners, Bucer and Martyr, (both which had been Public Professors of Divinity in each University,) for conformity to the apparel prescribed. The same, I suppose, which are mentioned in Whitgift's Defence, *viz.* Peter Martyr in his letter to Hooper, and Martin Bucer in his to Alasco. Of these letters, declaring their judgment in that matter, he gave them copies, desiring them to take them home with them, and to peruse and weigh them well. But those learned men's judgments had but little effect on them; for on March the 8th following, they came to the Archbishop again, returning the letters, but no turn of their judgments. For so the Archbishop sent word to the Secretary, *antiquum retinent immobiles.* They requested at that time, that as they were sent up for from Oxon, so they might have leave to return home again. The Archbishop told them, they must tarry: intending to get the Queen's Council to send for them, or else their Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, to proceed against them: who, being one of the Commissioners, had exhorted them, at least pretendedly, to conform themselves to the Queen's pleasure. This also he signified to the Secretary, that he might bring it about; telling him in short, that for his part he could do no good.

Their letter to the Archbishop and Commissioners;

But when they could not yet obtain leave to go back to their colleges, which they were very earnest to do, being weary of their uncomfortable attendance, and of the checks which they had also received at Court from some of the Council, on the 20th of March following, they having framed a supplicatory letter in a very elegant, but submissive style, on their own behalves for brotherly connivance, sent it unto the Archbishop, and Bishops of London, Winton, Ely, Lincoln, Commissioners. Protesting, "First, before God, "what a bitter grief it was to them that there should be a

BOOK II. Anno 1564. 163

" dissension between them for so small a matter, as *propter* " *lanam et linum*, woollen and linen, as they styled the cap " and surplice. But that it comforted them that it was " but an agreeing discord, seeing they all, under Christ " their Captain, professed the same Gospel, and the same " faith; and that it was in things plainly indifferent, " that each followed their own spirit and opinion; where " there might be a room for liberty often, but there ought " to be for charity ever. They alleged Augustin, Socrates, " Theodoret, in whose times there were varieties in the rites " and observances of Christian Churches; and yet these " differences brake no unity and concord. That some " Churches, and particularly ours of Britain, departed from " the decree of Constantine, the Clergy of Ravenna from " Charles, nay, Paul from Barnabas, Peter from Paul, and " John from Peter. That if there were any reckoning to " be made of fellowship in Christ, if there were any fellow- " feeling and compassion, of which they doubted not, they " beseeched them to permit, nay, to promote that which " Paul commended, and Augustin yielded; that every one " might acquiesce in his own πληροφορία, i. e. *confident per-* " *suasion;* and that the unity of the faith might be kept in " divers observances. That their reasons for this address were " many and great, *viz.* that conscience was a tender thing, " that ought not to be touched nor angered. That they were " not turbulent nor obstinate, nor willing to see the peace " of the Church disturbed, or studied novelty, or refused to " be convinced. But they were taught by conscience, that " things in their own nature indifferent do not always seem " indifferent to the opinions of men, and are changed by " times and accidents. That this law concerning the restor- " ing the ceremonies of the Roman Church is joined with " the hazard of slavery, necessity, and superstition: sub- " joining these words, *because this does not seem so to you,* " *you are not to be condemned by us; because this does seem* " *so to us, we are not to be vexed by you.* That their con- " sciences told them, that if they should recollect to their " memories former times, God and Christ, and the faith of

" the primitive Church would be on their side. The Jewish
" kings, by God's command, abolished all the vessels, in-
" struments, and furniture of idolatry. Christ rejected all
" the leaven, fasts, washings, phylacteries, and fringes of the
" Pharisees. The ancient Fathers would not fast on the
" Sabbath, or keep the Passover, after the manner of the
" Jews, nor wash with heretics, nor use abstinence on the
" Lord's day with the Manichees; nor would they commu-
" nicate in any other thing with them, where there might
" be any signification of agreement. That learned men in
" our own age lived and died with them in this faith and
" opinion, teaching them the same out of their books. That
" they, the Bishops themselves, if they might have leave to
" appeal to their own consciences, were of the same opinion
" with them, and that they could wish that all these stones of
" offence were removed. Lastly, they appeal to the purer
" Churches of Germany, France, and Scotland; in which
" religion is not only preserved unstained, but such rites are
" observed as are simple and undefiled testimonies and signs
" of religion, taken from Christian Churches, nor borrowed
" from the Roman synagogue. In fine, that themselves
" were not ignorant what a great scandal would arise hence:
" that the adversaries would insult over them in their afflic-
" tions, and would laugh in their sleeves at them, *viz.* the
" Bishops, when they saw them thus defending *their* cause,
" and pursuing that which *they* would have; and would be
" still more pleased with their own inventions, after they
" should see it not only retained by them, but by them ob-
" truded upon their brethren. Wherefore they most hum-
" bly prayed, that a thing which was the care and pleasure
" of Papists, and which they, the Bishops, had no great
" value for themselves; and lastly, what they did, not out
" of any contempt of them, but out of hatred of the com-
" mon enemy, might not be their snare, nor their crime."

This letter, drawing up the sum of the arguments then insisted upon for non-compliance with the rites, and with the best advantage of style, and by two men of the greatest fame of that party, I thought worthy to insert in the Appen-

Number XXX.

BOOK II. dix. It is, I confess, a copy, yet, I doubt not, a true and authentic one, being inscribed on the back-side by the hand of the Secretary Cecil thus, *Supplicatio Tho. Sampson, et Laurentii Humfrey ad Arch. Cantuar. Episcopos London. Wynton. Eliensem, Lincolniensem.* 20 *Martii* 1564.

Anno 1564.

164 As they had applied themselves a little before to the Archbishop for leave to go home, so they now address to the Earl of Leicester for the same purpose. And to obtain their request, they composed a letter to him in the softest and most compliant terms: urging divers reasons how needful their departure home was, as well that they might perform their duties to their colleges, as that they might be at more leisure to consult with themselves in reference to the compliance required. They writ him, " That since their being at Lam-
" beth before their Honours, they had considered the weight
" of the advice, honourably and favourably given them, to
" be of such importance, as that men, not persuaded in con-
" science, yet unwilling rashly to reject such advertisements,
" they humbly desired further respite, upon deliberation to
" resolve. This, they said, they should the better do, if by
" his means they might obtain licence to sequester them-
" selves from that troublesome turmoil, and depart home to
" their books. Where they should not only more quietly pre-
" pare themselves to satisfy their promised service of preach-
" ing the Easter ensuing, [at St. Paul's Cross,] but have
" more leisure to consider what was therein of them to be
" done. So they should also be released of their great
" charges here, and do their duty by order then required
" against that solemn time to their companies at home.
" They were not, they said, so unwise or witless, that they
" would willingly either incur the displeasure of the Queen's
" Majesty, or lightly regard his Honour's counsel, or stub-
" bornly separate themselves from their brethren, or fondly
" sue to be deprived of their rooms and livings; but rather
" they minded with all quietness to confer and consult with
" God and learning. Of whom, as they trusted, they had
" received their persuasion, and to whom they did and would

And to the Earl of Leicester.

" commend the government of their consciences. Which " done, they should be ready to yield themselves conform- " able, or else most humbly submit themselves to her High- " ness's pleasure and law."

Peremptorily ordered by the Archbishop to comply, or surrender their places.

But they could not prevail to get a release from their attendance on the Commissioners. For on the 29th of April following, (to bring their story together, though it belong to the next year,) I find them called again before the Archbishop, and after some words of advertisement, he did peremptorily will them to agree with the rest of the Clergy in matters of conformity, or else to depart their places. He shewed them in few words, that these were the orders which they must observe, *viz.* to wear the cap appointed by injunction, to wear no hats in their long gowns, to wear a surplice with non-regent's hoods in the choirs at their colleges, according to the ancient manner there: and to communicate kneeling, in wafer bread. In fine, they said, their consciences could not agree to these orders: and they required some respite to remove their stuff. The Archbishop answered, that he would signify their determination to the Queen's Majesty; and what time should be granted them to remove, they should be informed. Then Mr. Sampson declared something referring to the college, namely, that by the death of Mr. Bruerne, their receiver, a great sum of money of the college was to be answered at the said Bruerne's hands: which he might haply mention, to hint how ill the college could spare him at that time, he knowing best how those accounts stood. Mr. Humphrey alleged, for that he had divers noblemen's sons, he trusted to have a time, requesting much to be spared of the extremity of losing his living.

Writes to the Secretary to know the Queen's pleasure.

The next day the Archbishop wrote all this to the Secretary, and desired him to inform the Queen, to understand her pleasure, how they should be dealt with, whether to tolerate them, or to provide others: as the deanery which was at her Highness's disposition, and the presidentship of Magdalen, at the election of the college. He was in doubt, upon what grounds, and how to proceed. If it were the Queen's pleasure that he should write letters to both col-

BOOK II.

leges, signifying, that they might not be reputed nor accepted in their rooms, nor enjoy any commodity, he would do, he said, her commandment. Resign, he thought they might not. Judicially to be deprived, his jurisdiction after long pleading might serve, he said, against Sampson; yet so it could not against Dr. Humphrey, the Bishop of Winchester being their Visitor. He declared to the Secretary, that he was right sorry they were no more tractable; and as he learned by him the Queen's pleasure, so he would do.

Anno 1564.

165 The reliance on their great friends makes them stand out. Put up to preach at Paul's Cross.

But they had great friends, and their interest at the Court animated them thus to stand it out. And it was the Archbishop's thoughts, that if so many delays had not been used towards them, they might have been prevailed with to comply; wishing that they had been peremptorily at first put to their choice, either conformity, or depart. But they abused, he said, their friends' lenity, on whom they trusted. And to manifest the favour they had, about this very time both of them were put up to preach at Paul's Cross; and that at one of the chief times of the year, *viz.* Easter. This, it seems, the Queen had notice of. Which caused the Secretary to signify as much to the Archbishop, who used to be one of those who nominated the preachers there, and by whose appointment they were to have their turns; ordering him to strike them out, and to put others in their rooms. Preachers at Paul's Cross were in those times the more taken notice of, because the Queen and Court came often thither to church. The Archbishop sent word back, that they were not appointed by him, and by whom he knew not, whether the Bishop of London, or the Lord Mayor. But it was indeed neither of these, but the Earl of Leicester, their private friend, who had secretly put this work upon them, which they promised to perform, as appears in their letter to him a little before mentioned. But as to the appointment of others in their room, the Archbishop made this reply, that if those solemn sermons should stay for want after so short a warning, (as it seems must then be given,) it would raise a marvellous speech. And so prayed him to advertise the Queen. Prudently esteeming it a better course to wink at their preach-

ing at that time, rather than to adventure the failure of the pulpit by reason of the shortness of the warning

CHAP. XXIII.

Queries put by the Archbishop in favour of the apparel: with the answers of Sampson and Humphrey. Replies to those answers. Arguments against the apparel. Answers to them. Arguments against imposing things indifferent: with the Bishop of Rochester's answers. The controversy, as handled by Bucer and Alasco. The Archbishop and Bishops debate this matter among themselves. The Dean of St. Paul's pacification. Humphrey and Sampson's subscription.

BUT I must not omit to advise the reader, that before these judiciary proceedings, the business of conformity was learnedly and amicably discoursed and scanned between the Archbishop and these two learned men. For in the month of December 1564, his Grace propounded to them nine questions upon this subject: to each of which they gave succinct answers. Both which questions and answers were as follow, as I have extracted them exactly out of a copy sent by the Archbishop to the Secretary, digested by him into two columns after this manner.

Queries about conformity propounded by the Archbishop.

With Sampson's and Humphrey's answers.

I. Whether the surplice of the Minister or Clerk be a thing evil, or wicked, or indifferent?	I. Though the surplice in substance be indifferent, yet by circumstances it is not indifferent; being of the same nature that *vestis peregrina* is in *Zophonie:* the wearers of which God threatened to visit. Which Lyra and Kimhi expound to be the apparel of idolatry, or strange worship. How and by whom they have been so abused, it

166 MSS. penes me.

Zeph. i. 8.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

II. Whether if it be not indifferent, for what cause?

II. The cause is, for that things that are consecrated to idolatry, are not indifferent. *Nam idololatriæ ab initio dicata habent profanationis suæ maculam.*

III. Whether the Ordinary, detesting of Papistry, may enjoin the surplice to be worn, or may enforce the injunction already made: and whether the Minister ought to obey, or no?

III. If an Ordinary, detesting all Papistry, should enjoin the surplice, being a patch of Papistry, it may be said to him in Tertullian's words, *Si tu Diaboli pompam* [oderis] *quicquid ex ea attigeris, id scias esse idololatriam.* Which if he be persuaded, neither will he enforce the injunction already made, neither exact obedience of any Minister to it.

IV. Whether the cope be a thing indifferent, or no; appointed to be worn by order of law, for decency and reverence of the Sacrament, and not in respect of any superstition, or holiness?

IV. Order and laws must have εὐταξίαν. This must not be set from an heresy, or any sect; but from God's word. Reverence unto the Sacrament is wrought by doctrine and discipline. Decency to it is not gained by that which hath been devised and used to deface the Sacrament. Hierom saith, *Aut aurum repudiemus cum cæteris superstitionibus Judæorum, aut si aurum placet, placeant et Judæi, quos cum auro aut*

probare nobis necesse est, aut damnare. If the gold ordained by God, for reverence and decency of the Jewish Temple, is not to be admitted to beautify the Church of Christ; much less *copes* brought in by Papists, the enemies of God, and continued in their service as proper ornaments of their religion, ought to be of us Christians to that end retained.

V. Whether any thing that is indifferent may be enjoined godly to the use of Common Prayer, or Sacraments?

V. If it be mere indifferent, as the time, place, and such necessary circumstances, for the which there may be brought a ground out of the Scripture; we think it true.

VI. Whether the civil magistrate may constitute, by law, an abstinence from meats, in days prescribed?

VI. By cause of abstinence, a manifest commodity riseth to the commonwealth in policy, without superstition, this law may be constituted, *Habita ratione personarum et temporum.*

VII. Whether a difference may be appointed for external apparel in the Ministers of the Church; or any law may be made for the difference of the Ministers' apparel from the laymen?

VII. *Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt.* As not expedient, Paul pretermitteth it, speaking yet of all things pertaining to the ministry. And whether such prescription to a Minister of the New Testament be lawful, may be doubted; sith neither the New Testament

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

167

decreed, neither the primitive Church appointed any distinction: but would rather Ministers to be known from the laity, *doctrina non veste.* Celest. Ambrose, Polydore. Hierom also, as it were uttering the difference of both ministries, saith, *Ille* [Moises] *sacerdotis scientiam ornat in vestibus. Iste* [Paulus] *Timotheum et Titum instruit disciplinis*, &c.

VIII. Whether Ministers going in such apparel as the Papists used, ought to be disproved or condemned of any preacher for so doing?

VIII. To judge, disprove, or condemn another man's servant, is not our part: for that he standeth or falleth unto his Lord.

IX. Whether such preachers ought to be reformed and restrained, or no?

IX. Iren will not have brethren restrained from brotherly communion, for diversity in ceremonies, so there be unity of faith and charity. And it is to be wished, that there may be a charitable permission of diversity, as on both parts there is *unitas operantium.* Bernard. As of meats Hierom teacheth, so of garments we say, *Hæc enim consuetudo in hodiernum usque diem mansit in ecclesiis; et hic quidem abstinentiam amplectitur, ille vero omnibus esculentis absque ullo scrupulo vescitur, et nec hic illum judicat, nec ille alterum reprehendit, sed eos*

claros et insignes reddit lex concordiæ.

To which after was added a tenth, and a conclusion containing a passage of St. Ambrose: which were in these words following. Anno 1564.

X. Whether it may stand with a good conscience, for him, who is entered into the ministry, to cease from the same, rather than to wear the apparel appointed by authority in the ministration of prayer and sacraments: or to use that extern apparel, which of custom hath been used in the realm ever sithence the reformation of religion hath been received, and before?

This had no answer.

Quum de ecclesia juberetur exire Ambrosius, ait, Ego, inquit, hoc sponte non faciam, ne lupis ovium septa contradere videar, aut blasphemantibus Deum.

Tripart. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 20.

To these answers were framed large and learned replies, too long to be here inserted; (by whom they were composed, whether by the Archbishop, or some other learned persons, I do not find;) together with collections out of ancient Doctors and Councils, concerning the same subject.

The controversy of the habits more closely considered.

So that at this time the controversy of ecclesiastical garments was resolved to be more deeply and deliberately weighed, and thoroughly discussed. And great was the pains our Archbishop took in it. For, as he had propounded those before cited inquiries in favour of the lawfulness of the habits, and confirmed the same by those replications; so having extracted, out of the discourses and writings of the disagreeing

BOOK II. brethren, all their arguments to the contrary, he digested them into a succinct method; and either he, or some of his Chaplains, (but I am more inclined to believe it was himself,) framed brief answers thereunto in order: which being not very large, I shall here insert. The copy out of which I transcribe them, was that which the Archbishop sent to Cecil, probably for his own satisfaction, and to give him a fair scheme of the contest.

Anno 1564. 168

I.	I.
Contra usum vestium Argumenta.	*Responsiones.*
1. Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum. Matth. xv. &c.	1. Hæc mandata de vestibus, cum neque præscribuntur, ut cultus Dei, neque ut quicquam fiduciæ in illis collocetur, neque urgentur sic ut adferant neglectum præceptorum Dei, non sunt mandata hominum juxta hunc locum Scripturæ.
2. Polydorus de Inventoribus Rerum irridet istas vestes.	2. Quàm irrideat decentes vestes, non apparet. Lib. vi. cap. 12.
3. Paulus nihil de vestibus præcepit, cum requisivit ea quæ in Episcopo requirantur.	3. Paulus tantum præcipit necessaria, non speciatim omnia, quæ ad ordinem: ut de archidiaconis, decanis, præpositis, decimis, jurisdictione ecclesiastica, de mensa Dominica, et de die Dominico nihil præcepit, &c.
4. Occasionem pompæ dant, et ambitionem nutriunt.	4. Non magis quam velata capita mulierum. Paul. 1 Cor. xi. Imo minus quàm multorum privatorum vestes peregrinæ.

5. Summa. Commentum humanum.

II.

Conspurcant sacerdotium Christi, qui vestes Ministris imponunt, quasi umbris indigent, cum sit lux ipsa; et sacerdotium Aaronis abrogatum est totum, quia umbraticum est.

III.

Papæ inventum vestes esse, et notum Antichristi.

Qui odit sacerdotium Papæ, odisse debet et ejus notas.

5. Sit commentum, ut leges civiles, ut statuta œconomica, ceremoniæ, ac ritus ad ordinem et decorem instituti, &c.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1564.

II.

Minister Ecclesiæ non est sacerdos sacrificans, nec umbra Christi; uti potest ritibus non mysticè significantibus, sed suo ministerio aptis. Nec iis indiget, ut re semper necessaria, sed ut secto publico, nola ad convocandum cœtum, aut aliqua re hujusmodi.

III.

1. Ante auditum nomen et regnum Papæ, erant vestes in ministerio ecclesiastico usitatæ. Ut Chrysostom. homil. 60. ad pop. Antioch. Et tamen inventis gentilium utuntur Christiani.
2. Res Sacramentorum divinorum Diabolus in idolorum mysteriis æmulatur: tingit et ipse quosdam, signat in frontibus milites suos, celebrat et panis oblationem, &c. Tertull. de præscript. advers. hæret. 169
3. Hæretici habent in schismate, quod pii tenent in veritate. Chrysostom. in Matthæum. hom.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

IV.

Præcipua pars sacerdotii Antichristi consistit in cæremoniis, unctione, rasuris, mitris, vestibus, &c.

Papisticum sacerdotium Antichristi et Diaboli est; ergo piis destruendum. Venit enim Christus destruere opera Diaboli.

IV.

Etiam utuntur vestibus, qui renuntiant pap. sacerdotio, et qui destruunt opera Diaboli. i. falsam sacerdotii pap. rationem. Ineptæ et superfluæ cæremoniæ, stabilientes pap. sacerdotium, sunt tollendæ, una cum doctrina papistica.

V.

Potestas omnis ad ædificationem: vestes non ædificant, sed obscurant sacerdotium Christi.

V.

Spiritus Sanctus tantum ædificat per ministerium verbi. At vestes faciunt ad ædificationem, ut reliqua, quæ ad commodiùs precandum, docendum et audiendum verbum Dei, instituuntur: ut pulpita, sedilia, cantus psalmorum, &c.

VI.

1. Item, non ædificant, sed destructunt.

2. Fastum augent et hypocrisin.

3. Ostentat enim se quod non est, aut si est, mercedem accipit ab hominibus.

4. Quod monent homines officii sui, nihil est.

VI.

1. Quis hoc dijudicabit, si publica authoritas contradicat?

2. Hypocrisis quavis veste tegitur.

3. Ostentat quoque quod est, aut saltem quod esse debet.

4. Imo Tertull. sic, Auditur philosophus, dum videtur, et grande pallii beneficium est; sub cujus recogitatu improbi mores vel erubescunt.

5. Nam verbo Dei moveri debent.

5. Multa movent præter verbum, ut in magistratibus civilibus, in suppliciis, &c.

6. Christus a Petro amorem, non vestes exigit.

6. Nec vestes impediunt, quo minus ames. Et Christus obedientiam erga magistratus exigebat in hiis, quæ non repugnant verbo; et pacem Ecclesiæ commendabat, et schisma vetuit. Christus non exigebat academias, &c.

VII.

Impium infirmioribus objicere scandalum. Quia posteris omnia pura relinquenda.

VII.

Infirmi, qui nondum penitus a papismo recesserunt, gravi scandalo meritò offenduntur, quod in vestibus decentibus, nec superfluis, non paretur publicis legibus: cum neque obtruduntur, ut cultus divini pars aliqua, nec ut errores foveant, aut bonos mores corrumpant. Itaque puræ relinquuntur. In rebus adiaphoris, quo ad sensum et doctrinam semper libertas in animo tenenda, non quoad actionem. 170

VIII.

Ministerium obscurant vestes, quia incurrentes in oculos hominum, remorantur a contemplatione rerum spiritualium.

VIII.

Non magis quam vestes usitatæ, quibus vulgus ut plurimum capitur. Eruendi erunt oculi: siquæ remorantur quovis modo

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

a contemplatione spiritualium, penitus tollerentur. Atqui piis conspicuum magis redditur ministerium decora veste. Hinc in ecclesiastica historia * legimus de vestibus Joannis Evangelistæ, qui gestavit petalum, seu laminam pontificalem. Et Cyprianus † dederit birrhum carnifici, Dalmaticam vestem diaconis, et stetit in lineis.

* Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 31.

† Author Pont. Diaconus.

IX.

Tyrannis est, et durissima servitus, imperium vestis et dierum.

IX.

Non est tyrannis, servitus, vel imperium, obedire non illicitis Regum edictis. Conscientia est libera. Nec conscientia premitur servitute, cum vaga et effrænis licentia in adiaphoris non permittitur.

Circumstantiæ non tollunt naturas rerum. Dies Dominica nulla tyrannide jubetur.

X.

Commaculamur sordibus Antichristi per istas vestes: non glorificamus plane Christum.

X.

1. Doctrina Antichristi commaculat et opinio perversa, non res indifferentes. Cæterùm ut cibus, qui intrat per os, natura sua non coinquinat hominem, ita nec vestes, &c.

Possunt res abusæ ab idololatris, bene usurpari a piis. Ut Gedeon * usus est lig-

* Judic. vi. E.

nis luci alienorum Deorum ad holocausta veri Dei. Sic aurum Hierocuntinum † inferebatur, et consecrabatur in thesauros Domini. Sic Paulus sumebat cibum apud Athenas, ex hiis quæ Minervæ consecrata erant. Aug. Ep. 154. et Amb. Ep. 31. de theatralibus pecuniis.

† Josue vi. D.

2. Qui vescitur, Domino vescitur, &c. Rom. xiv. Sic glorificant Deum, &c.

XI.

Ab omni specie mali abstinendum est. Ergo &c.

XI.

Ab omni specie malæ vitæ et doctrinæ abstinendum, nequid dubita perplexaque conscientia amplectatur. Aliter non potest esse generalis sententia. 171

XII.

Vestes liberæ; sed non in Ecclesia.

XII.

Verum, quæ Ecclesiam non deceant, ut luxuriosissimæ vestes virorum et mulierum.

Another paper writ against the use of things indifferent; and answered by the Bishop of Rochester.

I meet also with a third paper upon this argument, writ in the month of December this year, containing six reasons against the *ἀδιάφορα*, with excellent answers subjoined to each by Guest, Bishop of Rochester, in a very clear, distinct, and logical method, well worthy the perusing. The paper superscribed by Cecyl's own hand thus, *Reasons pro* Ἀδιαφόροις. The reasons are these:

I. Apparel ought to be worn, as meat ought to be eaten; but by Paul, meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten. Therefore Priests' apparel, which hath been superstitiously used, ought not to be worn. 1 Cor. x.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564. 1 Cor. x.

II. We must not wear such apparel as offendeth our brethren: but by wearing of Priests' apparel we offend our brethren. Therefore we must not wear Priests' apparel.

III. Durant, Manrus, and others, write that Priests' apparel hath many superstitious significations, and hath been and should be sanctified; and judge it so necessary, that Ministers cannot serve God well in the Church without it. Therefore Priests' apparel ought not to be worn.

IV. We ought by Paul to forbear from all appearance of evil: but in apparel, to go like a Papistical Priest, hath the appearance of evil. Therefore we ought not to go in Priests' apparel.

V. We may not use indifferent things, when they be commanded, because then of things indifferent they be made not indifferent, but necessary. But Priests' apparel, though it be indifferent, is commanded; and so it is made not indifferent, but necessary. Therefore we ought not to wear Priests' apparel, because it is commanded.

VI. If we should grant to wear Priests' apparel, then it might and would be required at our hands to have shaven crowns, and to receive more Papistical abuses. Therefore it is best at the first not to grant to wear Priests' apparel. The answers to these reasons, being somewhat long, that I may not be too tedious upon one thing, I have thought good to refer to the Appendix: where they may be found.

No. XXXI. A scheme of this controversy as managed by Bucer and Alasco.

And as our Archbishop diligently inquired in the arguments of the learnedest of the refusers, that were now alive, concerning this matter; so he canvassed and weighed the controversy, as it had been before managed between two foreigners, men of great fame for their learning and piety, namely, Bucer and Alasco: not only for his own use, but chiefly for the use of Cecil; among whose papers I found it. Where the whole controversy on both sides is drawn up by the Archbishop in a short and easy scheme, and entitled, *Summa controversiæ de re vestiaria inter Bucerum et Alascum.*

Anno 1564.

Conveniunt Bucerus et Alasco.

- Uterque queritur de usu vestis albæ atque cappæ.
- Uterque cupit has vestes sublatas.
- Uterque dicit, neminem posse Christianum, eoque nec ullam Ecclesiam, quicquam bona usurpare conscientia, de quo non constet ei, et ex verbo Dei, ipsaque rerum experientia certa facere illud, vel aliquo modo ad gloriam Christi illustrandam, et nullo modo ab obscurandum eam.
- Uterque dicit, vestes has esse ex parte similes Aharonicis, easdem verò materia et forma cum papisticis, usurparique a Papistis summa impietate, sicut abutuntur reliquis rebus omnibus.
- Uterque dicit, semel et unà cuncta Antichristi esse tollenda.

Non conveniunt Bucerus et Alasco.

Bucerus vult has vestes sublatas.

- Propter præsentem abusum in ecclesiis Anglicis metuendum. 172
- Propter pleniorem declarationem detestationis Antichristianismi.
- Propter pleniorem professionem libertatis Christi.
- Propter tollendas inter fratres dissensiones.

Alasco vult has vestes sublatas.

- Quia usus harum non possit ab ulla Ecclesia piè adhiberi; quòd is usus habeat significationem aliquam Sacerdotii Aaronici, vel Antichristianismi.
- Quod is usus habeat commendationem utriusque sacerdotii.
- Quòd hinc obscuratur aliquo modo gloriam Christi.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

Non conveniunt Bucerus et Alasco.

Bucerus urget: Ut auferantur primùm præcipua Ecclesiæ sacrilegia, tum restituantur alia.

Alasco nescit: Utrum alteri præponat, an quæ urget Bucerus, an ut vestes auferantur.

D. Bucerus.

I. Ecclesiæ, in quibus viget Christi purissima et prædicatio et fides, Antichristorumque omnium manifesta acerrimaque detestatio, ut nemo, nisi perditi judicii, possit eas ecclesias notare Antichristianismi, possunt piè, ac sanctè verè, ad gloriam Christi, usurpare vestes, Aharonicis quantumvis similes, et cum Papisticis easdem materia, figura et colore.

II.

Antichristus non potest, ullo suorum abusu, vel vestes has, vel ullum Dei opus sic contaminare, ut piis non queant, omni rejecto abusu, etiam ad pias significationes et admonitiones adhiberi; sicque serviant ad gloriam Dei prædicandam.

III.

Vestes istæ *possunt* tolli propter pleniorem Antichristianismi detestationem, et libertatis Christi professionem: tum ad tollendas dissensiones inter fratres.

D. Alasco.

1. Usus istarum vestium non potest ab ulla Ecclesia piè adhiberi.

II.

Non potest is usus harum vestium non significationem aliquam, et commendationem inferre, vel Antichristianismi, vel Aharonici, vel certè utriusque sacerdotii; ac ita omnino aliquo modo obscurare gloriam Christi.

III.

Debent vestes istæ omnino tolli.

IV.

Ut aliquid ad significandum, et movendum vestes istæ, vel res aliæ, valent, totum id accidit eis ab illis, qui eis utuntur: ita pari fructu pietatis potest aliqua Ecclesia Christi verè sancta, ad detestandum Antichristum, et ad prædicandum Christum, ejusmodi vestibus uti, quibus usa est synagoga Antichristi, ad commendandum ministerium Antichristi. Et hiis vestibus potest honestare ministerium sacrum.

Nec Papa, nec quisquam, vestes has pro fulcris suæ tyrannidis habet; et condemnatur quidem, qui pronunciatur retinere in cultu Christi, quod est fulcrum Antichristi.

IV.

Sunt fulcra et ornamenta tyrannidis Antichristi. Exterminanda est memoria Antichristi. Neque eo quod ipse vestes non fero, alios, quos præfractos non esse scio, illarum nomine condemno.

Now also our Archbishop, and divers other Bishops, and learned Dignitaries of the Church, gravely debated this matter among themselves. It was a point that they themselves were not all agreed in: for some were for indulging Ministers in the disuse of these garments, and others were for the general using them; but with a protestation, that it were desirable, that these differences of garments were taken away. Of which judgment was Mr. Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's: as appears by a paper of the Archbishop's, which seems to be the result of much deliberation. It runneth thus: 173

The Archbishop and other Divines draw up their judgment of the habits into a proposition.

BOOK II.

Propositio Episcoporum.

Anno 1564. Ministri in Ecclesia Anglicana, in quâ Dei beneficio pura Christi doctrina, et fidei Evangelicæ prædicatio jam viget, quæque manifestum detestationem Antichristianismi publicè profitetur, sine impietate uti possunt vestium discrimine, publica authoritate jam præscripto, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, modò omnis cultus, et necessitatis opinio amoveatur.—This was subscribed to by Canterbury, London, Winchester, and Ely, Bishops; and by Goodman, Dean of Westminster; Robinson, a learned Doctor in Divinity in Cambridge, the Archbishop's Chaplain, and afterward Bishop of Bangor; Bickley, the Archbishop's Chaplain, and afterwards the Warden of Merton college, and Bishop of Chichester; and one Hill. Two more subscribed, but with this addition and condition;

Rom. xiv. viz. Ut qui manducat &c. non manducantem non spernat, et qui non manducat manducantem ne judicet.

Modo omnis cultus opinio et necessitas amoveatur, eorumque, quibus persuasum non est, ratio, juxta charitatis regulam a divo Paulo præscriptam, habeatur.

Who these two were, I know not, the Archbishop thinking fit to conceal their names under the two uncertain letters, *N. N.* This difference was endeavoured to be thus accorded by Mr. Nowel: which therefore the Archbishop entitled,

Mr. Nowel's Pacification.

Ministri Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, qui Dei beneficio puram Christi doctrinam, et manifestam detestationem Antichristianismi publicè profitentur, vestiumque discrimine, publica auctoritate jam præscripto, utuntur, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, eo discrimine sine impietate uti possunt, modò omnis cultus, necessitatisque opinio amoveatur.

Optamus tamen hoc vestium discrimen propter has causas tolli. 1. Propter abusum in ecclesiis Anglicanis metuendum. 2. Propter pleniorem declarationem detestationis corruptæ et superstitiosæ religionis. 3. Propter pleniorem professionem libertatis Christi. 4. Propter tollendas inter fratres dissen-

siones.—With this last paragraph Mr. Nowel declared he could subscribe, or else not.

Anno 1564.

To the proposition, as first set down, Humfrey and Sampson subscribed after such a manner, that by it in effect they declared rather their dissent than their allowance. For under the proposition they underwrit a sentence of St. Paul, and beneath that their names, thus:

How Humfrey and Sampson subscribed to the proposition.

Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt. Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia ædificant.

Laurentius Humfredus.
Tho. Sampson.

By this subscription they seemed to allow the lawfulness of the garments, though on account of the inexpediency of them they declined to use them.

But let us leave this controversy for a while, and proceed to some other matters, falling within the compass of this year.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbishop repairs his chancels, and his palace at Canterbury. Assists at the Emperor's funerals. The Archbishop's son at Peter house in Cambridge. Dr. Pern's judgment in a dissertation giving offence, his account thereof to the Archbishop. 174

THIS year the Archbishop began to repair the chancels of those churches which came into his possession: of which there were many (now miserably decayed) belonging to his see, partly by the exchanges of the ancient possessions of the Archbishops of Canterbury, made between Archbishop Cranmer and King Henry, and others; and partly by another exchange between this Archbishop and the Queen, imposed upon him sore against his will, upon account of a statute published in the first year of this Queen mentioned

The Archbishop repairs chancels;

BOOK II.

before. This year also he fully completed the reparation and building of his noble palace at Canterbury, (both ancient, and also noted for its grandeur and stateliness,) having been in great decay, partly by fire and partly by time, and the edifices thereof, in many parts of it, fallen flat to the ground: though nothing was left by his predecessors towards the dilapidations.

Anno 1564. And his palace at Canterbury.

Yet he entered not upon this expensive undertaking but with prudence and caution: for he had now cleared his first-fruits, and got out of debt for the furniture and ornaments of his house: and especially (as he made God's service his first and chief care) had settled religion and divine worship in his province. In the second place, his mind was to restore the see of Canterbury to its ancient magnificence. He had indeed naturally a spirit towards the doing of great things: and before this, it was his custom, wheresoever he was, to lay out himself in acts of magnificence, that might be serviceable to religion, learning, or charity. This enterprise of his was the greater, in that he would not be discouraged in it; though much of the lands and revenues of his see were taken away, the price of victuals and provisions much enhanced, wages of workmen raised, being more a great deal than in former times; and people expected that he should enlarge his housekeeping, rather than to diminish it. Add, that there were no materials of stone, mortar, timber, scaffolding, &c. now remaining, but all gone: which incredibly increased the charges of building. A matter that had so far prevailed with other of his fellow Bishops, that they pulled quite down, rather than builded up, the ruins of their palaces. These reparations, in short, cost him above 1400*l.* a great sum in those days; besides the great feastings that followed.

The great charge thereof.

Notwithstanding, this charge he was the more willing to undergo, because of the fame that went of the hall of this palace. Which was of such a vast amplitude, that once (*viz.* in the year 1519.) it was graced with the presence of the Emperor Charles V. and King Henry VIII. at the same time; together with his royal consort Queen Katha-

The hall there.

rine, whom (being the said Emperor's aunt) he came into England to visit. This hall then contained these most royal persons, and all their numerous attendants. Wherein they adjusted matters of state between them, exercised their triumphs, and feasted together in a most splendid manner, at the incredible cost and expenses of Warham, then Archbishop. The report of this inflamed the Archbishop's desire to keep up the magnificence of this hall; and especially for the memory also of the coronation of Kings and Queens, frequently heretofore performed here; and lastly, for the enthronization of Archbishops his predecessors. To whose most sumptuous feasts in this hall there had been vast confluences, as well of the nobility as gentry; when personages of the greatest quality, dukes and earls, bore the offices of stewards and butlers; and received yearly fees as such, from the Archbishops, agreeable to the qualities of such noblemen.

Anno 1564.

175

Great feastings there.

In the library of the church of Canterbury there be yet remaining some old distinct printed sheets, describing the magnificent solemnities and feasts that had formerly been made there, by Archbishops and Abbots in Canterbury, or elsewhere. As for example; there is set forth an account of the great feast at the installation of Ralph de Bourn, Abbot of St. Augustin's, Cant. anno 1309; also of the mighty feast at the enthronization of George Nevyl, Archbishop of York; also of the feast made at the enthronization of Archbishop Warham, on Passion Sunday, March 9, anno Dom. 1504. And the last of these tables conclude in words to this effect: "*Memorandum*, That in the same "year, *viz.* 1504, when W. Warham was enthronized, "Matthew Parker was born the sixth day of August next "before. Who being preferred to the said archbishopric, "and consecrated to the same the 17th day of December, "in the year of our Lord 1559, finding the said palace, "with the great hall, and all edifices therein, partly burned "and fallen down, and partly in utter ruin and decay, "did repair and re-edify again all the houses of the same, in "the year of our Lord 1560, and 1561, [beginning then I

Biblioth. Eccles. Cant. N. Battely.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

" suppose the work,] as it is at this day. The charges and " expenses whereof amounted to the sum of 1406*l.* 14*s.* and " 4*d.* as appears by a particular book drawn of the same. " And this was to remain upon record, instead of any splen- " did feast to be made by Archbishop Parker."

The inability of the Bishops to do as their predecessors.

The same Archbishop, in his Antiquities, (where he treats of Archbishop Warham, and gives account of his said vast feast,) took occasion again to excuse himself and other Bishops in his time, in the want of such entertainments; and withal bestowed a secret lash on the times wherein he lived, while he assigned the reason why they were no more to be expected. " Complaint is now commonly every where " made, that that more than Asiatic luxury is reduced to too " much niggardise. But the Bishops are falsely blamed, " whose possessions have been taken away from them, and " given to laymen[a]." But as to those tables of former luxury above mentioned, they seem, according to the conjecture of my learned friend deceased, to have been printed, to be hung up in the great hall of the palace, as public memorials. And there might have been more of them, which now are lost.

N. Battely.

The Archbishop assists at the Emperor's funeral.

In October our Archbishop assisted at the solemnization of the funerals of Ferdinand the Emperor, late deceased, at St. Paul's church; whereat was a splendid appearance of the Peers of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal; and many of the Court: and the Bishop of London preached the sermon. Which was printed. An account whereof is given in that Bishop's life.

Ch. x. p. 99.

The Archbishop's son placed at Cambridge, under Dr. Pern.

I find the Archbishop's son (his eldest, I suppose) in October this year, returning to his studies to Cambridge, having been admitted there, as it seems, not long before. His father planted him in Peter house, knowing the good discipline of that college, under the inspection of Dr. Pern, an excellent governor of youth: choosing to place his son under his care, and in that house, rather than in that where him-

[a] Sed hunc convivendi plusquam Asiaticum luxum, ad nimiam parsimoniam redactum, vulgus ubique conqueritur. Atque id quidem falso de Prælatis, quibus ereptæ possessiones in laicos translatæ sunt.

self was educated. Upon his coming back to the college, Dr. Pern signified to the Archbishop how glad he was of his son's return to follow his studies. The course he appointed the young gentleman for his studies was, that, besides the reading of logic, he enjoined him every day tasks of the Greek language, as well as of the Latin, as the Doctor certified the Archbishop; and that he had provided him a very learned and affable master to read to him, and that he himself was not wanting to take all care possible of him. Anno 1564.

Dr. Pern vindicates himself in a disputation.

The said Dr. Pern having been a complier under all governments, (Chaplain to King Edward VI. and one of his six itinerary preachers, kept in under Queen Mary, and still under Queen Elizabeth held his preferments of the mastership of his college, and to the deanery of Ely,) many nowadays failed not to bespatter him for his fickleness, and to throw out expressions, that he was a favourer of all the Romish errors and superstitions, abating the Pope's universal bishopric. Whereupon happening somewhere to vindicate himself, he made a challenge at last to dispute his opinion before the Queen herself. But sure it is, that not long before this time he held a public dispute with some 176 learned man in a great audience; some whereof were Bishops. The report went afterward, when this matter came to be talked of in the mouths of men, that Pern had called the person he disputed with *heretic*, and that he approved of all those errors that were embraced in the Romish Church. Of these rumours the Archbishop freely acquainted him. To whom Dr. Pern in a letter at length, dated from Peter house, October 25, 1564, gave answer in his own vindication to this tenor:

His letter to the Archbishop. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"That the unjust accusation of him by some in his absence had moved him for a disputation to be held before the Queen. And that if his conscience had not been more to him, and more sustained him, the speeches of his Grace concerning that matter would have cast him into great anxiety. That whereas the Archbishop signified to him, that it was by some affirmed, that in his dispute he should

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

" in that audience call that learned man, [unmentioned,] and " in many respects his friend, an *heretic;* it was no more " true, than that if he should have uttered any such mat- " ter, he should have been a person estranged from all hu- " manity. That where they seemed to assert, that he ap- " proved of every thing brought in by the Roman Church, " except the Roman Bishop's pride, whereby he usurped " an universal bishopric over all other bishops; nor was " that agreeable to truth. For he was not so ignorant, nor " such an enemy to known truth, but that he knew most " foul errors were brought into the Roman Church by the " boldness and rashness of some Popes, who were never of " him liked, and whom in that disputation he denied in ex- " press words that they should ever be defended by him. " Although he did not with an unwilling mind embrace " the catholic and orthodox faith received by the Roman " Church, agreeable to the word of God; nor judged the " truth which it professed, to be rejected in hatred to the " Church of Rome; nor was his judgment swayed by so " blind a lie, that the title of the Church of Rome was to " be defended; nor that if it obtruded upon us any errors " repugnant to the word of God, should he contend, by any " preposterous and corrupt judgment, that they were to be " retained. He acknowledged, he said, that many things " were piously retained by the Church of England, in the " administration of the Lord's Supper, which appeared " plainly to all to be taken from the very description of the " Mass itself: and that in the other forms of prayer we " might observe the same to be prudently done *cum delectu,* " with due choice and culling. And that such things, as " might seem to contribute to the edification of the common " people, were transferred by lawful authority into our " public prayers, being things that were taken out of the " ancient prayers of the Church. But the rest, which could " not with any just reason be defended, were thrown out " by the same authority whereby they were first brought " in. For, said he, as it is the part of an arrogant inso- " lence to reject all things promiscuously, so to approve all

" which crept in, (I know not by what rite or title,) were " the part of an ignorant credulity. In which bounds, as " he went on, when the current of my discourse was then " circumscribed, (although I confess ingenuously, that I was " very angry with one for denying that most approved " axiom of sacred discipline, *Quod prius melius, quod pos-* " *terius deterius*,) I do not see how it could occasion any " great offence among learned and equal hearers. Though " that disputation, or rather tumultuary oration, suddenly " uttered, was not made by me with that intent, that I " should hope to gain a good-will from any, or to give " distaste to any, but to satisfy the duty of my order. Yet, " thanks be to God, as far as I understand, that dissertation " of mine was less offensive at that time to the ears of such, " who by reason of their singular learning were able best " to judge of it; and of whose judgment, for their high " authority, most account was to be had."

Dr. Pern sends his sermon to the Archbishop, and promises his disputation.

But whatsoever it was, he promised the Archbishop, that, as far as his memory after such a space of time could recollect, he would transmit to his Lordship to judge of, as soon as he had leisure. And in the mean time he sent him a copy of his sermon lately, as it seems, preached at Court. For it was customary for the Archbishop in these times to require copies of the sermons preached in more public auditories, as at Court, or at St. Paul's Cross.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1564. 177

The act for making Wednesday a fish day. The Archbishop dispenseth with Winchester college, and with the University, for that day; and with John Fox, for Lent. Bishop Jewel's Latin Apology. The Archbishop's letter to the Lady Bacon, that translated it into English. The Archbishop's tract printed at the end. Learned women about this time. Dorman's Proof against Jewel's Challenge: and Nowel's Reproof. Many other Papists write against Jewel.

The Wednesday fast.

IT was lately enacted, for the benefit and commodity of the realm, that the fish days in every week, as well those which were of ancient time by law allowed and continued, as also Wednesdays in every week, were now enjoined to be observed and kept. Of this act, whereby Wednesday was made a fish day, Sir William Cecyl was the chief author, for the great benefit that wise man apprehended to be by spending much fish in the realm. But this was not well resented by the people, and but slenderly observed, the English nation being very much addicted to flesh meats, and not pleased to have more fish days imposed upon them. Insomuch, that four years after, *viz.* 1568, the Queen issued out a proclamation for the better observation of this Wednesday fast. The Universities particularly regretted this act, and used such arguments with the Queen for their non-observance of it, (at least the first year, that is, 1564,) that she dispensed with them for that time. And Winchester college also, by the Warden, requested the same of her; which she granted, and appointed her Secretary to will the Archbishop to grant his dispensation. Whereupon he penned this letter to the Archbishop:

The Universities and Winchester school dispensed with.

" The Queen's Majesty, at the humble suit of the Warden
" of Winchester, is pleased to dispense with the Scholars
" there, in like sort as she hath for the Universities of Cam-
" bridge and Oxford, touching the observation of Wednes-

" day, made a fish day by politic constitution. It may CHAP. XXV.
" please your Grace, according to her Majesty's will, so to
" give out your dispensation for the said college. Anno 1564.

" Your Grace's humbly to command,

" W. C."

Though the Archbishop seems to have been but a second cause in this business, yet he was in truth a main and primary instrument in bringing this to pass. And the scheme of obtaining this favour from the Queen was laid by him, with the concurrence of Cecyl. This is cleared by the letter of thanks which the University of Cambridge wrote to him upon this occasion in November, which may be found in the Appendix: and wherein it appears this was not the first time the Archbishop had done good offices for them, and they great ones too. " Which, they say in the said " letter, they did not only now acknowledge, but openly " profess. They declare further, that it was both his virtue " and his propense study to gratify them that had stirred " him up to a perpetual beneficence towards them; but " that this present dispensation granted them was more " than they dared to ask: and that moreover it was done " with so much celerity, that they could scarce have believed " it could have been done so soon: which tended to the " great commendation of his counsel, who wanted not the " motion and quickening of others; and likewise of his " kindness, who suffered not the University to be any longer " without such a benefit. So that not only themselves, but " those that should come after them, were bound to remem- " ber this his beneficence, who so seasonably had provided 178
" for the concerns of the University." This was dated 15. cal. of Decemb. 1564. Subscribed by the Vice-Chancellor and the whole Senate.

The University of Cambridge thanks the Archbishop.

[Number XXXI.]

The copy of this letter remains in the register of the University Orator. In the margin whereof it is thus noted; " Thanks for obtaining for us a licence to eat flesh " on Wednesdays." Which note, Mr. Baker, B. D. of St. John's college, hath humanely communicated to me, with

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

the transcript of the above mentioned letter. The benefit of this indulgence was, that it tended to the cheaper and more plentiful providing of subsistence for the great number of students there, and also for their health, especially this present year, when the nation was afflicted with the infection of the plague.

John Fox dispensed with for Lent.

And however the observation of the fast of Lent was regarded, yet dispensations also for it were granted upon reasonable causes. This favour the Archbishop had formerly shewed to John Fox the Martyrologist, a spare sickly man, whom he permitted for his bad stomach to eat flesh in Lent. And for the like favour that reverend man did now again address to him in a handsome Latin letter; beginning,

Salutem et vitam in Christo æternam. Pro rara ac singulari hac naturæ tuæ mansuetudine, quæ semper mihi in te placuit, Matthæe episcoporum decus ac sydus eximium, rogo etiam atque etiam sublimitatem tuam, ut hanc ipsam, &c.

Jewel's Apology published in English. Translated by the Laby Bacon.

This year came forth, by the Archbishop's order, being printed by Reginald Wolf, Bishop Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England*, translated into English by the Lady Anne Bacon, wife to Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. After she had finished the translation, she sent the copy unto the Archbishop to peruse it, as a proper person to whom the care of the Church of England, and its doctrine, chiefly belonged. She sent also this her translation to Bishop Jewel, the author, to overlook it, that she might not in any point mistake his meaning. Her copy she sent to him, with an epistle in Greek; and he answered her in Greek again. Both this Bishop and the Archbishop read over the said translation, and found it so correct that they mended nothing; no, not the least word. The letter the Archbishop sent to her, relating to this Apology, put by her into English, was thus superscribed, *To the right honourable, learned, and virtuous Lady, A. B. M. C. wisheth from God, grace, honour, and felicity.* He told her therein, "That according to her request he had perused her stu-
The Archbishop's letter to her hereupon.
"dious labour of translation, profitably employed in a right

" commendable work. Whereof, for that it liked her to
" make him a judge, and for that the thing itself had sin-
" gularly pleased his judgment, and delighted his mind in
" reading it, he had right heartily to thank her ladyship,
" both for her well thinking of him, and for the comfort
" that it wrought in him. But far above these private
" respects, he was by greater causes enforced, not only to
" shew his rejoice of this her doing, but also to testify the
" same by this his writing prefixed before the work, to the
" commodity of others, and good encouragement of herself.
" That she had used her accustomed modesty, in submitting
" it to judgment; but therein her praise doubled, sith it
" had passed judgment without reproach. And whereas
" both the chief author of the Latin work and he, severally
" perusing and conferring her whole translation, had with-
" out alteration allowed of it, he was both to desire her lady-
" ship, and advertise the readers, to think that they had
" not therein given any thing to any dissembling affection
" towards her, as being contented to wink at faults to please
" her, or to make her without cause to please herself. For
" that there were sundry respects to draw them from so
" doing, although they had been so ill minded, as there was
" no cause why they should be so thought of. That her
" own judgment in discerning flattery, her modesty in mis-
" liking it, the laying open of their opinion to the world, the
" truth of their friendship toward her, the unwillingness of
" them both, in respect of their vocations, to have that
" *public work* not truly and well translated, were good
" causes to persuade that their allowance was of sincere
" truth and understanding. That by her travail she ex-
" pressed an acceptable duty to the glory of God, deserved
" well of this Church of Christ, honourably defended the
" good fame and estimation of her own native tongue,
" shewing it so able to contend with a work originally writ-
" ten in the most praised speech. That beside the honour 179
" she had done to her sex, and to the degree of ladies, she
" had done pleasure to the author of the Latin book, in
" delivering him by her clear translation from the perils of

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

" ambiguous and doubtful constructions; and in making " his good work more publicly beneficial: whereby she had " raised up great comfort to her friends, and had furnished " her own conscience joyfully with the fruit of her labour " in so occupying her time. Which must needs redound " to the encouragement of noble youth in their good edu- " cation, and to spend their time and knowledge in godly " exercise, she having delivered them so singular a prece- " dent. That as God, he was sure, did accept that her " doing, and would bless with increase; so her and their " most virtuous and learned sovereign Lady and Mistress, it " should be good cause to commend; and all noble gentle- " women should, he trusted, hereby be allured from vain " delights, to doings of more perfect glory.

" That he for his part, as occasion might serve, should " exhort others to take profit by her work, and follow her " example: whose success he beseeched our heavenly Fa- " ther to bless and prosper. That to the end, both to ac- " knowledge his good approbation, and to spread the bene- " fit more largely, where her ladyship had sent him her " book *written*, he had with most hearty thanks returned " it her, as she saw, *printed:* knowing that he had there- " by done for the best, and in this point used a reasonable " policy; that is, to prevent such excuses as her modesty " would have made in stay of publishing it."

I have given this sum of the Archbishop's letter, not only to preserve a good writing of his from perishing, but for the remembrance of this excellent, pious, and learned lady; and chiefly to reconcile a due value unto this piece, written in behalf of our reformed Church; being thus publicly owned and favoured by the chief Bishop of it in his time.

A tract added to the English Apology, concerning the government of this Church.

This epistle is printed before the edition of the book. And to make this treatise of the Church of England the more perfect, there is added at the end of it a small tract, entitled, *The Manner how the Church of England is administered and governed.* Which, I make no doubt, is the work of the Archbishop's own pen. The reason he added it was, (as he writ,) to answer the clamour of some enemies of this

Church, that spread abroad rumours how with us nothing was done in order, and as it ought to be done; and that there was no religion at all among us, no ecclesiastical discipline observed, no regard had of the salvation of men's souls: but that all was done quite out of order, and seditiously; that all antiquity was despised; that liberty was given to all sensuality; and that the livings of the Church were converted to profane and worldly uses. But this little tract, as well worthy the reading and preserving, (that nothing of the most worthy Archbishop might be lost,) I have reposited in the Appendix. Though there was before this, (*viz.* 1562,) one English edition of the Apology, printed by Reiner Wolf: in which English translation the Archbishop had a considerable hand.

Anno 1564.

Number XXXII.

The noble Lady Bacon was one of the five daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, of Gyddy Hall in Essex, Kt. who bred them all up in good learning, as he was a very learned man himself; so that his daughters were famous for their knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues. Indeed about the latter times of King Henry, many young ladies, daughters of men of nobility and quality, were bred up to skill in tongues and other human learning: taking example, I suppose, from that King; who took special care for the educating of his daughters, as well as his son, in learning. And they were happy in learned instructors. His last wife, Queen Catharine Par, was a learned as well as godly lady. And Lady Jane, the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, that unhappy Queen, had excellent learning. Dr. Meredith Hanmer read Eusebius in Greek to a certain honourable lady, as he tells us in his epistle before his English translation of that book: which gave him occasion to publish the said translation. And before all these, Sir Thomas More had a daughter named Margaret, whom he bred up in ingenuous literature. She composed a Latin oration, and some verses, which her father shewed to Voysey, Bishop of Exeter; whereat he was much moved with delight, and sent her a Portugué by her father, which he enclosed in a letter to her. And but little after the same time, *viz.*

Learned women about these times.

BOOK II.

anno 1537, there was one Elizabeth Lucar, a citizen's wife, buried in St. Laurence Pountney's church, daughter of one Paul Withipol. By the inscription upon whose monument it appeared, that she writ very fairly three several hands; that she understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian; writing, speaking, and reading it with perfect utterance and readiness: that she sung in divers tongues, and played excellently upon the viol, lute, and virginals. And beside all this, she wrought all needle-work that women used to exercise with pen, frame, or stool: understood well drawing of pictures, curious knots, and trails, beasts, birds, and flowers, with a curious fancy. And to crown all, she was virtuous, read the Scriptures, and directed her faith to Christ as her only mark. And all this she arrived to in her youth: for she died at twenty-seven years of age.

Anno 1564. Eliz. Lucar.

180

The women in King Edward's reign.

Of the women in King Edward's reign we may judge and wonder, comparing them with that sex in this present age, by observing what Nicolas Udal writ in his epistle to Queen Catharine, before the English paraphrase upon the Gospel of St. John. "But now in this gracious and blissful time "of knowledge, in which it hath pleased God Almighty to "reveal and shew abroad the light of his most holy Gospel, "what a number is there of noble women, especially here "in this realm of England; yea, and how many in the "years of tender virginity, not only as well seen, and as "familiarly traded in the Latin and Greek tongues, as in "their own mother language; but also both in all kinds of "profane literature and liberal arts, exacted, studied, and "exercised; and in the holy Scripture and theology so "ripe, that they are able aptly, cunningly, and with much "grace, either to indite or translate into the vulgar tongue, "for the public instruction and edifying of the unlearned "multitude? Neither is it now a strange thing to hear "gentlewomen, instead of most vain communication about "the moon shining in the water, to use grave and sub-"stantial talk in Latin or Greek, with their husbands, of "godly matters. It is now no news in England, for young

" damsels in noble houses, and in the courts of princes, " instead of cards and other instruments of idle trifling, to " have continually in their hands either Psalms, Homilies, " and other devout meditations, or else Paul's Epistles, or " some book of holy Scripture matters; and as familiarly " to read or reason thereof in Greek, Latin, French, or " Italian, as in English. It is now a common thing to see " young virgins so nursed and trained in the study of let- " ters, that they willingly set all other vain pastimes at " nought for learning's sake. It is now no news at all to " see Queens and ladies of most high state and progeny, " instead of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises " of reading and writing, and with most earnest study, both " early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of " knowledge, as well in all other liberal arts and disci- " plines, as also most especially of God and his most holy " word."

Dorman writes his Proof against Jewel.

But to return again to Jewel: who, as he saw this work of his Apology come forth in English, so the same year he saw a Popish book appearing against him. For by his challenge at St. Paul's Cross, he had raised many enemies against him. Among the rest, Tho. Dorman, B. D. took upon him to prove against Jewel's negatives, I. That the Bishop of Rome is the head of Christ's universal Church here in earth; and that, within the first six hundred years after Christ's departure hence, he was so called and taken. II. That the people was then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the Sacrament. III. That the Communion was then ministered under one kind. IV. That there was Mass said at that time, although there were none to receive with the Priest. But all his reasons Dorman took from Harding, as Harding had taken them from Eckius, Pighius, Groper, and Hosius; who had wrote for the Pope's power and supremacy; Harding translating *ad verbum* almost such places as he thought for his purpose, as Alex. Nowel against the said Dorman asserts in his Preface. This Book of Dorman's was printed at Antwerp, 1564, and entitled, *A Proof*

And Nowel's Reproof against him.

BOOK II.

of certain Articles in Religion, denied by Master Nowel. This book the said Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, answered. Which answer came out July 13, 1565: printed by Henry Wikes. His book he entitled, *A Reproof of a Book entitled, A Proof,* &c. Dorman vindicates himself from Nowel, and entitles his second book, *A Disproof,* &c. Nowel comes out again against the *Disproof,* anno 1567, and entitles his book, *A Confutation, as well of Mr. Dorman's Last Book, entitled, A Disproof, as of Dr. Sanders's Causes of Transubstantiation; whereby our Countrymen, especially the simple and unlearned, may understand how* 181 *shamefully they are abused by those and such like Books, pretended to be written for their Instruction.* It was thought also that Dorman borrowed from Dr. Richard Smith, who dying at Doway, 1563, left him by his will in some trust: whereby his written books of controversy came into Dorman's hands.

Anno 1564.

Other books, *pro* and *con.*

Stapleton, Rastal, and Sander, write against Bishop Jewel.

And that I may here mention together the rest of Bishop Jewel's antagonists besides Dorman and Harding before mentioned, Stapleton wrote a great volume upon the Bishop's marginal notes, by violent plucking of the which from the continuance of the process whereupon they do depend, and whereby they be made plain, he both blindeth the reader, and depraveth and corrupteth the notes, contrary to the true sense and meaning of them. Mr. Rastal, by snatching at certain parcels of the Bishop's book, patched up two new books. Dr. Sander, by discoursing upon some fragments of the Bishop's book, and upon fourteen or fifteen leaves of Alex. Nowel's first book, published a huge volume. "Weak and trifling reasons," saith Nowel, "but earnest "and bitter reproaches."

Nowel's Ep. to his Confutat.

The said Bishop hath many adversaries. And why.

All these writers and more did the Bishop of Sarum raise up against himself. And that because, as the same learned man gives us the reason, he did not tie them straitly to the trial of Scripture, the certain and only judge in controversies of religion, and wherein indeed they could say nothing at all; but gave them a most large scope of all Doctors of the Church, who had written for the space of

six hundred years after Christ being here on earth, and of all Councils kept in the same continuance of time. Out of the which Doctors and Councils, (for that the said Bishop had avouched, that the best learned of all the adversaries, or all the adversaries together, were able to bring nothing to any purpose from them,) he set all the adversaries, learned and unlearned, a work by common conference, to devise to say something for themselves, and against him.

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1564.

CHAP. XXVI.

The state of the Church in the north parts. And particularly of Rachdale, Whalley, and Blackburn, in Lancashire, belonging to the Archbishop. At Rachdale he founds a freeschool. The state of the Church of Canterbury. The certificate thereof sent to the Archbishop. The Bishops of London and Peterborough go out Doctors.

ABOUT this time, or perhaps the year before, the Archbishop of York seemed to have visited his province, as our Archbishop had his. The noise out of the north parts, Pilkinton, Bishop of Durham, sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury; making complaint how sadly things there in those quarters were out of sorts. As that the Bishop of Chester's diocese was not visited by the Archbishop of York, who had compounded with the Bishop for it. Nor did that Bishop visit himself, but only gathered the visitation or procuration money by his servants; pretending for his neglect, that he would not put the country to charge. That the Bishop of Man was jolly, and lived at ease out of his diocese. That as for the north parts of Lancashire, the Priests were very negligent in the service, and often said none at all: and that the Archbishop of Canterbury's own towns and parishes there, namely, Whalley and Blackburn, were very sorrily supplied; the Vicar of one had resigned for a pension, and in the other a Popish schoolmaster had settled. Rachdale indeed was somewhat better provided

The state of the province of York.

The Archbishop's towns in Lancashire.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

by means of a Curate there; who seems to have been one Gargreve; for whom to be preferred to be Vicar there, the said Bishop of Durham made request. But take his relation of the state of those parts as he wrote it to the Archbishop.

The Bishop of Durham to the Archbishop.

182

"It is to be lamented to see and hear how negligently "they say any service, and how seldom. I have heard of "a commission for ecclesiastical matters, directed to my "Lord of York, &c. But because I know not the truth "of it, I meddle not. Your cures all, except Rachdale, be "as far out of order as the worst in all the country. The "old Vicar of Blackbourn resigned for a pension, and now "liveth with Sir John Biron. Whalley hath as ill a Vicar "as the worst. And there is one come thither that hath "been deprived or changed his name, and now teacheth "school there; of evil to make them worse. If your "Grace's officers lust, they might amend many things. I "speak this for the amendment of the country, and that "your Grace's parishes might be better spoken of and "ordered. If your Grace would, either yourself or by my "Lord of York, amend these things, it were very easy. "One little examination or commandment to the contrary "would take away all these and more.

"The Bishop of Man liveth here at ease, and as merry "as Pope Joan. The Bishop of Chester hath compounded "with my Lord of York for his visitation, and gathereth "up the money by his servants; but never a word spoken "of any visitation or reformation. And that, he saith, he "doth of friendship, because he will not trouble the country, "nor put them to charge in calling them together. I be-"seech you, be not weary of well-doing, but with authority "and counsel help to amend that is amiss. Thus after com-"mendations I am bold boldly to write, wishing good to "my country, and furtherance of God's glory. God be "merciful to us, and grant, *ut liberè currat Evangelium.* "*Vale in Christo. Cras profecturus Dunelmum, volente Deo.*

"*Tuus Ja.* Δυνελμεν."

Anno 1564.

The Archbishop founds a freeschool in Rachdale.

Now we are fallen upon the mention of these places in Lancashire belonging to our Archbishop, I will subjoin something relating hereunto. These three rectories of Blackburn, Rachdale, and Whalley, came into the archbishopric by Archbishop Cranmer's exchange with King Henry the VIIIth, and Edward the VIth, formerly appropriated to the Abbey of Whalley. The rectory of Rachdale was let to a farmer with this condition among others, that the Vicar should be paid by him forty marks per annum; and to pay certain pensions to the Ministers that served the chapels of the said rectories. But the farmer for some years paid not these pensions; whence the poor Ministers were drawn to great exigence. Whereupon Archbishop Parker went to law with him, and would have taken from him the possession of the rectory by forfeiture for non-payment of these rents: meaning, if he should have the better, to have paid the Ministers their arrears, and enlarged their stipend for the future. It proved a long suit and very expensive. At last the farmer, Sir John Biram, fearing to lose the rectory, came to his prayers and entreaties, and begged the Archbishop that he would forbear any further to prosecute the law, and he would leave the matter wholly to his Grace's decision and will. Hereupon the Archbishop pondering in his mind how many families that parish contained, and consulting for the good of the whole county of Lancaster, he promised to release the farmer of all fears of losing the rectory, if he, besides the yearly rent, would give seventeen pounds yearly for the finding of a master and an under-master for the teaching of children in a free grammar school, that should be founded in the said town of Rachdale. Which condition the farmer readily agreed to during his lease. Afterwards, for the continuance of this school for ever, the Archbishop by his own ratification, and the concurrence of the Chapter of Canterbury, tied the sum of seventeen pounds per annum for maintenance of the said school, to be paid for ever out of the rectory. And it was his will, that the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi college in Cambridge should be

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

overseers of the same school, and electors of the schoolmaster, in case he, or any succeeding Archbishop of Canterbury, happened not to do it; as appeareth by an indenture tripartite, bearing date Jan. 1. *an. Regin.* 7. Which he caused to be made; and one of the copies he left to the Master and Fellows of the said College, to be kept among their other monuments belonging to their house.

If the Archbishop for the time being presented not a schoolmaster in three months after a vacancy, then the Master of the college, or in his absence the President, was within two months to nominate and present two able scho-
183 lars, and offer them to the Archbishop, to choose one for the schoolmaster of the said school. And let me occasionally add what I read in a late book, that another Archbishop (*viz.* Juxon) augmented still more Rachdale vicarage with 42*l.* per annum. And the vicarage of Blackburn by 70*l.* per annum, beyond the old pension of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And made Whalley 120*l.* per annum.

Dr. Kennet's Case of Impropriat.

The state of the Church of Canterbury as to conformity, to be certified.

It was mentioned above, how that in January last, upon the Queen's letters to our Archbishop for establishing the uniformity, he had required of every Bishop a certificate to be sent him up concerning their respective Clergy's manners and behaviours, their doctrine, and conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the Church. He also sent his letters to his own cathedral church for that purpose. And this was the certificate made to the Archbishop's Commissary thereupon.

The certificate from the Church. MSS. C. C. C. Miscellan. D.

" Christ's Church, Cant. The certificate of the Vice-
" Dean of the cathedral and metropolitical church of
" Christ in Canterbury, and the Prebendaries of the same
" church here present. After due consultation had upon
" the copy of a letter directed from the most reverend Fa-
" ther in God, Matthew, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
" unto you his Grace's Commissary, containing the Queen's
" Highness pleasure and commandment for special regard
" to be had to the Clergy within the province, for their
" conformity in doctrine, and uniformity in rites and cere-
" monies of the Church, and for their private manners,

" usages, and behaviour, according to the tenor of the said " letters; we do make our certificate for the state of our " Church touching the premises in manner and form fol- " lowing.

" First, we do certify, that there is no doctrine taught or I. " defended by us, or any of us, nor by any preacher of our " church to our knowledge, other than that which is ap- " proved by the word of God, and set forth within this " realm by public authority.

" The Common Prayer daily through the year, though II. " there be no Communion, is sung at the communion table, " standing *north* and *south*, where the high altar did stand. " The Minister, when there is no Communion, useth a sur- " plice only, standing on the east side of the table with his " face toward the people.

" The holy Communion is ministered ordinarily the first " Sunday of every month through the year. At what time " the table is set *east* and *west*. The Priest which min- " istereth, the Pystoler and Gospeler, at that time wear " copes. And none are suffered then to tarry within that " chancel but the communicants.

" For the ministering of the Communion we use bread † " appointed by the Queen's Highness Injunctions.

† Which was to resemble the singing cakes, which served formerly for the use of private Masses.

" The evening prayer in winter is between three and " four; in summer between four and five of the clock in " the afternoon. At which prayers Mr. Dean, when he is " here, and every of the Prebendaries, are present every " day once at the least, appareled, in the choir. And when " they preach, with surplice and silk hoods.

" The preachers, being at home, come to the Common " Prayer on Sundays and holydays, wearing surplices and " hoods.

" The Petty Canons, the Lay Clerks, and Choristers, wear " surplices in the choir daily.

" The schoolmaster for grammer, the usher, and the " Queen's Highness scholars, come to the choir on Sundays " and holydays in surplices.

" Thirdly, we certify, that touching the manners, usages, III.

BOOK II.

Anno 1564.

" and behaviours for ourselves, for the preachers, and other " inferior Ministers within our church, we know none that " liveth unorderly, or to use himself otherwise than is by " order prescribed and permitted by the Queen's Highness " Injunctions.

" Thomas Willoughby, Thomas Beacon,
" William Darrel, Theodore Newton,
" Johannes Butler, Henry Goodrick,
" Andrew Peerson."

Two Bishops created Doctors in Divinity.

This year did Grindal Bishop of London, and Skamler Bishop of Peterborough, go out Doctors of Divinity *per gratiam*, in the University of Cambridge.

END OF BOOK II.

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF MATTHEW, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Proceedings with Sampson and Humfrey. Sampson deprived, and confined. The Archbishop's kindness to him in letters wrote in his behalf. His grave advice to him. Other recusants silenced. Among the rest, Withers of Bury. His letter to the Archbishop of compliance. Some are winked at.

THE Archbishop was now arrived to the sixty-first year of his age; and all the remainder of his days from hence to his grave was imbittered by the labours and pains he had with such as would not comply with the established rites and orders of the Church. The former part of this year was taken up in very uneasy work to the Archbishop and his Fellows, *viz.* in pressing conformity to the ceremonies, and to the habits chiefly; and in citing and censuring those that yielded not due obedience. Anno 1565. The Archbishop uneasy: and why.

We come now to pursue the proceedings with Sampson and Humfrey; who, being the heads of this party, had been summoned up from Oxford before the Archbishop and the Commissioners ecclesiastical, with whom we left them earnestly debating the last year. With these they did not only contend about the points in controversy both in words and Sampson and Humfrey will not comply.

BOOK III.

writings, but they appealed to the learnedest foreign Divines of the reformed Churches, whose judgments they themselves had sent over in their letters, that there might be a means of allaying these contests, as we shall hear more of by and by: but nothing could move them. No, though Bishop Grindal prayed Sampson even with tears that he would but now and then, in the public meetings of the University, put on the square cap, but could not prevail with him to do so. So they, utterly refusing to conform themselves, were both confined. But the storm fell upon Sampson chiefly, who being in so eminent a place in the University, and for fear his example might have too great an influence among the students, was, by a special order from the Queen, deprived of his deanery by the Archbishop and Commissioners.

Anno 1565.

185

Sampson deprived.

Humfrey retires to Mrs. Warcup's house.

Humphrey, after confinement in London for some time, got leave to depart home; retiring for a time to the house of the pious widow Mrs. Warcup, dwelling in Oxfordshire or Berks; the same that was so remarkably charitable to the poor afflicted under Queen Mary. Being here, he wrote a letter May 24. to his friend John Fox, lamenting the present condition of their affairs; and knowing what an interest Fox had in the Duke of Norfolk, whose tutor he had been, and for whom the Duke had expressed a long time a very great respect, Humphrey excited him to use all his influence with the said Duke; that he, by letter or by word of mouth, would procure a forbearance of these impositions. And the Duke indeed seemed well inclined hereunto. For when Humphrey was at Norwich not long before, the Duke promised him his endeavour in many kind words. But if we desire to see the earnest concern this learned man had for this cause, I shall here set down a part of his letter.

Humfrey to Fox, to move the Duke of Norfolk. MSS. Foxii.

Nostræ res quo in statu sint, in quo lubrico et scopuloso loco versentur, non ignoras, audis, vides, ingemiscis. Quibus autem modis tantæ miseriæ sublevari possint, quo tot malis salutaris medicina adhiberi queat, non reperio, non invenio, nescio. Tu siquid nosti, communica; ne desis

causæ bonæ, officio tuo, laboranti Ecclesiæ. Siquid Ducis Nor. literæ, opera, gratia, authoritas valere possunt, age, effice, ut vel scribat ad suos serio et sæpe, vel præsens cum aliis instet, urgeat. Miseret me fratrum; aliorum qui summi et primi esse volunt, pudet. Dux, cum essem Norwici, longè et prolixè pollicitus est omnia. Deus sic illi dux sit, sic regat et flectat alios, ut congruentibus animis et studiis in causam honestissimam, sed deploratissimam, incumbant. Ultimum ac præstantissimum refugium est, ardens ad Deum hominum bonorum comprecatio, pro Regina serenissima, pro consiliariis honoratissimis, pro Episcopis, pro Ecclesia. Tu, mi Foxe, ora, intercede, clama, ac vale in Domino, qui tuos omnes labores sanctificet ac fortunet, uxorem et liberos conservet. Angliæ ex ædibus D. Warcoppæ, piæ et lectissimæ viduæ. Maii 20.

T. totus Laur. Humfredus.

Anno 1565.

Notwithstanding, Humphrey, for his usefulness in the University, had a toleration till ten or eleven years after, when he complied, and wore the habits. But even this present year 1565. he was presented to a benefice in the diocese of Sarum, by the Bishop of Winton, with the mild Archbishop's consent, as it seemed, though Jewel, the Bishop of the diocese, made some stop to it. Humphrey had a little before felt the pulse of these Bishops assembled in the ecclesiastical commission; and found the Bishop of Winton contented to pleasure him, and had the Archbishop's favour too; but Bishop Jewel seemed more difficult. Yet Humphrey thought he would not refuse to admit him at last; which was the cause that he had not spared his purse nor travail about this living. That Bishop objected to him St. Paul's ἀκαταστασία; meaning either *that confusion* spoken of by him, 1 Cor. xiv. 33. *God is not the author of* confusion, *but of peace;* or those *tumults*, (the same word in the Greek,) 2 Cor. xii. 20. *whisperings*, *swellings*, tumults, which the Apostle layeth to the charge of the same Corinthians. The Bishop also told him, that diversities in God's worship

Presented to a living.

BOOK III.

was *deformity;* and that it was a sufficient cause of depri-
vation. What Humfrey's answers were, he gave in a letter
Anno 1565. to the Bishop, dated Decemb. 20, from Oxon, to this purport:
His letter to Bishop Jewel. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.
" That his Lordship's stay hung upon a small point. That
" he never was author of *confusion:* for that was, he said,
" a horrible crime. But that he had studied to live in peace
" and concord with his brethren, and in due obedience to-
" wards his betters; and that so he purposed, by the grace
" of God, to do. But that he took this matter far otherwise
" than his Lordship did signify it to be, both in nature and
" substance; and in all circumstances, as appeared by the
" word ἀκαταστασία in St. Paul. And that if diversity in
" outward ceremonies were *deformity*, if it were any confu-
" sion, if it were a sufficient cause of deprivation, if it were a
186 " necessary parcel and essential piece of the ministry, that
" none might be without it; if this congruity and prescrip-
" tion came not directly from the Pope, and if it were be-
" fore the Popedom; then I am, said he, much deceived.
" But that whatever it were, light or great, order or disorder,
" it forced not. And that, as he writ before, so he again
" assured his Lordship, that his desire was not to innovate
" any thing that way, or to violate their ecclesiastical ordi-
" nances by example, thought, or counsel. He added, that the
" man that then served the cure, he heard was conformable
" enough, and that he himself, when he preached, should not
" transgress. That therefore if he offended not in his dio-
" cese, he trusted the Bishop would not be offended out of his
" diocese. In short, that this was the first living or bene-
" fice that ever was granted him: and for that he had pass-
" ed the *Scillis* and *Syrtis* of Popish Proctors by the Arch-
" bishop of Canterbury's favour, and the Bishop of Winton's
" patronage, now it rested upon his friendship; and *in por-*
" *tu* to make shipwreck, it would grieve him, and to take a
" repulse by him [the Bishop] would comfort Mr. Saye,
" whose prophecy of his not having it would by the Bi-
" shop's means be verified." What effect and issue this earnest letter had with the Bishop, I do not find. But in

five years after he became Dean of Gloucester. And so we leave Dr. Humfrey. CHAP. I.

But concerning Sampson we have something more to say. Some of the common lawyers disputed the legality of his deprivation, and would have those that inflicted this punishment on him to be involved in a *premunire* for so doing. In a volume in the Cotton library there is a discourse of some great common lawyer for *prohibitions:* where he hath this passage; "That Justice Brook, in his Abridgment, *titulo* " Premunire, num. 21. reported that Barlow, Bishop in the " time of Edward VI. for that he had deprived the Dean " of Wells, that deanery being a donative, was in a *premu-* " *nire*, and was constrained to sue for a pardon. And if it " be so, said this lawyer, in all donatives, I would fain know " by what authority Mr. Thomas Sampson was deprived " from the donative deanery of Christ's Church in Oxford, " which he had *pro termino vitæ* under the Great Seal of " England. If in law it be a lay thing, and the ecclesias- " tical commission is only to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdic- " tion in ecclesiastical causes, it must needs follow, that the " fault in the one was as great as in the other." These are the words taken out of that MS. Anno 1565. Lawyers argue concerning Sampson's deprivation.

But however, Sampson was not only deprived of his deanery, but of his liberty too, being confined by the Queen's special commandment; who was very angry with these men, and thought good to make Sampson an example to the rest: yet not committed to a common prison, though that was feared to follow. Sampson confined.

And lying in this condition, he had two things to do for his better ease under his calamities. The one was, to obtain some favour from the Chapter of Oxon, and the other to prevent a closer imprisonment, and to get a full liberty from his present confinement. For both which he applied to the Archbishop by letter: who very gently and readily, out of his tender and compassionate disposition to all men, wrote two letters from Canterbury, where he now was; the one to the Dean and Chapter of Oxon, praying them to The Archbishop's intercession for him; With the Chapter;

BOOK III. Anno 1565. With the Secretary;

shew Dr. Sampson all favour, and particularly in what he had, or should request at their hands; especially having been a man that had, for his government, well deserved of them and the college. The other to the Secretary on this occasion. The Earl of Huntingdon, a great favourer of these men, had moved the Secretary to intercede with the Queen, that Sampson might have his liberty to go whither he would, in order to provide for the future subsistence of himself and family. The Secretary soon yielded thereunto, but required a letter from the Archbishop to him first for that purpose, thereupon the better to build his mediation with the Queen. For this end the Earl had sent a messenger to the Archbishop, and Sampson sent his own letter withal; thanking him also therein for the favour he had done him with the college. Sampson's letter ran thus:

Sampson to the Archbishop. MSS. G. P. Armig.

" *Reverendissime, S.* My humble thanks to your Grace
" premised. By these letters enclosed, your favourable
" commending of my case to the Chapter of Christ Church
" in Oxon is well witnessed to have had with them just re-
" gard. And now as my necessity compelleth me to crave
187 " further aid, so your facility to grant my last encourageth
" me to make this second request for the same. The ho-
" nourable Earl of Huntingdon hath moved at my suit Mr.
" Secretary, that, without assignment of place, I might go
" and abide at mine own liberty; where I may by seeking
" find some commodious settling for me and my poor fa-
" mily. He hath promised to become for me a favourable
" mediator herein to the Queen's Majesty, if that in this
" behalf he might receive from your Grace some letter of
" commending this my humble suit to him, whereupon, as
" upon a meet ground, he might the better build his medi-
" ation to her Highness. I think my said Lord of Hun-
" tingdon doth certify your Grace of the truth hereof by this
" bearer. The equity of the thing and my urgent necessity
" considered, of their own condition, will move I trust your
" goodness to add this second salve to my misery, which I

" do humbly desire. The Lord Jesus direct you by his CHAP. I.
" mighty Spirit to do in your calling that best pleaseth him.
" Lond. 3. Jun. 1565. Anno 1565.

" Yours to command,
" Tho. Sampson."

The gentle and good nature of the Archbishop was such, that he presently wrote to the Secretary, the very next day after he received Sampson's letter, recommending Sampson's case most heartily, and praying the Secretary to use his interest with the Queen: and that upon the account of her clemency, which she was wont to shew indifferently to all her subjects. Which letter being so expressive of the mild and Christian spirit of this grave Father, even to such as did not altogether agree with him in all points, I do here set down as a testimony hereof.

The Archbishop writes to the Secretary in Sampson's behalf.

" After my hearty commendation to your Honour. Where " I understand that Mr. Sampson lieth still at suit for his " favourable placing out at his own liberty, without note of " committing him as prisoner to any place, your Honour " should do a right good deed in mine opinion to be suitor " to the Queen's Highness for favour therein; her pleasure " being thus executed upon him for example to the terror of " others, might yet be mollified to the commendation of her " clemency; whereunto her Highness is inclined both godly " and naturally to all persons indifferently. And as your " Honour is the common refuge, to be a solicitor to the " Queen's Majesty in our causes, so ye shall do a good act " to continue herein. Which favour shewed, if it should be " abused by the wilfulness of some fond heads, yet God's " cause in reasonable men may be pitied. And thus, with " the offer of my prayer, and most humble recommendation " to the Queen's Highness, I take my leave of your Honour. " From my house at Canterbury, this 4th of June 1565."

His letter. MSS. G. P. Armig.

And to Sampson also he wrote the same day a most humane letter; and with much gravity and sweetness persuaded him to unite himself with the practice enjoined the Church.

" Mr. Sampson, After my hearty commendations; I am

The Arch-

BOOK III.

Anno 1565. bishop to Sampson, exhorting him to unity. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"glad that my letters written in your behalf to the Church "took such effect as ye desired. And as ye have not deserv- "ed to the same in your government the contrary, to my "understanding, so again I have written my letter to obtain "your other request: praying you in Jesus Christ to salve "against this great offendicle risen by your dissent from "the course of the Gospel. Remember what obedience so "great liberty of the whole doctrine of Christ granted, re- "quireth at your hands. I am persuaded that time, and "indifferent reading on your party, will give cause to join "together in our communion. I mean not in doctrine, but "in matter of ecclesiastical policy. And thus wishing you, "and all other, well as myself, I end my letter. Written at "Canterbury this 4th of June, 1565."

Withers of Bury silenced.

As Samson was thus deprived, so other recusants of the habits, and that would not enter bonds to wear the square cap, at that time were silenced, and forbade preaching in their places for some months; and remaining incompliant, after the space fixed, to be deprived. Of this number was George Withers, a man of good learning, preacher at Bury of St. Edmond's in Suffolk. When he went down to his
188 flock with this censure upon him, the people were moved that they should be deprived of his ministry and preaching for want of wearing a cap, which they made no great matter of; and they knowing that he had refused it, that he might not give them offence, nor cast a stumblingblock before them, (as he told the Commissioners,) they presently assured him, that it should be no offence to them; and prayed him rather to wear the cap than to forsake them. And so Withers, finding that his departing should more offend them than his wearing the apparel, and that the departure of preachers would so rejoice the enemy, he sent a letter to the Archbishop, to let him know that he would rather *strain his conscience* a little, as he expressed it, than to discourage the godly, or let the wicked have their mind. And knowing the Archbishop would allow him to preach, and to enjoy his place, upon the notice of his compliance, he sent him word thereof in this letter following, dated May 24, from Bury.

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord: Whereas "at my late being with you at London, I refused to enter "bonds for wearing of the cornered cap; for the which you "did then inhibit and restrain me from preaching; the "townsmen of Bury, whose offence I chiefly feared, have "been earnest in hand with me rather to wear a cap than "to forsake them; promising moreover never the more to "regard it or mind it for my wearing of it. I thereupon, "who greatly feared lest the wearing of it here should be a "stumblingblock, and an occasion of falling to a great num- "ber, who should discredit me, and by that means the Gospel "by me preached, seeing my expectation deceived, have also "altered my mind. I was afraid to have been an offence "unto the godly, considering the wo pronounced upon them "by whom offences come: but seeing my departure should "more offend them, than the wearing any apparel, and "also more rejoice the enemy, who seeketh nothing so "much as to banish preachers from them, I will rather "strain my conscience somewhat, than altogether to dis- "courage the godly, or to let the wicked have their minds. "Wherefore after talk had with Mr. Badly immediately "after his return home, understanding that your Lordship "is content that I should have, use, and enjoy my room and "office of preaching, so that I do signify unto you by my "letter, that I am content to wear the cornered cap at Bury, "I thought good to write these few lines to your Grace, to "signify I am content to accept it: but yet so as to avoid a "greater inconvenience, as *Væ mihi, si non evangeliza-* "*vero*, &c." We shall have more of this man hereafter.

Anno 1565.

He writes to the Archbishop, promising to wear the habit. MSS. G. P. Armig.

But notwithstanding those severe orders of the Queen before mentioned, and this prosecution of the same, yet she and her Commissioners did dispense or wink at many Divines who could not comply, and yet had and retained still dignities in the Church. There is a letter of Father Fox, the Martyrologist, writ in Latin to the Queen about this time, wherein he exalted her in his praises, as for restoring learning and religion, so particularly for her regard and gracious answer to a petition of certain Divines concerning the habits.

Many Dissenters winked at.

Fox's letter to the Queen.

BOOK III. Anno 1565. Her history.

Which I suppose was, that she was contented they should be dealt favourably withal. In this letter Fox said, that he had divers monuments concerning her Majesty, which he thought of compiling into her history; but he invited her to write her own life, and that none could do it better. He gratefully commemorated also the prebend of Shipton, which she had lately bestowed on him.

189

CHAP. II.

The Archbishop's orders about licences for preaching, and Curates. Repairs to Canterbury. Great feasting in his hall. He is godfather with the Queen. Publishes a Dietary.

The Archbishop calls in all licences for preaching.

BUT leaving these matters a while, let us attend our Archbishop, wearied with the former controversies, into Kent. Within the month of May he went from Lambeth to Canterbury, to entertain his guests in his new repaired hall, and to inspect his diocese. But a little before he went, he found it convenient to rectify some things relating to the Clergy. Many there were who had obtained licences to preach from him and other Bishops; men esteemed then by them to have been discreet persons, and such as would have dutifully complied with the orders of the Church established by authority; but had deceived their expectations. These were guilty of much indiscretion, (whereof the Queen was informed,) and went up and down preaching where they pleased in any church; and the Curates allowed them, fearing to gainsay their licences. But now orders were given out from the Archbishop to the Bishops, that all should bring in their old licences, and take new; and that no Curate should suffer any to preach in their churches upon any former licences given by the Archbishop. And that such as took licences hereafter, should be bound not to disturb the state of religion publicly established. And this

stopping of licences was no new thing. For Archbishop Cranmer had called in his licences twice or thrice upon such occasions. But care was taken that such who had licences, and were now required to take out others, should not be burdened with any great charge therein. Anno 1565.

No Curates to serve in another diocese without letters testimonial.

Again, Curates about this time made it a common practice to depart from one diocese to another, having probably been discharged their former curacies for scandal, or popery, or puritanism, or insufficiency. Therefore it was appointed, that such Curates as came out of other dioceses should not be allowed to serve without letters testimonial from the Ordinary where they last did serve.

None to farm out their livings without consent of the Ordinary.

And lastly, divers incumbents of parishes, Popish Priests, as it seems, that were minded to leave their livings, and run away beyond sea, as many now did, to make a benefit of their livings, would farm them out at easy yearly rents, taking good fines, and then dishonestly depart from their places, to the manifest fraud of the farmers. The Archbishop therefore ordered, that none, especially such as were not of constant abode, should let out their livings without the consent of the Ordinary, for preventing this, and to provide against all dishonest bargains. And all this the Archbishop signified by letter, dated May 12, to the Bishop of London, to disperse to the Bishops of the province: and may be read in the Appendix. [Number XXXII.]

The ill practices of some of the licensed preachers.

But as to the licences, it appears that those that had them were not very forward to bring them in, notwithstanding these orders; but made use of them still to preach about, where they listed. And the rather, because they made advantage by it, requiring money for their sermons. Some of these licensed preachers came in Bishop Jewel's diocese. Of whom by a letter, dated Decemb. 22, he gave notice to the Archbishop, "that there were certain that had received his "Grace's licences; and these passed up and down the coun- "try from church to church, preaching every where, as if "they were Apostles: and by virtue of your Grace's seal, "as he added, require money for their labours. I will stay

Certified by Bishop Jewel to the Archbishop. MSS. C. C. C. C.

BOOK III.

"one or other of them, if I can, that your Grace may know "them better."

Anno 1565.

190 The Archbishop makes three feasts in his hall at Cant. Historiol.

The Archbishop soon after this repaired to Canterbury: and to add to the rest of his noble expenses in and about his new hall and palace mentioned before, to *warm* them, as we used to say, made there three magnificent and most splendid feasts in the summer. The first was at Whitsuntide, and lasted three days, that is, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. Which was after this manner: his Grace first resorted to his cathedral church, to pay God his service; and there, after he had preached himself to the Clergy and people of Canterbury, they received the holy Communion at the hands of the Dean and Clerks; that thus, having made his guests first feast with God before they feasted with him, every thing afterwards might be the more decently and inoffensively performed. Church being done, he was conducted home to his palace by the Prebendaries of the church, the Mayor of the city and his brethren, and many other gentlemen of the country, who all dined in his great hall, which he had a mind to see filled. All took their places in their comely order. The Archbishop himself sat in the midst of the uppermost table. On his left hand the Mayor, and all other men according to their dignity and quality. And so on one side of the hall a continual row of men filled the other tables, set in order, and severed by a little space between, throughout the length of the hall. On his right hand sat only some noble women, and others who were wives of some persons of quality, and a course and line of women the length of the hall, altogether like and corresponding to the row of men on the other side. This order of placing the women was observed in honour of the Queen's Majesty; because that it was under her government that the Archbishop, having escaped the cruelties and threatenings of the Papists, was now advanced to that height of an Archbishop. This first rank of guests being risen, and the tables cleared, they were furnished again the second time, and filled with others, partly of the Archbishop's family, and

At Whitsuntide.

partly of the country thereabout, who straightway sat down in their places that rose, in the same order as before And this manner of feasting continued the two next days also. Anno 1565.

His second feast was on Trinity Sunday following. On Trinity Sunday. Which he celebrated in memory of King Henry VIII. the last restorer and founder of the church of Canterbury, (dedicated to the Holy Trinity,) and reformer of several evil ceremonies and customs. But as the last feast, so this was begun with God's service at the cathedral; where, prayers being ended, one of the chief Ministers of the church made a sermon, and then the Archbishop himself administered the mystical bread unto the people. And all being finished, he departed, decently and reverently conducted home by the whole number and congregation of them that had assembled at the church: who all dined in the hall, in the same manner as before, with other chief men both of the city and country.

The third entertainment, which seemed to have been more grand than any of the rest, was on the 23d day of July, in assize time; when the Archbishop invited to dine with him the Judges that went that circuit, Sir John Southcotes, a Judge of the Common Pleas, and Gilbert Gerrard, Esquire, Attorney General to the Queen, and Sir Tho. Kemp, Knt. High Sheriff, with all their train; and all the rest that were met at these assizes, as well gentlemen as meaner persons: for by messengers and officers, the Archbishop had invited also the justices of the peace, advocaters, and common lawyers, and all the rest of proctors and attorneys: who all (with a promiscuous company) in troops came in. The hall was set forth with much plate of silver and gold, adorned with rich tapestry of Flanders, and furnished with many tables: at which the guests were disposed according to their quality. There were dainties of all sorts, both meats and drinks, and in great plenty, and all things served in excellent order, by none but the Archbishop's servants. The tables were often the same day furnished afresh with new guests, by reason of their multitude, as the former were satisfied and gone. The ladies and gentlewomen were nobly entertained At the assizes.

BOOK III.

in inner parlours, received there by Mrs. Parker, the hall being now filled only with gentlemen. Otherwise at these feasts it was the Archbishop's custom, in honour of matrimony, to entertain both men and their wives.

Anno 1565.

The palace now in ruin.

Of this noble hall and palace at Canterbury, now within an hundred and fifty years, there is little or nothing left, except a few ruins: (thus, according to our Archbishop's true motto, *Mundus transit, et concupiscentia ejus.*) And yet so much, that a friend of mine of late years discovered the arms of the Archbishop in stone, upon the wall of the south end of the palace, very fair, and the date 1565, as he supposed. Some of the out-walls of the hall I saw divers years ago remaining; and many of the curious broken pillars were piled up there for fencing: and within the *area* of it was a good house erected, and an orchard; then occupied by a Minister of the city of Canterbury.

191

The Archbishop godfather with the Queen.

When the Archbishop was returned to Lambeth, the Queen did him a great honour in appointing him with herself, and the illustrious Prince, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to stand godfather to the son of Cecilia, sister of the King of Sweden, and wife of Christopher, Margrave of Baden: who was baptized at her own chapel in the month of September, and by her named Edvardus Fortunatus.

The Archbishop publishes a Dietary, upon occasion of a dearth feared.

About the declining of this year happened a great dearth, by reason of unseasonable weather; and the prices of corn grew so high, that it threatened a famine: though the Queen by her prudent conduct at length brought down the prices, partly by hindering the exportation of corn, and partly by encouraging the importation thereof from foreign parts. But during this time, the wiser sort began to think of the causes of the dearth, and of the remedies for the prevention of it; and of more thrifty living for the time to come. Concerning the latter, a paper was published in print, entitled, *A Dietary:* which, though it have neither date, nor name of the author, yet I have some strong presumptions that it was composed by our Archbishop, and set forth about this time, for the common benefit. It consisted first of a transcript of a writ published by Edward II. anno 1315, upon a great

dearth, wherein were stinted the precise prices of all sorts of provisions. And of another the year after, for restraining of unmeasurable services of messes and meats. Then followed a warning of our Saviour, concerning excessive eating and drinking, taken out of Matth. xxiv. 37, &c. and Luke xvii. 26, 27. Next came a constitution of Archbishop Cranmer, anno 1541, for retrenching the tables of Clergymen to a particular number of dishes, entitled, *Constitutio Thomæ Cranmeri Archiepiscopi, et aliorum fratrum suorum.* And lastly, the paper concludes with a legantine constitution of Cardinal Pole, enjoining sobriety in the Clergy, as to their persons and families, that they might give good example: as to their habits, forbidding them the wearing of silk: as to their tables, enjoining, whatsoever guests they had, but three kinds of meat, or four at most, besides fruit and banqueting dishes; and the reading of holy books, and good communication, should make up the rest of the furniture of the table. This is thus entitled, *Inter Constitutiones Legantinas, editas Londini*, 1555. *Præsidente Reginaldo Cardinale Polo Decret.* 5. This sheet I thought worthy to be preserved in the Appendix; together with another MS. of the same nature, which I found thus superscribed by Sir Will. Cecyl's own hand; *Nov.* 1565. *Causes of the Dearth of Corn, with the Remedies.*

Anno 1565.

Number XXXIII. XXXIV.

CHAP. III.

192

The Archbishop moves the Chancellor of Cambridge for regulation of University licences. One Withers preaches there for reformation of glass windows. Several Heads of the University write to the Chancellor against pressing conformity there. Dr. Hutton and Dr. Beaumont, by occasion hereof, misrepresented. He sends them new statutes, framed chiefly by the Archbishop. His advice to the Chancellor hereupon. Fanatici Superpellicciani *in Cambridge, complained of to him.*

FOR the hindering the further spreading and breaking out of the aforementioned irregularities and disorders in the

BOOK III.

Church, the Archbishop thought it highly necessary to look well to the licensing of preachers: that none might be admitted to preach, but such as he might be well assured of for their compliance with the orders established.

Anno 1565.

Looks to the licensing of preachers:

There was a power lodged in the University of Cambridge, to licence twelve preachers yearly, to preach any where throughout England, without obtaining other licence from any other. This the Archbishop was jealous of, as opening a back door to let in the disaffected into the Church: and therefore he thought it very advisable for the Chancellor of the University, (who was the Queen's Chief Secretary,) Cecyl, to take some order about this. And this he might, and ought to do, because the licences, as the University then gave them, were discrepant from what they anciently were.

And particularly into the University licences.

The occasion thereof.

That which gave the first occasion to look more narrowly into these University licences, was this. While things were in that ferment in the Church, as hath been mentioned already, about the beginning of the month of March, anno 1564, and the Puritans (for by that name they now commonly went) laboured at this juncture, all they could, to shew their utter dislike and resistance of that conformity that was then in agitation, out of hope, belike, that when the superiors should observe how irksome these matters were, they might be discouraged any further to press them; a great racket was raised in Cambridge, chiefly occasioned by a busy member thereof, named George Withers, mentioned before, a man of parts and zeal. He, whether in his sermon or otherwise, had pressed for a reformation of the University windows, urging, I suppose, the superstition of the stories painted on them. Whereupon followed a great destruction of them, and the danger of a greater, by some zealots there. This person was preacher at Bury, as we heard before, and was so well thought of by Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, that he had given him, it seems, encouragement in his diocese; notwithstanding an ecclesiastical commission he lately had gotten for the checking of these seditious preachers. For which the Archbishop twitted him, in a let-

George Withers.

ter to Cecyl, saying, "My Lord of Norwich hath gotten him a "commission to good purpose." The news of this hurlyburly was soon sent both to the Archbishop and the University's Chancellor. But when the Heads had either wilfully connived at this man, or thought it not safe, or in their power to censure him, the Archbishop sent for him up, to answer for his doings, before him and the rest of the Queen's Commissioners. About a fortnight after, Withers appeared *cum magnâ confidentiâ, vultu senatorio*, as the Archbishop expressed it to the Secretary. And because the disturbance chiefly seemed to arise from some sermon that he had preached in the University, the Archbishop demanded of him his letters of licence to preach. Whereupon he produced the letters of the University; whereby he was, in the year 1563, nominated and appointed by Dr. Hawford, Vice-Chancellor, one of the twelve University Preachers. This licence the Archbishop, who was excellently skilled in the ancient customs of the University, as well as other antiquities, found to be defective, being drawn up in the name only of the Vice-Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University, without any mention of the Chancellor's name: which, according to the laudable custom, ought to have been prefixed. Anno 1565. 193

The Archbishop imparts a writing to the Secretary, shewing the original of this University privilege, of licensing preachers.

This the Archbishop signified to the Chancellor. Whereupon, and probably by the Archbishop's advice, he sent for his Vice-Chancellor, as for other matters, so to satisfy him of the power that lay in him to give these licences. And, that he might be prepared to talk with him, when he should come up, he requested the Archbishop to communicate to him some part of his University notes, concerning this business of preaching. Hereupon the Archbishop sent him a form of licence for preaching, of old custom used, and the original of that privilege granted the University. The sum of which was, that at the suit of Thomas Cabold, the Pope's lesser Penitentiary in the Roman Court, for England, Scotland, and Ireland, Julian, Bishop of Ostia, by the authority of Pope Alexander the Sixth, granted to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Chancellor of the University, and his successors,

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

licence to choose every year twelve Doctors, Masters, or Graduates, who should be in Priest's Orders, to preach through the whole kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the common seal of the University, without any other licence from any other Bishop. And for this there was a bull of the Bishop of Ostia. And upon this, Fisher the Chancellor gave licence to one Bayly, to preach throughout England, in May 1522. The Archbishop sent him also another form of licence for preaching that was then used: and that was the licence given to George Withers, which ran in the name of Edward Hawford, Vice-Chancellor, without any mention of the Chancellor: and it mentioned this, as granted to that University from the Queen's letters patents, bearing date the third year of her reign: and the licence ran *durante vita naturali*. It had also this clause, which touched the Archbishop, as an infringement upon his and his brethren's authority, *licentia ordinariorum locorum super hoc minimè requisita*. He acquainted him also, that this privilege of licensing was sued for by the University, to be granted them of King Edward VI. but not obtained. The clause containing this privilege, as it was drawn up and prepared to be inserted into the King's letters patents, the Archbishop sent to the Secretary, with the two other forms, and the clauses in the Queen's letters patents concerning this licensing. All which are reposited in the Appendix.

Number XXXV—XXXVIII.

His advice to him thereupon.

After he had imparted to the Chancellor, namely, Secretary Cecyl, these forms of licences, he told him, "He had best "look to it, or else it would grow to much inconvenience. "And that he took all their licences hitherto, in the late "form wherein that of Withers was drawn up, to be naught; "because they were not according to the ancient laudable "form, his name, as their Chancellor, not prefixed. Which "authority, he said, it were best for him to keep still; so "might the better choice be made. And to say the truth, "as he goes on, seeing their letters patents be granted, but "agreeably to their privilege, it is but a weak hole for them. "For that bull of *Episcopus Ostiensis* is long ago dead.

" That for his diocese, he was resolved, unless he saw the " Chancellor's name prefixed, they should not be received. " That he could not see what Master Vice-Chancellor's ex- " perience [who, it seems, was now come to Town] had " brought up to inform his Honour, [their Chancellor,] " more than his [the Archbishop's] notes had declared. " That they left out of their licences such words as were in " the bull of Hostiensis, whereto their style did allude. " That he took it, that though sometimes the University " seal went out by the name of the Vice-Chancellor, yet it " was not rightly done. For the incorporation was, *To the* " *Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars:* and such style were " fitter for the seal of the office. And he thought the Bi- " shop of Rochester, for the weight of the matter, would " have it pass in his name, [as it did in the first form.] And " he thought too, not without some trial, or credible inform- " ation of the worthiness of the party. In his opinion, " he added, it would be well done, that they had a form " prescribed of their licences, and so expressed in the Proc- " tors' books, and by a grace established, with the annulling " of all licences passed before. Telling him, that if they so " much abused the Queen's grant, *illa vivente*, what would " they do hereafter? He took notice also of the largeness " of the licences they granted, namely, for natural life. 194 " Whereas all Ordinaries, in their licences, granted them " more deliberately, inserting such words, *quandiu nobis* " *placuerit*, et, *dum laudabiliter te gesseris*. But they, sim- " ply, hand over head, admit all without revocation."

The state of the University, as to conformity.

This effort of Withers, before mentioned, gave occasion to look more narrowly into the manners and conformity of the students of that University. And it was also found to be there much neglected by many. Which to redress, great endeavours were used. The Queen appointed the visitors to inspect again, and regulate the University affairs. The statutes of King Edward VI. established by his Council, and delivered them by his visitors, were revised by these, and sent home again. The Queen signified her mind to the Archbishop, as to their obedience to the ecclesiastical

BOOK III.

laws for apparel, and the like; and bade him write his letters to the University, declaring in them her Majesty's pleasure. The Chancellor sent down his orders about rectifying the grant of licences, as well as other matters.

Anno 1565.

Several Heads write to the Chancellor, to stop the Queen's proclamation for enjoining the habits.

In the mean time, that I may take up here what I can retrieve of the University matters, in the month of November this year, several Heads of the University, that liked not what was now in agitation, wrote their letter unto the Chancellor: and they were men of note, namely, Robert Beaumont, Master of Trinity college, and one that had been an exile; Roger Kelk, Master of Magdalen; Matthew Hutton, Master of Pembroke hall, and the Queen's Professor, afterwards Archbishop of York; Richard Longworth, Master of St. John's; and John Whitgift, Fellow of Peter house, and Margaret Professor, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Who all subscribed this letter with their own hands. Wherein they signified to him, that they had heard now a good while, concerning an edict, or proclamation, that was to be issued out from her Majesty, for the enjoining the wearing of the old habits, and forcing all the members of the University to submit thereto. They shewed him, that there was a multitude of pious and learned men, who thought in their consciences all using of such garments was unlawful for them. So that by the imposition thereof, they must be compelled to depart. But if it should so happen, that they should go away, the University would be left very bare and destitute. They therefore thought it their duty, leaving this condition of their brethren and fellow-academics to his consideration, earnestly to beseech him, that, according to the great credit and favour that he had with the Queen, he would be their mediator with her, to remit the promulgation and publishing of this order. And that in their judgments the taking off this burden, especially considering the present state of the University, would not bring either inconvenience or danger. But on the contrary, they feared, that such imposition would prove very injurious, both to the preaching of the Gospel, and good learning. The copy of this letter I have inserted into the Appendix.

Number XXXIX.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1565.

But this letter was ill taken, and great stir was made about it; and that because of the reports, partly true and partly false, that attended it. For it was reported, that Dr. Hutton had writ against the apparel, and that he had in his public sermons preached against it, and winked at the neglect thereof. And that he and the rest had been instrumental to create disturbances in the University about it. Which caused the Chancellor to write a very sharp letter to Dr. Beaumont, his Vice-Chancellor. But the truth was otherwise. For Dr. Hutton had writ nothing of the present controversy: but something he had said in two lectures relating to it; namely, to repress the fond dealing of rash young men, in framing such grounds and arguments against apparel, as they were not able to prove. And Dr. Beaumont, in a sermon, reprehended the rash and unlawful attempts of them, which (being private men) would, by making of reformation, thrust themselves into the office of the Magistrate. Though in the afternoon, in a sermon made in St. John's chapel by Mr. Fulk, he was uncharitably spoke against for his so doing. He himself weekly wore the surplice; and for other appointed apparel, not only lived in order himself, and procured it in others, as much as he could, but also saw offenders punished, so far as the local statutes permitted; as he writ himself to the Chancellor in his own vindication.

The letter ill taken.

Beaumont excuses it.

And as for the letter, Beaumont gave this account of it. There were at that time two sore and unseemly letters drawn up by some persons; the one to the Queen's Majesty, and 195 the other to the Chancellor, whereunto many were to have subscribed. These five Heads, fearing, through the said letters, chiefly by that to her Majesty, the whole University should have incurred great displeasure, means were found, that both those letters, being rash and untrue, were stayed; and a third, with much mitigation, was writ to the Chancellor by Beaumont, and the rest; "not by them, as the said "Beaumont told the Chancellor, who sought to subvert "civil orders, but by humble scholars to their Head and "Chancellor, for the avoiding of greater inconvenience,

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

" which then, as it seemed, could not otherwise have been " repressed. But the fact being misliked, he, being it seems " the chief agent, was sorry for it: and was bent to con- " tinue in order without change, and also to see to others, " which he had to do with, as he ought." As he wrote to the Chancellor, in his letter, dated December 6.

Ancient orders for apparel in Oxford.

Among the MSS. I make use of, I meet with a paper without date, of an old handwriting, somewhat difficult to be read, with this title, *For Orders in Apparel and other things in Oxford.* Which paper belonged to Archbishop Parker: and he sent it, as I judge, to Sir William Cecyl, who was now very busy in preparing the new statutes for the University: that so the Archbishop might contribute what he could to him in so weighty a work. The Archbishop knew this would be of great force, for the clearing these two or three things. I. That it was no novel matter to prescribe apparel to such as were members of an University. II. That the prescription of apparel related not so much to religion, to distinguish him a Papist that wore it; but was a more civil matter, appointed for decency, to distinguish a scholar of the University from another man. III. That this injunction of apparel, that was now required and urged in the University, was no more than what was very anciently required and observed there. The transcript I have placed in the Appendix.

Num. XL.

The University statutes reformed, and sent down.

I hinted before, that the Chancellor of the University had this year sent down his orders for the rectifying of several things amiss there, chiefly caused by the incompliance of such as opposed the rites. It was nothing but a reformation of the University statutes; and done with great advice for the maintenance of learning and decent order within the said University. Wherein he was greatly assisted by our Archbishop. It took him up the best part of this year, before he brought the business to a conclusion. The statutes thus reformed, and sent down for the consent of the University, were generally well and gratefully received, and published in the Regent House: though some few hot-headed men there made some opposition. But by the most

and best part consented to, declaring themselves ready to execute them; as some letters sent now to the Chancellor gave him to understand.

The Archbishop's advice to the Chancellor, upon some opposition thereunto.

The Chancellor was a prudent, wary, and circumspect man, and loath to give offence, or use rigour, and so made some demur. These letters therefore from Cambridge he sent to the Archbishop to peruse, requiring his advice and judgment thereupon. Who soon after sent him this message, that by those letters it might be understood, that he, the Chancellor, had such there, that were ready to execute his orders, and they of the best sort, and of the most part, excepting a few *Catilines*, as he expressed it, who by sufferance would infect the whole. And to excite him to a resolution to punish such as were infringers of his orders, he added, " that if he, their Chancellor, of the Privy Council, and in " such place and credit as he was, should suffer so much " authority to be borne under foot by a bragging brainless " Head or two, in my opinion, said he, your conscience " shall never be excusable: praying his charity to pardon " his plainness, for he spake *ex intimo corde, ex pura con-* " *scientia, coram Deo et Christo ejus.* We mar our reli- " gion, as he proceeded; our circumspections are so vari- " able, (as though it were not God's cause, which he will " defend,) makes cowards thus to cock over us. I must say " as Demosthenes answered, what was the chief part in rhe- " toric, the second part, the third, Pronunciation, pronunci- " ation, pronunciation, said he; so say I, Execution, execu- " tion, execution of laws and orders, must be the first and " the last part of good government. Although I yet admit " moderation for times, places, multitudes, &c. And here- " after, for God's love, never stir any alterations, except it " be fully meant to have them established. For else we " shall hold us in no certainty, but be ridiculous to our ad- " versaries, contemned of our own, and give the adventure 196 " of more dangers. And thus begging him to pardon his " boldness, for his own part, he said, he reposed himself *in* " *silentio et in spe; et fortitudo mea Dominus*, however the

BOOK III.

"world fawneth or fumeth." This notable letter was writ December the 8th.

Anno 1565. Disorders in St. John's and other colleges in Cambridge.

What resolution upon this letter of the Archbishop, Cecyl the Chancellor took up, may appear by his message sent to his Vice-Chancellor two days after, *viz.* December the 10th, as we shall specify by and by, after we shall have related what happened particularly in St. John's college, where the said Chancellor was once a student, and ever after a favourer and patron of the same. For they had, by agreement of almost all the younger sort, on one and the same day, resorted to the chapel without surplices, commonly worn before, and had also innovated in some parts of the divine service, and administration of the Sacrament, then celebrated. And the like course was used in many other colleges. The tidings whereof were soon brought to Cecyl: which he took very heavily, as creating him great trouble, that orders and rules, established by public authority, should be so presumptuously broken by such, who ought peaceably to obey their lawful superiors. Therefore forthwith he sent to them, admonishing them peremptorily, that they should do as they had done always before, in obedience to order and law.

Their apology to Cecyl.

But they quickly despatched an apologizing letter for themselves; "beseeching him, that their consciences might "not be forced to the ceremonies they had laid aside; and "that he would not suffer *acerbissimum illud conscientiæ* "*servitutis jugum*, i. e. that most bitter yoke of slavery of "conscience to be again imposed upon them. That the "slavery of the body was grievous, but that of the mind, "tormented with the daily racks of conscience, was more "sharp than the most exquisite torments. That they cast "not away ceremonies out of malice, rather than a love of "truth; nor yet for vainglory, nor affectation of popu-"larity, nor contempt of laws, nor a desire of innovation. "But, that reason only compelled them to do as they had "done. And that God was witness, that what they did "was, first, that they might enjoy the peace of their con-

" sciences before God; and next, that the true and sincere " worship of God might be promoted among them."

Anno 1565.

The Master of St. John's instrumental.

Richard Longworth, B. D. was now Master of St. John's college, who was brought in two years before by the influence Leonard Pilkington, the former Master, had with Cecil: who, upon the good character Pilkington had given of him, (being his countryman and kinsman,) procured the Queen's commendatory letters in his behalf to the college, to elect him upon Pilkington's resignation. Roger Kelk, Master of Magdalen college, was his competitor at the election. And of sixteen that gave their votes, eleven of them were for the latter. One was for the Bishop of Winchester, and four suppressed their votes for that time. The eleven urged, (and so they writ to Cecyl,) that they were bound by oath to choose the best, the fittest, and the most worthy man. And that, though they desired not to make any reflections upon Mr. Longworth by their letters, yet they all knew him to be in all respects inferior to Kelk, *ut salvâ fide juramenti æquare non possimus, nedum, quod postulabatur præponere;* i. e. that, saving their oath, they could not equal Longworth with him, much less (as was required) prefer him before him. However, matters were so managed, (upon the pretence of Pilkington's resignation to Longworth,) that Longworth became Master of the college. It was to his connivance (if not counsel) that all the foresaid new reformation happened in the college; he in the mean time absenting himself, while this was to be transacted. But for which, he, being found to be the secret orderer of this disorder, must be called to account.

The Chancellor sends to redress these disorders in Cambridge.

It is now time for the Chancellor of the University to concern himself in this affair: and with all convenient haste thus imparts his mind and his commands to his Vice-Chancellor, mentioning " how perplexed he was with this insolency of the youth: because the authority of the Queen " was invaded, by breaking the common order made for the " government of the University." And in another letter after this, he mildly, after his manner, but effectually, declared and pronounced in what method of animadversion the

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

Vice-Chancellor (whom he called his principal officer) should proceed, for the taking punishment upon the disobedient, and for the restraint and prevention of such exorbitances for the future: and this, "both by virtue of his authority, as "Chancellor of that University, and also on account of his "service with his Prince: which would empower and call "upon him to reform disordered persons in any part of the "realm. Yet notwithstanding, that he had acquainted the "Queen with this violation of her ordinances; and that she "was much provoked with the offence they had given her. "And therefore had enjoined him to punish such as were "faulty: offering also to him her own princely aid for the "effectual doing of it. Which however he thought fit to "decline, and to make use only of his own lawful power."

197

His directions to the Vice-Chancellor. MSS. G. P. Armig.

In short, he directed the Vice-Chancellor to call together the Heads, and other grave men of the University; and in his name, for the honour of God, and for the preservation of Christian unity, to charge all, that they should persist in the observation of uniform order in these external things, to make a demonstration of obedience, and render a testimony of unity; and also to prevent the farther decay of the estimation of the ministry, which did daily evidently decay. And that, as for such as had preached against these orders in such a riotous manner, they to be prohibited to preach or read publicly for a time. The ringleaders of those late disturbances in private colleges to have some time allotted them to reform themselves; otherwise to be utterly excluded the University. Notwithstanding, he did permit the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of colleges to use some sharper courses, if they thought fit: but that such as would reform themselves should be gently used. But I had rather the reader should peruse this excellent letter himself, proceeding from a very wise man, as it came from his own pen. It is in the Appendix.

Num. XLI.

And for St. John's college.

As for St. John's college, where these innovations chiefly began, he ordered the Vice-Chancellor to give a general warning to the President, for the members to reform themselves, and not to persist in their wantonness, at their peril.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1565.

And for Mr. Longworth, the Master, who countenanced these irregularities among the scholars, and Mr. Fulk, a preacher, who had taken upon him in a sermon to heat the minds of the youth against the habits and other usages enjoined; the Chancellor sent for them both up, meaning to deal more roundly with them. And for this course (as he wrote to the Vice-Chancellor in his said letter) he had the attestation of his own conscience, to take up this audacity in the beginning, and the Queen's express commandment, that in nowise her authority should be in this manner violated. The issue was, that Longworth was brought to declare and confess his fault before him; and at his return to Cambridge, to read a paper openly in the college, relating his crime, and promise better to regulate the Fellows and the rest of the scholars of the house. And this paper was subscribed with his own hand. But when he came to read it in his college, how he shuffled, in leaving out words and sentences, and sometimes making alterations, may be seen in the authentic copy thereof in the Appendix. N°. XLII.

Annals of Reform. p. 442.

So that it is evident he was not hearty in his confession, nor promise of endeavour to reform these abuses. Some account hath been given of these matters in the Annals of the Reformation.

A letter from one in the University, complaining of these men.

A letter in this juncture came to the Chancellor, dated December 12, from Bartholomew Clerk, a learned member of the University, who was afterwards Official of the Arches, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. In which letter he complained of these men, whom he called *Fanatici Superpelliciani et Galeriani*, "That they made "such disturbances by their counsels, that the time that be- "fore was wont to be taken up in the study of the arts and "sciences was now spent and trifled away in fruitless dispu- "tations *de lana caprina:* blaming those, though otherwise "good and religious men, who first brought in among them "such seminaries. Adding, that they feigned to themselves "unheard-of laws of conscience, and infected many with "their venom, not to say Anabaptistical principles. And "in fine, hearing how busy his Honour was at that time in

BOOK III. Anno 1565. 198

" preparing good orders for them, entreated him, that he " would be the means of rectifying the exercises of their " pulpits and theatres, which had sounded a great while " with nothing almost but fond new paradoxes; and put a " stop to their controversies, or rather wild errors." Whosoever is minded to read and see the state then of the University may have recourse to this letter, which I have reposited in the Appendix. N°. XLIII.

CHAP. IV.

The Archbishop's care of the University. Withers apologizes for himself to the Archbishop. His compliance; afterwards travels beyond seas. A controversy between Dr. Caius, Master of Caius college, and some of the Fellows, referred to the Archbishop. He is accused to the Archbishop of irreligion and Popery. The Archbishop's displeasure at him.

Private practices at Court to obstruct the Chancellor.

ABOUT this very time our Archbishop received a private letter, as it seems, from Court, that gave him some secret intelligence of the practices of certain of the great men and counsellors, to obstruct what the Chancellor was now a doing. To him the Archbishop, December 13, conveyed this letter, to peruse and send him back again: saying, he saw " there " were strange doings among the wiser sort." So extraordinary diligent and pensive was our Archbishop for the reducing of the University, as well as the Clergy, to unity and obedience to the lawful commands of their superiors.

These frequent solicitations and counsels of the Archbishop added new spirit to the Chancellor, and put him upon doing somewhat effectually in order to uniformity in the University.

Withers promiseth to wear the cap.

But to return to Withers before mentioned, thus much appears by a letter of his own writing to the Archbishop; that (besides his making himself noted for setting the University in a combustion, as we shewed before) he drew up

certain articles at Cambridge against the square cap and surplice: which articles, however concealed among his friends, yet soon came to the knowledge of the Archbishop; for which he was the more offended with him. But Withers made this apology for himself, that those articles were written upon this occasion; that one, whom he took for his very friend, came to him after his return from London, (whither he had been summoned before the Archbishop, as was said before,) and persuaded him not to stick at the cornered cap; promising him, that if he would give him his reasons that moved him, he would cause them to be answered to his satisfaction. And so he wrote those articles, and delivered them to his said friend, requiring him to make good his promise. Another copy of them he lent to one of Trinity hall, that saw them in his chamber, and desired to read them. By the means of one of these two he supposed they came to be communicated to others: and so the Archbishop came acquainted with it by some who thought thereby either to work him displeasure, or to procure themselves favour; as he excused himself to the Archbishop. Anno 1565.

Before this, the Archbishop, upon his refusal to enter bonds for the wearing of the cornered cap, had inhibited and retrenched him from preaching. But upon better thoughts, when he was come down from London, he was contented to comply to wear it. And on the 24th of May he promised the same to the Archbishop: making this excuse or reason for altering his mind, "that the men of Bury (whose offence "he chiefly feared) had been earnest in hand with him "rather to wear a cap than to forsake them; promising "never the more to regard it or esteem it for his wearing of "it, as was related before." Hence in a journey he took to Ipswich, taking Bury in his way, he gave them two sermons. Which he did, as he said, so much the rather, for that divers of his friends were greatly endangered by bargains which they sold, provoked by the brags of adversaries, to be paid when he preached again in Bury. MS. G. P. Armig.

I find him not long after leaving the nation, and travelling beyond sea, sent, as it seems, by the Dissenters, to the 199 Withers travels to Zurich.

BOOK III.

foreign Churches, as to Geneva. And among other places he visited, he went to Zurich, the famous harbour and sanc-

Anno 1565.

tuary for many of the English Protestant scholars in Queen Mary's days: where he became acquainted with those who were their great acquaintance and favourers, *viz.* Bullinger and Gualter, and had much discourse with them about our Church matters in the year 1567: and they, I am apt to think, satisfied and confirmed him in compliance with the Church's orders. For he was afterwards a parish Minister in England; and though he fully approved not of all the rites, yet submitted to them for peace sake: and was living in the year 1583 at Danbury in Essex, and had the Lord Burghley to his friend, however he might have censured him in former times, when he was the occasion of such a tumult in Cambridge. To the said Lord in that year he wrote a letter against the purpose that was then in hand by Archbishop Whitgift, that all the Clergy should be obliged to subscribe to the Common Prayer Book: as we may have occasion (God granting life and health) to mention more at large in due place.

The Archbishop appealed to by Caius college.

During these heats about ecclesiastical matters, a case of another nature, between the Master and Fellows of Gonvil hall, came before our Archbishop in the month of December. The Master, Dr. Caius, who was also a Founder of the college, had in a fit of anger taken some advantage against three of the Fellows, Dethike, Spencer, and Clerk, for some breach of statute, and expelled them out of the college; charging them withal with perjury. Upon this the Fellows made an appeal to the Archbishop, but not in so regular and orderly manner as ought to have been in such cases. But his Grace saw that Dr. Caius had been to blame, as well as the Fellows. Whereupon he blameth both, but more severely the Master. Who nevertheless was willing to commit the final issue to the Archbishop's decision. But so were not the Fellows; because they perceived he would not restore them to their fellowships, which they above all desired, that they might win the victory over the Master. But when they had brought away their cause from him to the

The Chancellor appealed to by the college.

Chancellor Cecyl, to him the Archbishop signified what he would have done in case they had left the business to him: whereby one may see an instance of his prudence and good judgment. He would not grant a restitution to the Fellows, for he spied, he said, so long as Caius was Master there, and they Fellows, there would be maintained nothing but continual brawling; and the rather, for that their appellation was not lawfully made, nor orderly prosecuted. And the drift was, as he judged, for Dethike to continue such sticklers in the college, of his pupils, as might win him in time, by hook or by crook, the Master's room. For the ending therefore of their controversies, he thought good to cause a writing indented to be made between them, whereby the Fellows should appear willingly to depart from their fellowships; and yet to have one year's profits for their *ultimum vale:* to be borne for Spencer out of Caius's own purse, and for the other two to be borne by the college. And that the Master should express to discharge them of the note of expulsion, and the crime of perjury, that might be to their hinderance afterwards. And further, he meant within the compass of that year to have bestowed Dethike in some benefice, and the other two in some other fellowships in other colleges: but because they liked not of this, as trusting of further friendship elsewhere, the Archbishop gave them over.

The Archbishop delivers his judgment in this contest.

It appears, by another letter of the Archbishop, that the Chancellor had referred this business to him, (together with the Bishop of London,) knowing him to be well seen in University matters, and especially in this. And this account he gave the said Chancellor. He confirmed "the removal "of these Fellows to be needful for the quiet of the society. "That they had before sued to him, and he promised them to "deal with the Master, to obtain from him more commodity "for them than he took them worthy to have. Only resti- "tution to their fellowships he would not move: wherein "he saw good cause. For if they were there, he said, "trouble would ever arise. And that these Fellows had "divers marks to shoot at, which he thought good should

BOOK III. Anno 1565.

" be disappointed. He saw the faction had laboured very
" much in this matter. He saw even much rashness in the
" Master for expelling Fellows so suddenly: and both he
200 " and the Bishop of London had told him sufficiently of
" it: but that the contumelious behaviour of those Fellows
" had much provoked him. The Archbishop confessed he
" rather bore with the oversight of the Master, being no
" greater than as yet he saw, in respect of the good he had
" done, and like to do, in the college, than with the brags
" of a fond sort of *troublesome factious bodies*, as he called
" them. Founders and Benefactors, he added, were very rare
" in these days. Therefore he did bear the less with such as
" would (but in a mere triumph) deface him, and respected
" more that conquest than any quiet in the house. And
" the rather, for that he thought, that if this matter were
" ended, there would arise no more trouble in such kind
" there. For the Master had firmly assured him to do
" nothing in such innovations, but partly with his know-
" ledge and approbation first, and other of his friends. But
" in his opinion undoubtedly, *computatis omnibus circum-*
" *stantiis*, he thought it nothing meet to have them restored
" again, what other commodities soever they might have of
" favourable departing. And added this counsel, that if his
" Honour should hear their challenges, he should hear such
" cumbrous trifles and brattles, that he should be weary.
" And he would not wish particular colleges in these times
" should learn to have, by forced appellations, a recourse to
" his authority, as Chancellor, for the precedent sake here-
" after. And again, he would not have his time so drawn
" from better doings in the weighty causes of the realm.
" Besides, controversies, he said, were now many and trou-
" blous. And their delight was to come before men of au-
" thority, to shew their wits, &c. And he could not tell
" how, but so it came to pass, that such busy sorts drew
" them up some of the graver personages to be doers, *an ex*
" *sinceritate et ex bona conscientia, nescio.* His old expe-
" rience there had taught him to spy daylight at a little
" hole." Thus gravely and wisely he delivered his judgment.

But the Fellows were not wanting to scrape into their Master's life and manners for crimes to lay to his charge, and drew up certain articles against him. Some whereof made a deep impression upon the pious Archbishop; as not only sounding to and favouring atheism, but plainly expressing the same, with further shew of a perverse stomach to the professors of the Gospel. Whereupon the Archbishop said, if he were credibly persuaded of these things, he would take him *tanquam ethnicum et publicanum*, and would not vouchsafe him within his house, where, it seems, he sometimes resorted, and was harboured, his house being a receptacle for learned men. And Caius was not only a man of great learning, but his countryman too. There is a difference, said he, between the frailty of a man's mutability, (for he had professed himself Papist and Protestant, according as the different religions prevailed under the Kings and Queens of those times,) and a professing of plain impiety. And he gave his opinion to the Chancellor, that he should send to his Vice-Chancellor, to inquire further into the truth of this accusation: and that if it could be indifferently testified before the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Hutton, and one other indifferent man, it were good to suspend him, whatsoever orders he, the Vice-Chancellor, intended to take with the Fellows of the house. And if it fell out that these articles could be well testified, the Archbishop said, he would wish a better in his place, to govern the house, and he to hold himself in his foundership, if he would. "For he liked "not," as he said, "the stones builded by such impiety."

Anno 1565. The Fellows draw up articles against Caius, their Master.

His atheism;

Probably Caius thought the better to cover his former instability in religion, by throwing out expressions occasionally, whereby he would pretend to have had little zeal for any religion: or his aim might be to obscure his secret kindness for the old Popish religion. For that he had a kindness for it, appeared in his private reservation of abundance of Popish trumpery: which he might think would come in play again; and so out of good husbandry preserved them, to save the college the charge of buying new furniture for the chapel. But in the year 1572 all came out. For the

And favour to the Popish religion.

BOOK III. Anno 1565.

fame hereof coming to the ears of Sandys, Bishop of London, he wrote earnestly to Dr. Byng, Vice-Chancellor, to see those superstitious monuments abolished. Byng could hardly have been persuaded that such things had been by him reserved: but causing Caius's own company to make search in that college, he received an inventory of much Popish ware: as vestments, albes, tunicles, stoles, manicles, corporas cloths, with the pix and sindon, and canopy; be-
201 sides holy water stops, with sprinkles, pax censors, superaltaries, tables of idols, mass books, portuises and grailes, with other such stuff, as might have furnished divers Masters at one instant. It was thought good, by the whole consent of the Heads of houses, to burn the books, and such other things as served most for idolatrous abuses, and to cause the rest to be defaced. Which was accomplished the 13th of December, 1572, with the willing hearts, as it appeared, of the whole company of that house.

Which nevertheless he labours to conceal.

But however Caius stood affected this way, he laboured to dissemble his good-will to it; and would be thought a good Protestant. Of which I meet with this instance. There was one Depup, a Scholar of his college in his time, that was greatly suspected to be Popish, and well known to be notoriously vicious. Of whom therefore the said Master and Founder had so great disliking, that he gave special order before his death, that the said Depup should never be Fellow. Though Dr. Legg, that succeeded Master, soon after his coming to the college, brought him into a fellowship.

Other defects in Caius.

These were some of Dr. Caius's defects; and others might be named: as, that he too much affected superiority over his Fellows; and was observed to be the first that made the innovation of preferring a junior Fellow to be President, whereas before in that college the senior Fellow was always President, and that only in the Master's absence. This was the cause of much strife and contention afterwards in the college. For in the next Master's time, as I find in some papers relating to that college, there happened a fierce contest betwixt a senior Fellow and a junior, who had been by the Master made President: the senior notwithstanding

striving for the upper place at their assemblies, both in the chapel and elsewhere. In which quarrel the Fellows backed him, against the Master, being desirous to keep the ancient custom of the house, and to destroy that innovation of Caius. But the said person having merited so much of that college by his noble benefactions, and of the whole commonwealth of learning, it is pity that these or any other frailties in him should now, after so long a time, rise up in judgment against him. And so I take my leave of him, and beg the reader's pardon for this digression.

CHAP. V.

The Archbishop's care in providing Lent preachers before the Queen. Deliberates about appointing Dean Nowel to be one; with whom the Queen had been displeased. The Archbishop reviseth the combination of those preachers. His concern for filling two vacant Welsh bishoprics. Appointeth a visitation for Bangor. Recommends Herle, Master of Manchester college, for that see. The usefulness of that college. His judgment of certain salt works in Kent.

IT being now the latter end of January, the Archbishop's thoughts were busied about providing preachers before the Queen the ensuing Lent. Which was the chief, if not the only time in the year of her Majesty's hearing sermons, if we may believe a late writer. This business, it seems, then lay upon the Archbishop, (though now upon the Lord Chamberlain of the household,) and it created the Archbishop a great and anxious care. For it was somewhat hard in those times to procure a sufficient number of able and fit preachers for that audience, such a scarcity there then was of them. Insomuch as once they failed of a preacher. Which was a matter that the Puritans threw much in our Prelate's teeth: as that he should proceed

The Archbishop provides Lent preachers.

Howel's Ep. vol. 4. let. 12.

BOOK III.

so hotly to urge conformity upon Ministers, and thereby endanger the casting out of the Church divers preachers, when he himself saw what a need there was of them, that the Queen's turn in Lent could hardly be served. He therefore feared the like sequel of reproof, as was by insultation oft rehearsed of the adversaries. But this accusation was partly true, and partly false: for there was a competent number of preachers even in those times; though not such as were in all points fit to stand in a pulpit, and discourse before so critical and learned a Princess as Queen Elizabeth. The Archbishop sent the Secretary a list of the combination of the preachers, which is in the Appendix, consisting of four Bishops, four Deans, four Doctors, and the rest Masters.

Anno 1565. 202

N°. XLIV.

Nowel, Dean of Paul's, nominated by him.

Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, was then a famed preacher, and him the Archbishop thought upon for one of these Lent preachers, as he commonly was one. But because of the great check that good man received at Court, March last, both from the Queen and some of the popishly affected courtiers, before the Archbishop concluded upon him, he wished the Secretary could understand the Queen's inclination. For, he said, if the Queen should not like, after her accustomed manner, to favour him, and give him the hearing, he would be hardly entreated to occupy the place. For if she liked not a man that was put up to preach, she would absent. And according to the answer he should receive from the Secretary, so he intended to invite the Dean to dine with him, and then to move him to officiate a day or two. But he had a further reach by this message to the Secretary; namely, to engage him to interpose his interest with the Queen, for the reconciling her to the good Dean. For (as he said) by her displeasure towards him, she would but please the Papists, and discourage her good Protestants. For he added, "If the Papists be angry, (though in a "flattery they dissemble to win,) and the poor Protestant "discouraged, it will make an universal disliking, and "kindle grudging, and secret vain talkings. *Tanti est in "tam factioso sæculo æquabilitatem servare.* God bless

Jan. 29.

"her Highness long to reign over us *in pace et veritate*." By which two words he seemed to aim at Dissenters and Papists. The one sort the obstructers of *peace*, and the other of *truth*.

Some account of Nowel.

Indeed Nowel in these times was reckoned an excellent Divine, and much esteemed by the heads of our Church. He was employed by the Bishop of London, in the last plague, to compose an homily suitable to that occasion. And he was put upon making his Catechism by some great persons in the Church, on purpose to stop a clamour, that then went among the Roman Catholics, that the Protestants had no principles. And the Convocation, that met in the year 1562, diligently reviewed this Catechism, and interlined it in some places; and so it was by them unanimously approved, and allowed as their own book, and owned doctrine. And when Mr. Dorman, in the preface to his Disproof, reflected upon the learning and abilities of Nowel, and charged him for some upstart preacher upon his return from his exile, he spake thus in his own vindication;

Nowel's Confutation, p. 22.

"That he had endured sundry years, both in his country "and exile, reading, not scattered scraps of old overworn "heretics, (as Dorman lay to his charge,) but the whole "body of the holy Scripture, and whole volumes of the "best ancient Doctors. Neither could any his acquaintance "marvel, that he returning home was become suddenly a "preacher, as the other affirmed; who did right well "know, that he was a preacher fifteen years ago, [that is, "about the year 1550 or 1551,] yea, and had preached in "some the notablest places and auditories in this realm, be-"fore he went out of his country."

Dr. Cary nominated to preach in Nowel's room.

But to return to the Lent preachers: whether or no the Archbishop were not secure enough of the Queen's favour towards this Dean, or whether it were some other unwillingness in him, or whether his present study in answering Dorman's book, were hinderances; but he pretended the last, and so prayed the Archbishop to be discharged this Lent. And so he was. And in his room the Archbishop put Dr. Cary, the Dean of Exeter, and Dean of the Queen's chapel:

BOOK III. and the rather, for his vindication against one Gibbs, probably a Puritan, who had foully defamed the said Dean to be altogether unlearned.

Anno 1565.

The combination of Lent preachers revised by the Archbishop.

The method used in providing these preachers was this; that the Secretary, upon the Archbishop's nomination, drew up bills of such persons as he judged proper and acceptable to preach before the Queen. Which bills he sent to the Archbishop, for his judgment therein, and to alter as he thought good. And accordingly he was to send unto such as were appointed, that they should prepare themselves, giving them timely notice thereof. In the bill sent him this year, the Archbishop made but little alteration, more than that was mentioned above, and the removal of Dr. Pern: who, however he were an excellent preacher, yet was at this time under some dislike. To the rest he had spoken or sent. But many of them returned no answer, whether they should come or no. But for avoiding a failing in any, which once happened, and made so much clamour, he bespake his Chaplain, Mr. Bickley, who was afterwards Bishop of Chichester, to be ready to supply for all such wants.

203

Deliberation had about filling the vacancies of Landaff and Bangor.

In the latter end of this year, to wit, in February, resolution was taken for the speedy supplying of two Welsh bishoprics, namely, that of Landaff, and that of Bangor.

Landaff.

The former of which had been two or three years before in effect void, and wanted a vigilant Bishop to manage that diocese. Which therefore the Archbishop, in the year 1563, had earnestly put the Secretary in mind of. But the great dilapidations had so impoverished that see, that few that were honest and able would be persuaded to meddle with it.

Bangor.

As for Bangor, that diocese was also much out of order, there being no preaching used, and pensionary concubinacy openly continued: which was, allowance of concubines to the Clergy by paying a pension; notwithstanding the liberty of marriage granted. And the Archbishop was at that time earnestly solicited to have such a Commissioner there as kept openly three concubines, as men of good reputation offered to prove before him. Things in fine were in

such disorder here, that our Archbishop was desired by some well affected of that country to have a visitation, and to set such order there, as whosoever should come to the bishopric should be forced to prosecute it. And accordingly a visitation was instituted the next year by the Archbishop's commission to Dr. Yale: which did great good, as he that was afterwards Bishop there wrote him word. Anno 1565.

So that Wales being in an evil condition as to religion, the inhabitants remaining still greatly ignorant and superstitious, the Queen left it particularly to the care of the Archbishop to recommend fit persons for those two sees, now to be disposed of. And accordingly he writ to the Secretary for one Hugh Jones to be preferred to Landaff, whom Dr. Lewis, a civilian, and two or three other such, had informed him well of. But while he was preparing an instrument for this Jones's *commendams*, Davies, an exile in Queen Mary's days, and now Bishop of St. David's, sent certain letters to the Archbishop, giving a character of him different to what the Archbishop had heard before. Which made him stop his instruments; and the letter he thought good to send to the Secretary, telling him, that he should be loath, after so long tarriance for Landaff, the Queen's Majesty should be deceived, and her good people not well appointed. But a few days after, he hearing better of the man, proceeded to the finishing of his business. Jones nominated to Landaff.

To Bangor the Earl of Pembroke recommended one Dr. Ellis, that had been aforetime Sheriff of the county: but was neither Priest, nor had a priestly disposition. Which made the Archbishop say, he had rather dissent from that Lord, than to commend a doubtful man to the Queen's Highness; and on whom, as yet persuaded, he would be loath to lay his hands; and that he, the said Ellis, might otherwise do good service. The Archbishop therefore recommended one Hewit, a Welshman, whom he knew himself, and dared upon his own credit to commend. And if the Queen had sought a great way to supply that room, there were not a fitter man. But a few days after, his mind began to alter, having conferred with some wise men, partly The Archbishop recommends Hewit for Bangor.

BOOK III.

of the same country, who, in respect of good to be done there in that diocese, wished no Welshman in Bangor; they banded so much together in kindred, that a Bishop could not do as he would for his alliance sake. And he learned, that country was much afraid either of Ellis or Hewit, who were, he said, very stout men: that is, who would not be opposed, but vigorously pursue their purposes. And in that regard were only commended. *Et præterea quoad mores episcopales nihil.*

Anno 1565.

Robinson nominated Bishop of Bangor.

So at last the Secretary propounded one Robinson, as a person well known and beloved in that country, and a Welshman, and one that was much desired by the people there. And considering these and such like things, and probably to decline giving the Earl of Pembroke offence, if the Earl's man should have been refused, and the Archbishop's accepted; the said Archbishop allowed of the Secretary's judgment: and so he was accordingly preferred to the diocese, though his consecration happened not till October following. This Robinson was a grave learned man, and one of the Divines who was lately called in to consult with the Bishops' Commissioners about the apparel. We shall hear more of him under the next year.

204

Recommends the Warden of Manchester for a future avoidance.

The Archbishop had his eye upon one Mr. Herle, the Queen's Chaplain, and now Warden of Manchester. Whom though he judged not to be made Bishop of Bangor for this turn, yet he could willingly have seen him placed there upon some future avoidance. And if he thought, as he told the Secretary, the Queen would allow of him for that dignity hereafter, he would join him with some other learned men presently to go through that diocese by way of a visitation: adding, that he thought Mr. Herle a grave priestly man, and should well furnish the office with *commendams* of his other livings, which he then had, though he should give over Manchester, where he could have little rest. But such a visitation he was so wary as not to undertake, without first having consulted with the Secretary; desiring therefore some signification of his mind in the matter; and so he would frame himself accordingly. For he

Designs a visitation of Bangor diocese.

knew (he said) what jealous eyes were wont in those days to be cast upon the doings of the Bishops, and how severely their actions would be censured.

The state of Manchester college.

The mention of the *little rest* the Warden of Manchester took, brings to my mind a letter of complaint he was forced to send up to the Lord Treasurer Burghley some years after this, *viz.* 1574. The enemies to religion, whereof there were many in the north, had a particular envy against this college, that maintained godly preachers, which they saw tended to the expelling of their Popish darkness, and to the disposing the people to receive the Gospel. The Queen had issued out a commission to the Archbishop of York, and others, to look into the state of that college. Which they did, placing honest and learned men there; and ordering the lands and revenues thereof, as was most necessary for hospitality and relieving the poor. But it appeared how displeased some were herewith. For soon after one of the college, a Bachelor in Divinity, riding to a chapel belonging to the parish, to preach there, was set upon in the way by one of Manchester, who taking his horse by the bridle, drew his dagger, and beat and wounded the preacher with three wounds: and if his horse had not broken out of the other's hands, in likelihood he had killed him. Nor was it the first time their preachers had been so used. They had also caused an attorney of the duchy of Lancaster to enter upon certain lands of the college, called *obit lands*, upon pretence that they were concealed lands; though they were contained within the letters patents of their foundation. And before this, upon the deprivation of Herle's popish predecessor, they took also all their evidences, and letters patents, and other plates and ornaments, as much as was worth five hundred marks, whereof the plate was the Queen's. And although they had proof into whose hands it came, yet it was kept from them. These complaints the Warden made to the Lord Treasurer, who was their true friend, and had before this time saved the college from utter spoil and destruction. He desired them still to help their poor college, that it might be able to maintain learned men,

BOOK III.

to the help of the country. This letter I have put among the monuments in the Appendix. To which I have subjoined another, whereby may appear, in how ill a state that college was divers years after.

Anno 1565. No. XLV. XLVI.

His judgment of the salt works in Kent.

This year was a project for salt works in Kent set on foot by several persons of quality; one whereof was the Earl of Pembroke, and among the rest the Secretary Cecyl, and the Queen herself. Now because these works would require much firing, the aforesaid Earl sent his Secretary, and Cecyl his servant Mount, in the month of February, to the Archbishop, desiring him out of his woods to supply them with wood, and to use their interest with others in Kent for the buying of more. Whereupon he ordered forty oaks, and twenty or thirty acres of wood of his own, to be felled for that use; and appointed a person to attend upon the Earl's Secretary, when he went down into Kent; and directed the said Earl and Cecyl, to the Dean of Can-
205 terbury, and one Mr. Rolf, to be sped with what they should need more. But he seemed to make some doubt of the success of this their purpose. He told Secretary Cecyl, that he doubted not, but they had well considered the likelihood of the matter, wishing it good success; better than he knew the like to take place about thirty years past in his county, about Walsingham side. From whence came to Norwich, by cart, great plenty. So that the price of the bushel fell from sixteen pence to sixpence. But after experience, they ceased of their buying, and fell to their old salt again, three pecks whereof went further than a bushel of that white, fair, fine salt. He considered also to Cecyl the inconvenience that might come to Kent hereby; partly by wasting the woods by salt making, as it had been before by Dover pier, and other where, by saltpetre making; and partly by planting many strangers about the sea-coasts, who were to manage the works, having great store of them at Sandwich and Norwich already. So that he thought it might be doubted, what good might come to the common-

His good counsel to the undertakers.

wealth thereby. And in conclusion he propounded to the undertakers a good work, out of the love he bore to that

country, and that was, that in case God gave it success in that country, then if the Queen of her princely liberality, and the Lords, the gainers, would convert part of that gain to the repairing and maintaining Dover haven, that would redound indeed to the great honour and wealth of the realm: more, he meant, than mere salt making would do to the honour and wealth of the nation. Which had been, probably, so much pretended by the undertakers.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1565.

CHAP. VI.

The Geneva Bible comes forth. The Archbishop's judgment thereof. The editions of that Bible. A new translation of the Bible set forward by the Archbishop. The Bishops employed therein. Over which the Archbishop hath the chief inspection. The said Bishops' letters and advices.

THE Geneva Bible had been once printed already at Geneva, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; *viz.* in the year 1560, by Rowland Harle, in 4to. For when the English congregation came away from thence, and were gone homeward, upon the death of Queen Mary, some of them remained behind, to finish an English translation of the Bible, and some of the Psalms in metre. Which was begun by some of the godly and learned English exile preachers there, at the charge of such as were of the best ability in that congregation.

Geneva Bible.

Troubles at Frankford.

It may not be amiss here to give some more particular account of the undertaking of this translation. These Geneva translators, who were Miles Coverdale, John Knox, W. Whittingham, Ant. Gilby, and some others, were sensible that the former English translation required to be perused and reformed: "Divers errors therein being occasioned by "the infancy of those times, and imperfect knowledge of "the tongues, in respect of the ripe age, and clear light "which God afterwards revealed, as they speak themselves

Some account of the Geneva translation.

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

" in the preface. Hence divers learned and godly men, " by their earnest desire and exhortation, put them upon " this work; being encouraged also by the ready wills " of such, whose heart God had touched, not to spare any " charges for the furtherance of such a benefit towards " God's Church." Another encouragement to them was the present opportunity and occasion, that God then afforded them, by the means of so many godly and learned men, where they were, and such diversities of translations into divers tongues; which they then had the liberty of consulting. And as to their carefulness and sincerity in the work, they said for themselves, that they might with a good conscience protest, that they had in every point and word, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased Almighty God to give them, faithfully rendered the text,
206 and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same.

See the preface.

" For God is our witness," say they, " that we have by all " means endeavoured to set forth the purity of the word, " and right sense of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the " brethren in faith and charity." And as they chiefly observed the sense, so they reverently kept the propriety of the words; considering that the Apostles, who spake and wrote to the Gentiles in the Greek tongue, rather constrained them to the lively phrase of the Hebrew, than mollified their language to speak as the Gentiles did. And for this and other causes, they in many places reserved the Hebrew phrases, notwithstanding they might seem somewhat hard in their ears, that were not well practised in the phrases of holy Scripture.

How long they were upon the work.

So at last, after the labour and study of two years and more, day and night, they finished their translation, and published it, as was said before, in the year 1560, prefixing an epistle dedicatory before it to the Queen, and another epistle, by way of preface, to the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

What was done in this Bible.

That which was done in this Geneva Bible, beside the translation, was all this that followeth.

I. Because some translations read after one sort, and

some after another, they noted in the margin the diversities of speech, and reading, especially according to the Hebrew.

II. Where the Hebrew speech seemed hardly to agree with ours, they noted in the margin, using that which was more intelligible.

III. Though many of the Hebrew names were altered from the old text, and restored to the true writing, and first original, yet in the usual names little was changed, for fear of troubling the simple readers.

IV. Whereas the necessity of the sentence required any thing to be added, whether verb, or some other word, they put it in the text with another kind of letter, that it might easily be discerned from the common letter of the text.

V. As touching the division of the verses, they followed the Hebrew examples, adding the number to each verse.

VI. The principal matters were noted; and the arguments both for each book and for each chapter.

VII. They set over the head of every page some notable word or sentence, for the help of memory.

VIII. They set brief annotations upon all the hard places, as well for the understanding of obscure words, as for declaration of the text. And for this purpose they diligently read the best commentaries, and had much conference with godly and learned brethren.

IX. They set forth with figures certain places in the books of Moses, of the Kings, and Ezekiel; which seemed so dark, that by no other description they could be made easy to the reader.

X. They added certain maps of cosmography, of divers places and countries, partly described, and partly by occasion touched, both in the Old and New Testament.

XI. They adjoined two profitable tables: the one of interpretations of Hebrew names, and the other containing all the chief and principal matters of the whole Bible.

Intention of reprinting it.

But this year, 1565, the Bible was preparing for a second impression. So earnestly did the people of the nation thirst,

BOOK III.

in those days, after the knowledge of the Scriptures, that that first impression was soon sold off. As this Bible had been set forth before by a joint company of men, (the name of one whereof, and I think the chief undertaker, was * John Bodleigh), so about the beginning of March they had finished a careful review and correction of this translation, in order to the reprinting it. Bodleigh had applied himself unto the Queen's Secretary Cecyl, for the renewing of his privilege with longer term of years than was at first granted them, for the new printing of this Bible, that had been by him and his associates before published. But the Secretary suspended giving his furtherance, until he had heard the advice of the Archbishop, and Bishop of London. Whereupon Bodleigh repaired unto them, and signified the charge that he and the rest had been at, by the last impression, and by the late review, desiring their letter to the Secretary. The Secretary, I suppose, might make some scruple at the encouragement of this new impression, because the Bishops had intended themselves speedily to publish a fair and accurate English translation. But both the Archbishop and Bishop willingly gave their letters to the Secretary in Bodleigh's behalf. Writing to him, "That they thought so "well of the first impression, and the review of those who "had since travelled therein, that they wished it would please "him to be a means, that twelve years longer term might "be by special privilege granted him, in consideration of "the charges by him and his associates in the first impres- "sion, and the review sithence sustained. And that though "one other special Bible for the churches were meant by "them to be set forth, as convenient time and leisure here- "after should permit; yet should it nothing hinder, but "rather do much good, to have diversity of translations "and readings. And, that if the licence hereafter to be "made, went simply forth, without *proviso* of their over- "sight, as they thought it might so pass well enough; yet "they told the Secretary, they would take such order with "the party, in writing [under his hand,] that no impres-

Anno 1565.

* Who was one of those that upon the troubles that arose at Frankford upon the Geneva discipline, went thence to Geneva.

207

The Archbishop's letter to the Secretary, to further it.

" sion should pass but by their direction, consent, and ad- " vice." This was writ from Lambeth, signed by the Archbishop, and Bishop of London, March 9th. Anno 1565.

I am not able to say, whether this Bible was soon after reprinted, upon this allowance and recommendation of these Prelates. I am apt to think it was not. For I find the author of the Treatise of the troubles at Frankford, which was not published till nine or ten years after this, makes this complaint: " If that Bible be such, as no enemy of " God could justly find fault with, then may men marvel, " that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small " favour, as not to be printed again." Whatever the cause were, it was not surely from any discouragement the translation found from the Bishops. For they do, by the forequoted letter under their hands, like and approve it, and recommend the undertakers to the Secretary, to procure for them the Queen's licence to reprint it. Unless the reason were, that the undertakers were loath to subscribe to the terms that were demanded by the Bishops, that the impression should not pass without their direction, consent, and advice. Yet in the year 1576 I find it was reprinted, and again three years after, *viz.* 1579.

Yet not reprinted.

Viz. 1575.

From the former letter it appears, that the Archbishop and Bishops had not yet prepared and published their Great Bible: though the Bishop of Sarum supposed it came forth in the year 1561, or soon after; because the calendar, prefixed for the moveable feasts, began with that year. There was indeed a large Bible printed anno 1562, but that was the old translation by Coverdale; which having been printed in King Edward's days, after his last review, was printed again that year. Out of which translation, Gregory Martin, of the College at Rheims, picked several words, as he pretended, badly translated, to serve the Protestants' own ends: as, instead of *schism* and *heresy*, that translation read *division* and *sect:* instead of *heretic*, an *author of sects.* So they translated *temple* instead of *altar*, and *congregation* instead of *church:* and instead of *to the King, as supreme head*, they read, *to the King, as having preeminence.* I

The Bishops' Bible, when first printed. Hist. Reformat. Part II. p. 407.

So Fulk in his Defence of the English translation, ch. 1. Part 16, 17. edit. an. 1583.

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

leave the reader to Dr. Fulke's Apology for those readings, against the exceptions of that Popish writer. But those readings are not found in that which was called the Bishops' Bible, but *schism*, and *altar;* and *Church*, and *King as supreme.*

The Archbishop sets forward a new translation of the Bible.

Whensoever this Bible was first printed, already many hands were at work about it: which I will proceed now to give some account of. Among the noble designs of this Archbishop, must be reckoned his resolution to have the holy Bible set forth well translated into the vulgar tongue, for private use, as well as for the use of churches; and to perform that, which his predecessor, Archbishop Cranmer, endeavoured so much to bring to pass, but could not, (the Bishops in his days being most of them utterly averse to any such thing,) that is, that the Bishops should join together, and take their parts and portions in reviewing, amending, and setting forth the English translation of those holy books. This our present Archbishop's thoughts ran much upon. And he had about this time distributed the
208 Bible, divided into parts, to divers his learned fellow Bishops, and to some other Divines that were about him: who cheerfully undertook the work. As for the Bible commonly used, it was not only very ill printed, but the translation in many places bad, and such as gave offence; and the translator had followed Munster, who was very negligent, and mistook sometimes the Hebrew, as Bishop Sandys observed. The Archbishop took upon him the labour to contrive, and set the whole work a going in a proper method, by sorting out the whole Bible into parcels, as was said, and distributing those parcels to able Bishops, and other learned men, to peruse and collate each the book or books allotted them; sending withal his instructions for the method they should observe; and they to add some short marginal notes, for the illustration or correction of the text. And all these portions of the Bible being finished, and sent back to the Archbishop, he was to add the last hand to them, and so to take care for printing and publishing the whole.

Edwin, Bishop of Worcester, who, as he was an excellent preacher, so a man well skilled in the original languages, was one of the Bishops appointed to this work. His part being finished, he sent it back to the Archbishop, with his letter dated from Worcester, Feb. 6. Which, because it may give us some light into this good design, I will here set down.

Anno 1565.

The Bishop of Wigorn employed therein.

His letter. MSS. C. C. C.

" My duty remembered; According to your Grace's let-
" ter of instruction, I have perused the book you sent me,
" and with good diligence: having also, in conference with
" some other, considered of the same, in such sort, I trust,
" as your Grace will not mislike of. I have sent up with it
" my Clerk, whose hand I used in writing forth the correc-
" tions and marginal notes. When it shall please your
" Grace to set over the Book to be viewed by some one of
" your Chaplains, my said Clerk shall attend a day or two,
" to make it plain unto him, how my notes are to be placed.

" In mine opinion, your Grace shall do well to make
" the whole Bible to be diligently surveyed by some well
" learned, before it be put to print; and also to have skil-
" ful and diligent correctors at the printing of it, that it
" may be done in such perfection, that the adversaries can
" have no occasion to quarrel with it. Which thing will re-
" quire a time. *Sed sat cito, si sat bene.* The setters forth
" of this our common translation followed Munster too
" much, who doubtless was a very negligent man in his
" doings, and often swerved very much from the Hebrew.
" Thus, trusting that your Grace will take in good part my
" trifles, wherein wanted no good will, I commend the
" same to the grace of Almighty God. From my house
" at Worcester.

" Your Grace's in Christ at commandment,
" Ed. Wigorn."

This Bishop excites the Archbishop in this work.

And in another letter, the same pious Bishop put the Archbishop in mind of this great work, to proceed earnestly forward in it. " Your Grace, said he, should much benefit

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

"the Church, in hastening forward the Bible which you "have in hand: those that we have be not only false print- "ed, but also give great offence to many, by reason of the "depravity in reading."

Bishop Guest employed in the Psalms. Epist. in Biblioth. C. C. C. C.

To Guest, Bishop of Rochester, the Archbishop sent the Book of Psalms to revise: and he sent it back again with his notes and advertisements, as the Bishop of Worcester had done. In his letter to the Archbishop he said, "he had "not altered the translation but where it gave occasion of "an error. As at the first Psalm, at the beginning, I turn "the preterperfect tense into the present tense; because the "sense is too harsh in the preterperfect tense. Where in "the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I "translate it in the Psalms according to the translation "thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the "offence that may rise to the people upon divers transla- "tions. Where two great letters be joined together, or "where one great letter is twice put, it signifieth that both "the sentences or the words be expounded together."

209

Another portion committed to Bishop Parkhurst.

To Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, the Archbishop sent another part of the Bible, to make his notes and advertise- ments upon. Who wrote back to the Archbishop, that he would travail therein with such diligence and expedition as he might.

And another to Bishop Davies;

Davies, Bishop of St. David's, had another portion. And he wrote to the Archbishop, that he was in hand with that part of the Bible he sent him. And again, not long after, in the year 1566, he wrote the Archbishop, that he would finish it with as much speed as he could; and that he be- stowed, for his performance of the same, all such time as he could spare.

Who was translating also the Bible into Welsh.

This Bishop was now very busy in translating the Bible into Welsh, together with William Salisbury, Bishop of Man, a man very learned in the British antiquities.

Bishop Cox's advice for translating.

This business in correcting the former translation of the Bible went forward along the next year 1566. Cox, Bishop of Ely, who seems to have had another part of the holy Scripture committed to him, in a letter dated May 3, 1566,

had these words concerning this noble work; "I trust your Grace is well forward with the Bible by this time. I perceive the greatest burden will lie upon your neck, touching care and travail. I would wish that such usual words as we English people be acquainted with might still remain in their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear; ink-horn terms to be avoided. The translation of the verbs in the Psalms to be used uniformly in one tense, &c. And if ye translate *bonitas* or *misericordia*, to use it likewise in all places of the Psalms, &c. God send this good travail a blessed success." Anno 1565.

The Archbishop's care about this Bible.

We shall hear more of Archbishop Parker's care and pains in this translation under the years 1568, 1569, and 1572, when it seems first to have been printed in the largest folio, according to Dr. Fulk, in his Defence of the English Translations against Gregory Martin. Where he speaks of the Bible revised by divers Bishops to be first printed in the *large volume*, and authorized for the Churches, about ten or twelve years before he wrote his book; which fell in with or about the said year 1572. In which year I have it very fairly printed by Jugg. But by other authentic notices it appears, that this English Bible was reviewed, and had an edition or two before. Therefore I shall say no more of it here, till we come to the years aforesaid.

Answer to Martin's Preface, p. 66.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbishop conversant about ancient books. Corresponds with Bishop Davies, Mr. Salisbury, and Bishop Scory, about British antiquities. A MS. in strange and unknown characts.

The Archbishop inquires for antiquities in Wales.

OUR Archbishop, notwithstanding his great public labours in the Church, could not but shew his propension to antiquity, especially that part of it relating to this nation: and was desirous to inquire every where for Saxon and British antiquities, for the better knowledge of the history of the ancient state of this Church and nation. And to further these his

BOOK III.

commendable inquiries, he sent to the Welsh Bishops especially, to gather up what ancient writings they could possibly retrieve. When he wrote to Davies, Bishop of St. David's, calling upon him to despatch his lot in the Bible, he also then sent to him a MS. of very great antiquity, which seemed to have been in the old British language; but the letters were not known; praying him to try to read it, and to shew it to Mr. Salisbury, who sojourned then with the Bishop of St. David's, and to confer with him about it, because he had heard he was a searcher for antiquities.

Anno 1565.

210 Salisbury wrote to the Archbishop, that as for that quire of antiquity, it was charected with so strange letters, that he might swear he knew not one. At last he selected about four and twenty sundry characters, both of the capital and small letters: and so met with the words Sion, Melchizedeck, Israel, &c. And he found it was to be read from the left to the right hand. He acknowledged of himself, that he was, as the Archbishop had heard, a searcher after antiquities; but he told his Grace, that he could find rather obscure than any clear monuments, and so unworthy of his Grace's sight. He told him withal of one H. Lloyd of Denbigh, a retainer to the Earl of Arundel; that he, John Leland and John Bale, of any in those parts, were the most universally seen in history, and most singularly skilled in rare subtilties. He told the Archbishop moreover, that in an old pamphlet at St. Asaph, being a register or record, he found somewhat for the marriage of Priests, meeting there with the word *Clerico uxorato.* But a Canonist told him, that there were some named *Clerici*, that were no Priests. In fine, he said, that as to that book first mentioned, the Bishop of St. David's, to whom the Archbishop sent it, could find neither Welsh, English, Dutch, Hebrew, nor Greek nor Latin in it.

Some account thereof from Salisbury.

The Bishop of St. David's also wrote to the Archbishop, that as to that book of strange characters, both he and Salisbury despaired to do any thing therein. That for all such old monuments as they had in their cathedral or library, which it seems had a fame for such things, he told the Arch-

And from Bishop Davies.

bishop, who had sent for them, that Mr. Secretary had them two years ago. Some the said Secretary had of Mr. Chanter, and some of him the Bishop. But yet he sent the Archbishop a *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, a chronicle of England, the author unknown, and *Galfridus Monumetensis*. Out of which chronicle he related to the Archbishop one notable story, which was this: "That after the Saxons conquered "the land, continual wars remained between the Britains, "then inhabitants of the realm, and the Saxons, the Bri- "tains being Christians, and the Saxons Pagans. As occa- "sion served they sometime treated of peace: and then met "together, communed together, and eat and drank toge- "ther. But after that, by the means of Austin, the Saxons "became Christians, in such sort as Austin had taught "them, the Britains would after that neither eat nor drink "with them, nor yet salute them, because they corrupted, "with superstition and idolatry, the true religion of Christ, "which the Britains had reserved pure among them from "the time of King Lucius." Anno 1565.

This being writ in the latter end of 1565, the Archbishop made this answer thereunto in the beginning of 1566. "I "pray you thank Mr. Salisbury, whose full writing his con- "jectures I like well. And as for deciphering my quayr in "such a strange charact, it shall be reserved to some other "opportunity to be considered. As for these characts wherein "some of your records of donation be written, whereof I "send a whole line written, it was the speech of the old "Saxons; whereof I have divers books and works; and "have in my house those that do well understand them." The Archbishop's answer to him.

The Archbishop had sent also to Scory, Bishop of Hereford, in the borders of Wales, for antique British MSS. or others, if any were in his church. Which Bishop sent him three Saxon books from the Dean there: but what they were, doth not appear. The Archbishop sends to the Bishop of Hereford for MSS.

BOOK III.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1565. 211

The Archbishop's proceedings about the habits: chiefly with the London Ministers. Lever's letter to the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecyl. The Archbishop endeavours to have his book for apparel allowed by authority. Tender of proceeding to deprivation. The Queen's proclamation for conformity. The Archbishop's care about the Spital Preachers. How to proceed with the London Ministers.

I WILL now go on with some further history of the habits, and shew as well as I can from the records and papers I have seen, (which have not been a few,) what were the proceedings herein afresh towards the conclusion of this year, and onward in the next.

The Archbishop sends to the Bishop of London, to look after London for uniformity.

Though the ecclesiastical proceedings seemed to slacken for a while, yet now uniformity began to be urged anew: soon after Christmas the Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners, exercising the authority they had, as far as it would go, and moving the Council for their countenance and concurrence. Towards the middle of January the Archbishop intending to begin a reformation in the Ministers of London, who generally, as it seems, forbore the surplice and other orders prescribed, sent to the Bishop of London to press uniformity in the city, and to assist at a sessions of the commission on such a day prefixed. The Bishop, January 13, returned his answer, promising the Archbishop to be present at the day, and wishing that Bishop Horne and Bishop Cox, men of great wisdom, gravity, and learning, might be present also for the more effectual prosecuting of the business. That indeed for his own part, the matter was grown to that pass, that it was greater than he could remedy, and wanted his Grace's advice; some of the Ministers being very factious. Which he would more at large declare at their next meeting. And then he thought it would be convenient for them to confer together of their method of proceeding in this work.

This and some other meetings seemed to be chiefly preparatory to the general citation of the Clergy of London before them: which happened not before March 26. But the noise of this soon spread in the city, and many preachers were now in danger of being put out of their places. Upon this, divers earnest applications were made anew to the great men of the Court by those of the dissenting party, or by those, that, though they conformed themselves, liked not the imposition and compulsion. Among the rest, by Thomas Lever, Master of Sherborn hospital, near Durham. He was a man of great account for his piety and learning, and abilities in preaching the Gospel, formerly Master of St. John's college in Cambridge, the chief nursery in those times of the favourers of true religion and solid learning; and contemporary there with Cheeke, Cecyl, Ascham, Pilkinton, &c. In King Edward's time he was reckoned one of the most eminent preachers. Insomuch, that Bishop Ridley, in his Lamentation for the Change of Religion in Queen Mary's days, mentioned four preachers then, namely, Latimer, Bradford, Knox, and Lever, to be famous for their plain and bold preaching: saying, "That they ripped so deeply in the "galled backs of the great men of the Court, to have purged "them of the filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, "of insatiable covetousness, filthy carnality and voluptuous- "ness, intolerable ambition and pride, and ungodly loath- "someness to hear poor men's causes and God's word; that "they of all other they could never abide." But in Queen Mary's reign he lived an exile in Zurich. This is enough to characterize the man. In the month of February he writ to the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecyl the Secretary, that they would shew all the favour that could be to such as, being lawfully admitted to their livings, had ever since diligently preached; that they might not be ejected, only for refusing prescription of man in apparel. In this letter he took notice also "of the decaying sinking condi- "tion of all states in England: assigning one cause thereof "to be the covetous spoils that were made of impropriations, "grammar-schools, and other provisions for the poor. And

Anno 1565.

Lever's letter hereupon.

Feb. 24.

212

Notes the evil of impropriations.

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

" concerning these impropriations he observed, that the ne-
" cessary revenues of the Prince, the Bishops, other estates,
" and the Universities, did rather sink into the corruption,
" than stand upon the profits of impropriations. And then
" he assigned one cause beside of the decaying condition of
" the Universities, *viz.* in that the office and living of a
" Minister was taken from him, that once was lawfully ad-
" mitted, and had ever since diligently preached, because he
" refused prescription of man in apparel: and the name,
" living, and office of a Minister of God's word allowed unto
" him that neither could nor would preach, except it were
" *pro forma tantum.* He said moreover, that if in the min-
" istry, and Ministers of God's word, the sharpness of salt
" by doctrine to mortify affections be rejected, and ceremo-
" nial service, with flattery to feed affections, retained; then
" doth Christ threaten such treading under foot as no power
" nor policy can withstand or abide. In fine, that the end
" of his writing to them was, that not any such corruptions
" might be allowed among Protestants, being God's servants,
" as should make Papists to joy, and hope for a day, being
" God's enemies: but rather that there should be such abo-
" lishing of inward Papistry, and other monuments of the
" same, as should cause idolatrous traitors to grieve, and
" faithful subjects to be glad." The whole letter, for the sake of the author, and to shew the arguments then insisted upon, I have placed in the Appendix.

Number XLVII.

Works of Lever printed.

I will add here, in memory of this grave man, what I find of his published to the world. There were three sermons printed in the year 1573. The first preached in the Shrowds, upon Rom. xiii. from verse 1 to verse 7. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, &c. The second before King Edward, upon John vi. verse 5. to the 14th. *When Jesus then lift up his eyes, and saw a great company come unto him, he saith unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat*, &c. The third at Paul's Cross, upon 1 Cor. iv. 1. *Let a man so account of us, as of the Ministers of Christ*, &c. Another book also composed by him was printed 1575, entitled, *The right Way from Danger of Sin and*

Vengeance in this wicked World, unto godly Wealth, and Salvation in Christ. CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1565. The Archbishop sends his book of Articles again to the Secretary.

The Archbishop, in the beginning of March, began again to try if his book of Articles for Ministers' apparel would find any better success at Court, than it had done the year before: when though the Queen's Majesty's letters to him had been very general for uniformity, yet he and the rest in commission consulted and agreed upon some particularities in apparel only. And because by statute they were inhibited to set out any constitution without licence obtained of the Prince, he sent the Articles to the Secretary to be presented, as was said before. But they could not be then allowed: of what meaning, the Archbishop said, he could not tell. Now he sent them again, together with a letter to the Queen; praying the Secretary, that if not all, yet so many as might be thought good, might be returned with some authority, at least for particular apparel. Otherwise he told the Secretary, that he and the rest of the ecclesiastical Commissioners should not be able to do so much as the Queen's Majesty expected of them to be done. His letter to the Queen he sent open, and inclosed in his to the Secretary, desiring him, if he thought it tolerable, to seal it up, and use his opportunity to deliver it.

Why he stayed pressing uniformity for a while.

In his to the Secretary, dated March the 12th, he told him, "He had made a stop for a while, in urging the Cler-
"gy's obedience to the Queen's commands, upon the politi-
"cal considerations which they who were the secret friends
"to nonconformity urged. But that he did no ways approve
"of these delays and cold doings. Insomuch that he said, he
"was much astonished, and in great perplexity to think
"what event this cause would have in the proceeding to an
"end. And where he had endeavoured himself to enforce
"the Queen's pleasure upon all his brethren, and had de-
"sired that others would not hinder such proceedings by
"secret aiding and comfort, he saw, as he told the Secre-
"tary, his service but defeated: and then again otherwhiles
"dulled by various considerations of the state of times, and 213
"of doubtfulness in discouraging some good Protestants, if

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

" this order should be vehemently prosecuted. Upon such " advertisements, he said, he stayed: but he alway per- " ceived much hurt might come of such tolerations. The " parties hardened in their disobedience: and at the last " the Queen's displeasure incurred, to see how her com- " mandment took little effect."

His application of apparel enjoined the laity.

There were at that very time laws issued out for the regulation of the apparel of the laity, and for the abstaining from flesh in Lent: and this gave much offence to many. To this the Archbishop compared what he was enjoining upon the Churchmen: " Where order, saith he, for all other men's " apparel, and laws for abstinence, so much forced and well " set to, might induce an obedience, however a great num- " ber may be offended. And they who thought the disorder " of the ecclesiastical state might be as soon reformed, if the " Bishops had the like helps, seemed to him to speak reason- " ably." And as there were some great men that secretly aided the Puritans, so there were others, that though they favoured them not, yet now withdrew themselves, and declined, as much as they could, meddling any more in the matter: leaving an odium upon those that honestly furthered the Queen's commands: two of the chief whereof was the Archbishop and the Secretary. Which caused him to add these words; " If I draw forwards, said he, and others " draw backwards, what shall it avail, but raise exclamation, " and privy mutinyings against your Honour and against " me, by whom they think these matters be stirred. I see " how other men get their heads out of the collar, and con- " vey the envy otherwhere."

Tender of inflicting the penalties of deprivation.

It was in the power of the Archbishop and Commissioners to deprive and imprison: both which probably were threatened upon occasion. But there were some of these men that offered themselves to lose all; yea, and their bodies to prison, rather than they would condescend. " This wil- " fulness of theirs, he said, did move him the more, be- " cause he could not but think that the Queen's Majesty " was unworthily dealt with, thus to be resisted. But these " rigorous courses he thought not fit to attempt, having no

" more warrant and help; lest after much stirring, he might " do little in the end but hurt." All this he discoursed with the Secretary, to prepare him the better to further his book of Articles with the Queen. As to the penalty of deprivation, he was tender of inflicting it, for that much depriving with *new fruiting*, as he styled it, (by which he meant paying first-fruits,) would be taken *in malam partem*. As though her Majesty drove at covetous by-ends to herself; by drawing money by this means into her own Exchequer: and putting those to extraordinary charge that were deprived; and afterwards were minded to comply, and so be presented again to their livings. And that was the reason he gave the Secretary, why, in the fourth chapter of his book of Articles, they made the pain sequestration rather than deprivation. He was shy also of depriving upon the Queen's verbal order, who had, it seems, commanded him to inflict that punishment, where he should see cause. For he had consulted with lawyers, who were of opinion it was hard to proceed to deprive, having no more warrant but the Queen's Majesty's word of mouth only.

Anno 1565.

And why.

But notwithstanding the Queen's express will and pleasure, and our Archbishop's endeavours, the Ministers refusing the habits had such countenance, that they were much put up to preach public sermons; and they would take the confidence then, and that even before the Queen, to preach without their habits. And it was taken great notice of, that some had preached before her Majesty without tippet, and had nothing said to them for it. Of which some had assured the Archbishop: which so moved him, that he thought good to tell the Secretary of it. The persons also that were prepared by the Lord Mayor to preach the solemn sermons at the Spital the Easter ensuing, were, the Bishop of Durham, a favourer of the opposers of the apparel, or in his room Mr. Beaumont, Master of Trinity college, (how he stood affected may be seen before,) and the two others were Dr. Cole and Mr. Penne, neither of them fully conformable. The allowance of these public preachers lay in the Archbishop. These two last being named to him by certain messengers

Denies to allow the refusers of the habits to preach the Spital sermons.

BOOK III.

Anno 1565.

sent from the Lord Mayor, he said, he could not commend their conformity, and so required others to be placed in their rooms: which then was promised him by another message 214 from the Mayor. But the day after came the Chamberlain of the city, and another with him, to signify to his Grace, that it would be hard to get any other: and therefore they wished to have these two, with the Bishop of Durham or Mr. Beaumont. Upon which the Archbishop told them the Queen's pleasure resolutely: and if they would seek to her Majesty to be dispensed with, that he could not assure them to speed; and so left them to their consultation: charging them yet that they should not suffer the days to be unoccupied, so to derive an envy and mutinying against their Sovereign. All this happened about the beginning of March.

The preachers of the Spital sermons.

Nor was this business adjusted till above a month after, as I find by a signification given, April the 12th, by the Archbishop to the Secretary, for the satisfaction of the Court, that was now inquisitive what preachers were put up for the Spital this critical time. The Dean of Exeter was appointed for Good Friday; on Monday, Dr. Bemont; for Tuesday, Mr. Young, a Chaplain of the Bishop's of London; and for the third day, the Lord Mayor had sent to the Archbishop to procure Mr. Becon, (of whom honourable mention was made in Cranmer's Memorials, and now one of the Canons of Canterbury,) who, they heard, should preach at the Cross. The Archbishop promised that he would move him to satisfy their desires. And if he could not be obtained, the day was like to be void. But rather than that should happen, for the preventing the raising of a speech, he promised he would get Mr. Bemont to divide his Monday's sermon, and to reserve half till Wednesday. This was his care of those *sermons of solemnity*, as he styled them.

The city of London head the Dissenters.

Such was the favour and esteem the Dissenters then had in the city of London. And this the Archbishop very well knew; and had written, and written oft to Court, "That a "few in London ruled over this matter; and therefore he "thought it advisable to begin there." For their example the rest of the nation were like to follow; and they seemed

the most averse of any Ministers in the land to use the habits and observe the rites. CHAP. VIII.

But now at last upon the late address of our Archbishop to the Queen and Secretary, she forthwith issued out her proclamation, publishing her will and pleasure in print, peremptorily requiring uniformity by virtue thereof. So that now the wearing of the apparel, and obedience to the usages of the Church, became absolutely enjoined; and that upon pain of deprivation and prohibition of preaching: the Queen hereby by her own authority confirming and ratifying that book of Articles that he had a little before sent to the Secretary, or at least so much of it as related to apparel. The Secretary also signified now unto him and the Bishop of London, that it was her Majesty's will, according as his Grace had suggested, that they should resolutely proceed with the London Ministers, and that she would send some persons of honour to join with them, the better to countenance their doings in her name. And withal the Secretary desired to understand after what manner and method they intended to proceed in this weighty matter.

Anno 1565. The Queen issues out her proclamation for uniformity.

Whereupon, March the 20th, he and the Bishop of London came to this result as to their proceedings, after having conferred with men learned in the laws; yet leaving all to the allowance or disallowance of the Secretary.

The method of proceeding hereupon with the London Ministers.

I. They meant to call all manner of Pastors and Curates within the city of London to appear before them at Lambeth, in the chapel there: and to propound the cause, and say something to move them to conformity, with intimation of the penalty which necessarily will ensue against the recusants.

II. After the general propositions made, as afore, to the whole number, they intended particularly to examine every of them, whether they would promise conformity in their ministrations and outward apparel, established by law and injunction, and testify the same by subscription of their hands.

III. It was intended presently to suspend all such as refused to promise conformity in the premises; and also to pronounce sequestration of their ecclesiastical livings from

BOOK III.

after the date of our Lady next, being then at hand. And after such sequestration, if they were not reconciled within three months, to proceed to deprivation of their livings by due form of law.

Anno 1565.

IV. The fourth article related to the sarcenet tippet; that such should wear it as might by the act of Parliament anno 24. Hen. VIII. and none other.

Desire some honourable persons to countenance their proceedings by their presence.

215 The Archbishop and Bishop was well aware of what would follow. That is, they thought very many churches would be destitute for service the ensuing Easter, by reason of the suspensions; and that many would forsake their livings, and live at printing, teaching children, and otherwise as they could. And they left it to the Secretary's wisdom to consider what tumults might follow, and speeches and talks were like to rise in the realm, and presently in the whole city, by this doing of theirs. Now that the clamour of this might not wholly light upon them, they told the Secretary, that they hoped the Queen, as was purposed, would send some honourable persons to join with them two. They prayed him also that he would consult with whom his wisdom should think most meet, that they might be resolved. That so having summoned them on Friday to appear before them on Saturday, order might be taken with them then, or at furthest a day or two after.

CHAP. IX.

The Archbishop in commission. His proceedings with the London Clergy. The book of Advertisements revived, and published. Dr. Humphrey's letter to the Secretary thereupon.

The courtiers fail them.

IN fine, the 26th day of March was the day appointed for the Ministers' appearance. And the Secretary gave the Archbishop notice, that according to his desire, and the Queen's promise, the Lord Keeper [Bacon] and the Lord Marquess [of Northampton] and himself intended to be present. But the

Archbishop desiring to be certain, whether they would come or no, as laying great stress upon the presence of some great persons, sent a message on purpose to the Secretary; minding, if they would come, to invite them to dinner. Or if they came not, he intended to have more assistance with himself and the Bishop of London. And indeed they came not, detained either by weightier matters, or their own unwillingness.

An account of the proceedings with the London Clergy.

The day being come, the Ministers, serving within the city, according to command did appear. When by persuasion several of them, backward before, did conform themselves; and those that would not from the 28th day of March were declared suspended; and standing out three months longer to be *ipso facto* deprived of all their spiritual promotions: and the patrons might present and collate thereto. The Archbishop the same day gave the Secretary an account what they had done in the examination of them. Which was, that sixty-one of them had promised conformity: nine or ten were absent: thirty-seven denied. Of which number, as the Archbishop acknowledged, were the best, and some preachers. Six or seven convenient sober men pretending a conscience. Divers of them zealous, but of little learning and judgment. And in short, he and the rest in commission with them, (whereof the Bishop of London was one,) did suspend them, and sequester their fruits, and put them from all manner of ministry; with signification, that if they would not reconcile themselves within three months, then to be deprived. The Archbishop did expect hereupon, that their behaviour would have been rough and clamorous, but, otherwise than he looked for, they shewed reasonable quietness and modesty.

His judgment of those that refused conformity.

Of them the Archbishop delivered his judgment to the Secretary, *viz.* "That some of them, he thought, would "come in, when they should feel their wants; especially "such, as by a *spiced fancy* held out. Some of them he "doubted not were moved in a conscience; which he la- "boured by some advertisements to pacify. But the wood, "he said, was yet green; and it was not felt, as he thought

BOOK III.

Anno 1565. 216

"it would be hereafter." Some of them at this time alleged they were in fruits, [that is, were now in payment for their first-fruits, having not long been come in to their livings,] and would have had some toleration or discharge of payment. Which indeed seemed to be reasonable, that if they were sequestered from the benefit, they should not pay the first-fruits. But the Archbishop told them he could not so dispense, and left them to their own suit.

Fears the Bishop of London's mildness.

Thus far the Bishop of London had gone along with him: but he seemed still, as he had been before, to be jealous of the too much lenity of his nature, and tenderness towards these men: which might spoil this round beginning they had used with them. And therefore the Archbishop did entreat the Secretary, that he would move the Bishop to execute orders, fearing he might hereafter slacken in this course that was now begun.

Confirmed by the Bishop of Ely.

But the Archbishop was the more confirmed in these his measures that he was now taking, from the judgment of another ancient and experienced Prelate, to whose wisdom great deference was in those times given, *viz.* Cox, Bishop of Ely: who had at this very juncture writ to him concerning the London Ministers; *viz.* that if they were reformed, all the rest would soon follow. And this the Archbishop thought good to let the Secretary know, that he might see that he was not singular in his judgment.

Corrects the Advertisements.

And to back this step to uniformity already made, at the same time he revived the book of Advertisements, but with some amendments, and some omissions of things that before had given offence, and were the cause, at least pretended, of stopping it; as some matters of doctrine, this book being only intended for order: and the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in the year 1562, being sufficient for that. And such passages also were omitted, as might seem to render the book contrary to the laws of the land. And so, with the Queen's letters to him, he had these corrected Advertisements printed: but not yet published, till he had sent a copy thereof to the Secretary to peruse with his pen, and to give him his advice. Telling him in his letter, dated

March 28th, " That he had weeded out of these Articles all " such matters of doctrine, &c. which peradventure stayed " the book before from the Queen's Majesty's approbation: " and that he had put in but things advouchable, and, as he " took them, against no law of the realm." After the Secretary had done with them, he sent them to the Bishop of London, and so had them published. " For he was fully " bent, he said, to prosecute that order, and to delay no " longer. And this he was the more resolute in, because " the Queen's Highness would needs have him assay with " his own authority what he could do for order. But he " trusted, he said, he should not be stayed hereafter, [as he " had been formerly,] and prayed the Secretary to have his " advice, to do that more prudently in the common cause, " which there was a necessity to be done."

Anno 1565.

Publishes them; and resolves to prosecute them.

The Archbishop, as was said before, sent the book to the Bishop of London, March 28. enjoining him to send and disperse copies thereof to all the Bishops, with his letter to them, to see them duly executed. Then, as for executing punishment upon the recusants in his diocese, he earnestly required the said Bishop to be diligent therein; especially since by the act of Parliament they had all power and authority to reform and punish, by censures of the church, all that should offend. And out of his obedience to Almighty God, allegiance to his Prince, and sincere zeal to the Church, he could do no less, than to require and charge him, as he would answer to God and her Majesty, to see her laws and injunctions duly performed within his diocese. This letter may be read at length in the Appendix, as I took it out of the Archbishop's register.

His letter to the Bishop of London thereupon;

Numb. XLVIII.

The same 28th of March, the Archbishop sent these books of orders to the several Deans of his own peculiar jurisdiction, with his letter to this purport to the rest, as he wrote to the Dean of Bocking; " That he had heard, that " divers Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, within his peculiar " jurisdiction of the deanery of Bocking, had not conformed " themselves to the Queen's Injunctions, that he sent him a " book of certain orders, agreed upon by him and his bre-

And to his Deans.

Archbishop Park. Regist.

BOOK III.

Anno 1566.

217

"thren of the province of Canterbury, and hitherto not "published: willing him to call before him, and to publish "to them the said orders prescribed in that book, to move, "persuade, and command them, as they would answer at "their peril, duly to observe her Majesty's laws in the ad- "ministration of public prayers and sacraments, and in "their extern apparel, and all the orders sent to them there- "with. And upon obstinate disobedience to suspend them "from public ministration, and also sequester all the fruits "of their livings so long time as they shall remain in diso- "bedience. And to signify to him the names of all, to the "intent that he might take further order with them: and "to signify to them, that if they continue so three months "they are to be deprived."

A like letter was writ to Mr. Denne, Commissary of Canterbury; to the Bishop of Chichester, Commissary of the peculiar jurisdiction of South Malling, Pagham, and Terring; and to Mr. Dr. Weston, Dean of the Arches, Shoram, and Croydon, with several of the books above mentioned inclosed therein.

These courses grievously taken by the Dissenters.

These Advertisements came now abroad so well strengthened with authority, and menace of animadversions upon disobedience; and this with the fresh proceedings against the London Ministers; as did mightily awaken and terrify such as would or could not comply; as appeared by a letter that Laurence Humfrey wrote from Oxon in April, to the Secretary on this occasion, with his earnest desire to him to procure the stopping the execution, and laying aside the book. "I am sorry, writes he, that the old sore is "broke out again, in such sort, at such a solemn time, in "print, to the common calamity of many, and marvel and "misery of all. The cause is not so sound in my poor "opinion, as it is made. The trouble is greater than we "think. The inhibition of preaching, strange and lament- "able. The cry of a number is and will be pitiful in the "ears of God and man. The book of Advertisements, "though it contain much, that is many ways of the wise "misliked, yet because it hath no determination of time,

April 23, 1566. Humfrey's discontent hereupon.

" nor of penalty, was better esteemed. The execution hi- CHAP. IX.
" therto vehemently urged marvellously moveth and marreth
" all. I am so highly bound to God, that giveth me this Anno 1566.
" bold access to your Honour, that I cannot for this his
" goodness yield to him condign thanks. Wherefore, as I
" of these proceedings simply promote the judgment of
" many; so I humbly request you to bear with this my
" rude plainness, and to be a means to the Queen's Ma-
" jesty to stop the execution, and to suffer the book to sleep
" in silence. These days, these evils, this people, this age,
" require other advertisements. The Queen's Majesty in
" the Preface seeketh unity and concord; this hath bred
" variety and discord more than ever was. To your wis-
" dom, goodness, and godliness, I refer all; as also the con-
" tinuance of your prosperous state to the Almighty."

CHAP. X.

Some are sequestered and silenced. Crowley, Minister of Cripplegate, one of them. The stir made by him in his church. Sent for and censured by the Archbishop. Some account of Crowley. The Archbishop clamoured against. His protestation and resolution.

BUT let us turn our eyes to these sequestered and silenced Ministers, and see how they behaved themselves, and what course they took. Some of these *sely recusants* (I use the very words of the Archbishop) said now, that they thought not that ever the matter, in such scarcity of Ministers, should have been forced: and some began to repent. One of them was with the Archbishop two days after, to be admitted again to his parish, and promised conformity: but he repelled him, till he had him bound with two good sureties of his own parish: and so he was. The said Minister told the Archbishop, that there would more come to that point. And them also the Archbishop intended so to

Some view of these sequestered Ministers.

BOOK III.

order. But the most part of those recusants he wished out of the ministry, as being "mere ignorant and vain

Anno 1566. "heads;" as his Grace wrote to the Secretary.

218 And indeed the Archbishop reckoned, that by what he had done, and by making this determination known abroad, the speech raised would soon cease, and the offence assuage, and more peace and order follow, as he signified to his friend: but he was deceived. For but four or five days after, *viz.* April 2, one Crowley, Minister of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, and one of those that had been suspended, this person and his Curate gave a great occasion of much trouble in his church. A certain corpse being to be buried in his church, divers Clerks were in their surplices attending, to sing as accustomably they used, and as my Lord of London before had prescribed, namely, to wear surplices within the churches. But Crowley quarreled with them for their *porters coats*, as he called them, and said, he would shut the doors against them. And one Sayer, an Alderman's deputy, also assisted Crowley, and used words likewise to that purpose. He seemed to be an honest man, but too much leaning from the surplice. But the singing-men on the other hand made resistance against Crowley, willing to go on with their business: insomuch that the deputy threatened them to set them fast by the feet, if they should break the peace. These things caused a great uproar. At length the singing-men shrunk away; and they then had some quietness, though with shrewd stomachs. But the noise of this coming to the ears of the Archbishop and the other Commissioners; and complaint being made hereof by the Lord Mayor to him, desiring him to examine the cause; he summoned Crowley and others to appear before them, April the 4th, to hear the cause: resolving to execute punishment, if he found the deserts of them to be such, as that they gave such occasion of tumult among the people so gathered together. And that the rather, considering the time, being now just upon enjoining the wearing of that garment. Signifying withal to the Secretary, that he trusted that neither the Queen's Majesty nor her Council

An assault made upon some that wore the surplice.

The Archbishop summons those concerned in it.

would charge their doings herein, as guilty of any severity or lack of prudence. Which charges, it seems, some of the Court had been wont before to cast in their teeth. CHAP. X. Anno 1566.

At the examination was present, with the Archbishop, the Bishop of London. They found that Crowley quarreled first with the singing-men. In their examination of him, there fell from him several fond paradoxes, that tended to anabaptistical opinions. As, to have a motion in conscience to preach in the church (being not deprived) without extern vocation: and saying, as pastor, he would resist the wolf, meaning the surplice-men. The Commissioners asked him, if he would resist a Minister so sent to them. He said, that till he was discharged, meaning from his living by deprivation, his conscience would so move him. And thereupon desired to be discharged. The Archbishop seeing his desire, did presently, without any more ado, discharge him of his flock and parish. Then he fled to this, that he would be deprived by order of law. Which the Archbishop told him was to say, he would be deprived, and yet not be deprived. Then he seemed to be desirous to have the glory to be committed to prison, rather than he would grant to suffer such a wolf to come to his flock. But the Archbishop, as he told the Secretary, dulled his glory. And yet for some severity, being in suspense, they charged him to keep his house, and remain under confinement at home: that so they might stay his resistance of any that should come to officiate at his church with the surplice. As for the deputy, they bound him in an hundred pounds to be ready at calling, when the Queen's Council should call for either of them, to judge of their doings. And so he and the Bishop of London dismissed them all, advertising them to be obedient. So gentle was our Archbishop in his censure of so great a fault as quarreling (and, it may be, coming to strokes) in God's house. But he reckoned the suspension and secret prison would be some terror. He imagined, that the Secretary might think that they had done too little, and he doubted not but that that side would think it too much.

Examines the chief author, Crowley.

His punishment, confinement.

How long he was confined I know not, only I find him

BOOK III.

remaining imprisoned in his own house, April 12th: when the Archbishop gave the Secretary a further account of the matter; which was, that he could do no less, considering his behaviour and speech, that "he would not suffer the "wolf to come to his flock." And therefore to prevent his resistance they committed him. And the next Sunday he sent Mr. Bickley, his Chaplain, to preach in his parish: whom they heard quietly. And a Minister, thither sent, was received with his surplice.

Anno 1566. The Archbishop's Chaplain preaches at his church.

219

This Crowley was once a stationer, but bred at the University of Oxford, and for his parts and good disposition to religion, was under King Edward ordained a Minister by Ridley, Bishop of London; and in Queen Mary's days was an exile in Frankford. He was a man of note among the Dissenters long after this; for I find him and Field, and Charke, and one Hern, in the year 1582, very diligent in visiting and disputing with certain Priests in the Tower. And Crowley particularly took a great deal of pains with one of them named Kirby; endeavouring to bring him off from his opinion of the lawfulness of deposing princes by the Pope. Crowley also was one of those that attended them to execution. There he laboured to convince Kirby of the falseness of his principle that he was going to death for. And that from Rom. xiii. and the beginning; and from the words of Christ to Pilate, Joh. xix. 10, 11. Urging thence, that princes, having their authority from God alone, could not be deposed by any, but God alone. But while Crowley was discoursing this to Kirby, he demanded of him, whether, if a prince were guilty of Turcism, atheism, or infidelity, he might not be lawfully deposed, (which question he had asked him before in the Tower.) To which Crowley and the rest of the preachers answered learnedly, and in the negative. Whereat Kirby cried out, O Mr. Crowley, Mr. Crowley! and there paused, as if, saith the historian, that Mr. Crowley had agreed with him in this point, in his conference with him in the Tower. So that Crowley was fain to justify himself there, saying to one standing by, that when Kirby had propounded this

A conference between Crowley and some Popish Priests in the Tower.

Hollinshed.

question to him in the Tower, his answer was, "That if any "prince fell into any such kind of error, that prince were "indeed corrigible. But of whom? not of any other earth- Anno 1566. "ly prince, but of that heavenly Prince who gave him his "authority; who seeing him abuse it in any way, corrects "him in his justice." And thus much for Crowley; only further that he wrote divers books; and died 1588, and was buried in the chancel of his parish church of Cripplegate.

The Archbishop greatly clamoured upon by the Dissenters.

The Dissenters, upon this round dealing of the Archbishop with them, and expecting no favour to be obtained from him under any less condition than plain submission and conformity, conceived a great ill-will against him; and derived the blame from the Queen, from the Secretary, and every body else, upon him alone. The talk now much increased, and the Archbishop alone, they said, was in fault. He indeed, in his expostulation with many of them, signified to them their disobedience to the Queen. Wherein because they saw the danger, if they should lay the blame upon her, they ceased to impute it to the Queen; saying, that were it not for the Archbishop's calling on her, she was indifferent. And most of them likewise dared not name the Secretary in this tragedy, because many of them were to have his help in their suits. They said, my Lord of London was their own, and was but brought in against his will: and that he, the Archbishop alone, was the stirrer and incenser. And that my Lord of Durham would be against them all; and would give over his bishopric, rather than it should take place in his diocese. They said also, that my Lord of Leicester should move and obtain the Queen; and that this was now done in his absence. That Mr. Cole, probably Leicester's Chaplain, or belonging to some other great courtier, was then at Court in his hat and short cloak; who would overthrow all their attempts, [to enjoin the using of the apparel.]

Their application to the Court.

So that now, as we may collect hence, their recourse was altogether to the Court, where they had so well sped before: and very industrious were their practices there to

BOOK III.

get this enterprise overthrown: and great their hopes thereof.

Anno 1566.

The Archbishop's protestation concerning his actions.

The Archbishop signified all this to the Secretary, April the 7th; wishing to understand from him what likelihood there might be of this great expectation. As for his own part, he professed, "That whatsoever he had done, and did, "was *bonâ conscientiâ;* that he regarded God's honour, and "the public quiet. That he wished obedience to the Queen's "Highness, and her laws. Which was the greatest estima-"tion her Highness could have among her people. And
220 "that if this matter should be overturned, according to all "these great hopes, he said, he was at a point to be used "and abused. *Nam scio nos Episcopos in hunc usum* "*positos esse*, as he added. We be the stiles, over which "men will soonest leap. And if we be thus backed, [mean-"ing, thus slenderly backed, or rather not backed at all,] "there will be fewer Winchesters, as is desired." For that was one of the odious phrases these men bestowed upon the Bishops that urged uniformity, calling them Winchesters; pointing to Stephen Gardiner, that bloody persecuting Bishop of Winchester in Queen Mary's reign. But when he told the Secretary, there would be fewer Winchesters, if they were no better backed, he intimated that he saw that the favour shewed to these men tended to the overthrow of all Bishops, and that he feared it would end there. "But for "my part, as he proceeded, so that my Prince may win "honour either by standing or relenting, I will be very "gladly *lapis offensionis. Sed interim cum Dominus sit* "*mihi adjutor, non timebo quid mihi faciat homo.* But he "was not, he said, amused, or danked, *Fremat mundus,* "*ruat cœlum.*"

CHAP. XI.

Endeavour to concern the Parliament in these contests. Books published for and against conformity. The Privy Council's order against seditious books. The Archbishop to Dr. Haddon about these matters. Some under restraint. John Fox peaceable; in this juncture writes to the ecclesiastical Commissioners.

A PARLIAMENT was now sitting, and the dissenting party had used their utmost with their friends, both Bishops, noblemen, and others, in the Houses, to obtain some favour there, and that some expedient might be brought about for dispensation to be granted in these ecclesiastical matters, for sober and useful Ministers. Humfrey, who was now at Oxford, writ earnestly to his friend John Fox about it on that remarkable day, March 28; when so many had been suspended. *Commendo precibus tuis* (so ran a part of his letter) *et curæ tuæ propagationem religionis, reformationemque Ecclesiæ in his comitiis. Ut agas et peragas, ope, opera, gratia, et modis omnibus, ut Principes regni et proceres Cleri moveant aliquid salutare, et promoveant.* But notwithstanding all endeavours, this Parliament brake up without interposing in this affair.

Anno 1566.

The Parliament moved for the Puritans.

MSS. Foxii.

Nor did the press lie still all this while. For the non-compliers wrote books, and printed them; confuting the arguments (the best they could) which the Bishops had brought to persuade them to uniformity. But they were written with so much confidence and sharpness, that the Archbishop and the State thought fit to have them considered and answered. Which was done with brevity; a little in his judgment being enough to satisfy wise and learned men in this controversy.

Books set forth by the Puritans:

One of these short books now writ (of which I think by the style Bishop Cox, or Jewel, was author) bore this title, *A brief and lamentable Consideration of the Apparel now used by the Clergy; set out for the Instruction of the Weak, by a faithful Servant of God.* In the book, as well the

And answered.

A brief and lamentable Consideration, &c.

BOOK III.

Anno 1566.

reasons of the refusers of the apparel were weighed, as other reasons cursorily suggested in the behalf of it. The reasons urged commonly against the habits were, first, in general, that they did not edify; and because they hindered the simple, made the Papists obstinate, and were monuments of idolatry. Also, that they were precepts of men, and that they gave offence. Secondly, in particular, that ministering garments were taken from the Jews and Gentiles; that Samuel was not known to Saul. Which was a sign his garments were not different from other men's. And that Peter was known by his speech. Therefore we ought not to be known by our attire. After the author had briefly answered these reasons, he subjoined his own reasons, why submission ought to be given to these orders for apparel. Which were, that it could not be shewn out of the word of God, that any form of apparel, except that which was pompous, was expressly forbidden. Nor could it be proved
221 that uniformity in attire among spiritual persons was not meet. Nor could any declare by unwrested places of Scripture, that any supreme magistrate might not enjoin his Clergy a certain form of apparel: or if such a form of apparel had been abused, that it was not from thenceforth to be used. Nay, that in case apparel had been offered unto idols, yet a Christian were not absolutely forbid to wear it.

After this he made, by way of conclusion, a compassionate address to the dissenting people and Ministers. To the people, in this tenor; "Have you churches, and yet will "you flock into the fields? Have you places appointed for "prayers, and yet will you appoint you private assemblies? "Have you the Gospel of Christ sincerely preached among "you? Why are you then offended? Have you the sacred "Scriptures read unto you, and at your will to be perused? "Why are you displeased? Idolatry is reproved, Papistry "overthrown. Why are you not contented? He added, "that they which now wore the apparel were such as had "been banished for the profession of the Gospel, and lost "their goods, and that willingly. For preaching and writ-"ing, who did it more painfully and effectually than they?

" and who watched more dutifully that the Gospel might " have its full course? That others talked for reformation, " they did it indeed. To the dissenting Ministers at last Anno 1566. " he spake, begging them in the name of *dear brethren*, to " join hands to help forward the Lord's building. That " whereas they had among them proud loiterers too many, " he wished they themselves might be faithful labourers. " He exhorted them, if they loved Christ, to feed his sheep, " not to brawl in his vineyard; to love the brethren, and " not to disturb their quietness; and every one of them to " help the other's burdens, &c." See the whole tract, whereof this is the summary, in the Appendix. No. XLIX.

Other books for and against conformity.

On the behalf of the ecclesiastical laws, a book came forth about this time, I suppose by the Archbishop's order, printed by Jugg, which urged the sin of disobeying lawful authority in indifferent things. It was entitled thus, *Whether it be mortal Sin to transgress the Civil Laws, which be the Commandments of Civil Magistrates.* The judgment of Philip Melancthon in the Epitome of moral Philosophy, the resolution of H. Bullinger, Dr. Rodulph Gualter, D. Martin Bucer, and Dr. Peter Martyr, concerning the apparel of Ministers, and other indifferent things. The dissenting Ministers also on the other hand put forth in print *A Declaration in the Name and Defence of certain Ministers in London*, that refused the apparel prescribed. But this was answered in a book in quarto, called *A brief Examination* of that Declaration. And at the end was reported the judgment of Bucer and Martyr concerning this controversy. Which book was composed by the Archbishop's peculiar direction, and it is very probable in his house.

Orders of Council concerning printing seditious books.

Care was not only taken for answering of these disaffected persons' books, but for preventing of the writing such for the future. For it was not thought convenient by any means that the Queen's Injunctions, and other laws and ordinances made for the regular and uniform worship of God, should be thus openly impugned. These books were printed both here in the realm, and abroad, and privily brought in and divulged: and so, being got into the hands

BOOK III.

of many, tended to the keeping open or widening the differences that were now distracting the Church. For preventing therefore the publishing of these books, the Archbishop, and other the ecclesiastical Commissioners, recommended several articles to the Lords of the Privy Council. Which gave occasion to these ordinances, decreed for the reformation of divers disorders in printing and uttering of books, dated from the Star-chamber in the month of June.

Anno 1566.

I. That no person should print, or cause to be printed, or bring or procure to be brought into the realm printed, any book against the force and meaning of any ordinance, prohibition, or commandment, contained or to be contained in any the statutes or laws of this realm, or in any injunctions, letters patents, or ordinances passed or set forth, or to be passed or set forth, by the Queen's grant, commission, or authority.

II. That whosoever should offend against the said ordinances should forfeit all such books and copies: and from thenceforth should never use or exercise, or take benefit by any using or exercising, the feat of printing; and to sustain three months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize.

222 III. That no person should sell, or put to sale, bind, stitch, or sow any such books or copies, upon pain to forfeit all such books and copies, and for every book 20*s*.

IV. That all books so forfeited should be brought into Stationers' Hall: and there one moiety of the money forfeited to be reserved to the Queen's use, and the other moiety to be delivered to him or them that should first seize the books, or make complaint thereof to the Warden of the said Company. And all the books so to be forfeited, to be destroyed or made waste paper.

V. That it should be lawful for the Wardens of the Company for the time being, or any two of the said Company thereto deputed by the said Wardens, as well in any ports, or other suspected places, to open and view all packs, dry-fats, maunds, and other things, wherein books or paper shall be contained, brought into this realm; and make search in all workhouses, shops, warehouses, and other places of printers,

booksellers, and such as bring books into the realm to be sold, or where they have reasonable cause of suspicion. And all books to be found against the said ordinances, to seize and carry to the Hall to the uses abovesaid; and to bring the persons offending before the Queen's Commissioners in causes ecclesiastical. Anno 1566.

VI. Every stationer, printer, bookseller, merchant, using any trade of book-printing, binding, selling, or bringing into the realm, should before the Commissioners, or before any other persons, thereto to be assigned by the Queen's Privy Council, enter into several recognizances of reasonable sums of money to her Majesty, with sureties or without, as to the Commissioners should be thought expedient; that he should truly observe all the said ordinances, well and truly yield and pay all such forfeitures, and in no point be resisting, but in all things aiding to the said Wardens and their deputies, for the true execution of the premises.

And this was thus subscribed: "Upon the consideration "before expressed, and upon the motion of the Commission- "ers, we of the Privy Council have agreed this to be ob- "served and kept upon the pains therein contained. At "the Star-chamber the 29th of June, anno 1566, and the "eighth year of the Queen's Majesty's reign;

"N. Bacon, C.S. Winchester, R. Leicester, E. Clynton,
"E. Rogers, F. Knollys, Ambr. Cave, W. Cecyl."

To which the Commissioners also underwrit, "We under- "writ think these ordinances meet and necessary to be "decreed and observed.

"Matthue Cantuar. Ambr. Caye. Tho. Yale.
'Edm. London. David Lewis. Rob. Weston.
T. Huycke."

Great was the friendship between our Archbishop and Dr. Haddon, of whom we have had occasion to speak before. He being now the Queen's Ambassador at Bruges, the Archbishop in the midst of these his turmoils wrote him a letter, shewing him how they had proceeded in these matters, and

The Archbishop sends Dr. Haddon a letter about his proceedings.

BOOK III. withal sent him inclosed the opinion of Bucer and Martyr concerning the habits. To whom the Civilian from Bruges Anno 1566. made him answer; and concerning the solid judgment of those two learned foreigners thus he wrote:

Haddon's judgment of the Dissenters. MSS. C. C. C. C. Inter Epist.

Quorum authoritas, licet sola plebeiorum istorum et novitiorum commenta frangere posset, tamen perfectissimi Theologi tam graviter in his causis argumentati sunt, ut ipsis rationum momentis omnibus satisfieri possit, qui secum aures sinceras, et nullis errorum præjudiciis occupatas, afferre volunt. Quapropter in doctrina satis arbitror esse processum, in disciplina reliquum esse debet, ut illorum importunitas pœnâ devinciatur, qui contra Principis edictum, et publicas Ecclesiæ constitutiones in rebus arbitrariis
223 *vociferantur.* This was the judgment of this grave and learned man; to this tenor in English: "Whose authority "alone [namely, of Bucer and Martyr] was enough to over- "throw the fancies of those vulgar men and mere novices; "much more when those most accomplished Divines argued "so solidly in these causes, that their weighty reasons might "satisfy all that brought sincere minds, and not forestalled "with error. Wherefore I think we have proceeded far "enough in doctrine, the remainder ought to concern dis- "cipline, that so their importunity might be restrained "by punishment, that make such a clamour in arbitrary "matters against the Prince's decree, and the public con- "stitutions of the Church."

The Archbishop to Haddon concerning the Puritans. MS. G. P. Armig.

In the course of the correspondence between these two, the Archbishop, in his answer to the above mentioned, communicated some further news of the Puritans and their friends and books. An answer to one of them he now also sent him. And this following was the tenor of his letter.

"I have received your letters, wherein *et amice et gra-* "*viter*, you do both comfort my travail-taking in the "establishing of order and concord in our Church, as ye "do godly admonish me to go on to mine office, and to "refer the success thereof to God. As I am always per- "suaded to [set a value] upon letters elegantly written, "which come from your pen, so I rejoice to see in you so

" much grave Christian philosophy. Ye may well marvel " of the boldness of these men ecclesiastical, advancing " themselves so far to insult against the Prince, and public " authority of laws, &c. and not to be ashamed to put " their fancies in public print. Lamentable it is, that some " of these light heads be much comforted of such, whose " authority should be bent to repress them. The boldness " of their books imprinted caused some examination to be " set forth, which here I send you to expend. Indeed all " things be not so answered as their writing deserved, but " yet more was considered what became such which hath " taken in hand to answer, than what they deserved. And " I am deceived, if a little be not enough to satisfy wise and " learned men in this controversy. And thus signify to " you, that with the assistance of the Queen's Majesty's " Council we have dispersed a few of the heads of them, " some to the Bishop of Winchester, some to Ely, and " some to Norwich, to school them, or else at the least to " have them out of London, till we see cause to restore " them their liberty. I commend you to God, with my " commendations to my Lord Mountague, to Mr. Dene, " and to Dr. *At Croyden.*"

Many deprived, under restraint for a time.

Gentleness, as appears hence, was used towards these Ministers that stood out, and so were deprived. Some of them by order of the Council, with the advice of the ecclesiastical Commissioners, were taken up, and put under easy restraints with some of the Bishops, being sent down, some to Ely, some to Norwich, and some to the Bishop of Winton; partly to have the benefit of their instructions, and partly to rid London of them. But it was not long that they remained so, but were restored to their liberties; and had leave, or at least connivance, to preach. So did Sampson and Lever, who, though they wore not the habits, yet had places, and preached. For when some, who were brought before the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London, in the year 1567, for holding private conventicles, had urged in their own vindication, that none might preach or minister, except he used the apparel; the Bishop answered,

BOOK III.

Anno 1566.

"No? How say you to Sampson, and Lever, and others? "Do not they preach? and that, though the laws stand in "force against them."

Part of a Register.

John Fox's behaviour peaceable.

How John Fox behaved himself in these commotions about uniformity, when several Ministers were forbid preaching for their non-compliance, may be understood by what I am going to relate concerning him. He, having no living, was not taken notice of, or summoned before the Commissioners, though he was no approver of the habits; and it was well enough known he was not. But his temper was mild, and his principles peaceable; and he carried himself as a promoter of quiet on both sides; being one that
224 declared a great dislike of all separations and schisms among Protestants. But to give a taste of Fox's spirit. There was one West, whom the ecclesiastical Commissioners, in or near this year, had laid in prison for uttering something against the superior powers, going probably upon the principles of Goodman's book. Fox, having been West's schoolfellow and collegian and friend, writ to the Commissioners an elegant letter; not justifying West, but concluding him blame-worthy. And hence descending to lament the differences in the Church of England, and shewing in what an ill state of looseness and wickedness the nation then stood; which, he said, ought chiefly to be ordered, and that many matters were to be reformed, but no schism by any means to be made; he had moreover these expressions in his said letter: "That the more earnestly he favoured the peace "and tranquillity of the Church, the more did these intes- "tine differences of opinions and controversies (whence "arisen he could not tell) torture his mind. Yet had they "sprung from necessary causes, they had less troubled him. "But while from light matters they drew occasions for "grievous contentions, and tossed about unnecessary ques- "tions, the fruit of brotherly communion was not only lost, "but the adversaries' forces got strength against them. To "whom they afforded a very joyful spectacle in these their "quarrels. But how much better were it, said he, with "united strength to do Christ's work, and to diffuse his

" faith in the minds of the godly, as far as possible, and to CHAP. XI.
" fight against the sworn enemies of our salvation, rather
" than against the friends of the faith. He knew much Anno 1566.
" was yet wanting to a perfect Church. But prudent phy-
" sicians should here be imitated, whose first care is wont
" to be, that the body live, and then that it flourish and
" be in good health. But we, said he, by a preposterous
" solicitude, while we strive to bring the Church to a most
" perfect rule of reformation, do in effect by this strife
" bring to pass, that we see no Church at all, or one very
" deformed. For what Church is to be seen there, where
" we have peace neither with our friends nor enemies? Nay,
" what peace have we with God, when atheism reigns, lust
" goes without punishment, covetousness robs and spoils,
" benefices are bought and sold, Priests grow cold? and
" would they were cold indeed. But now many are neither
" cold nor hot. The pulpits are silenced; Christ's sheep-
" fold is fleeced, not fed; the harvest is despised. And
" since it is thus, what can we do better than to shew our-
" selves good Divines, by minding the greater matters of
" Christian religion? And then to build on that, what con-
" cerns the external reformation, if we may: but if we
" may not, by no means to move any schism." This letter, containing this pious admonition to the Clergy, may be found in the Appendix. Num. L.

CHAP. XII.

Continuation of the history of the London Ministers suspended. Supply of the vacant churches. The Archbishop vindicates himself. His earnest letter for more countenance from the Court. Becon's Postills.

BUT to continue our story of the London Ministers suspended, or deprived. It may be asked, whether upon the suspending of so many Ministers the church doors of their respective parishes were shut up, and no divine service nor

Care taken for the supply of the vacant churches.

BOOK III.

sermons there performed? But to this I answer, the Archbishop and Bishop of London took care by their Chaplains to provide for the vacant churches, as well as they could. But they could not supply all, being opposed by the suspended incumbents. "Some whereof were peevish, [they "are the Archbishop's own words,] and some froward, and "some fearful, and some would fain step in [to their "churches again] with honesty. To whom they [the "Commissioners] used such affability, as they might. "Yet not suffering their authority and constancy to seem to "fear, or to be more desirous of them than they moved "them to their own commodity, but especially to the "people's quiet, and to the obedience of laws;" as the Archbishop himself gave the account to his friend and correspondent the Secretary.

Anno 1566.

The great clamour against the suspensions.

But the Puritans took great advantage at this present necessity of leaving divers churches unsupplied, by reason of this late censure inflicted upon the Ministers: and they took care to get the Court acquainted with the great inconvenience thereof: noising it abroad, that now against Easter there were none to officiate, and administer the Sacrament: and that there were on Palm Sunday six hundred persons ready to receive the Communion, and came to church for that purpose, and found the doors shut. These reports brought to the Court, and cherished there by some about the Queen, caused the Secretary to write unto the Archbishop concerning them; and concerning the imprisonment of some; of which severe handling great complaints were made. And finally advising him to continue his care of London.

The Archbishop's vindication of himself.

Concerning these matters, the Archbishop, April 12, being Good Friday, now indisposed in his bed, wrote by another hand unto the Secretary, that all this was no more than he foresaw before he began: and that when the Queen put him upon doing what he had done, he told her at his first speech with her the second Sunday in Lent, that these precise folks would offer their goods, and bodies to prison, rather than they would relent. And her Highness then

willed him to imprison them. And in a letter that he afterwards wrote the Queen, he signified this to her, and likewise the vacancy of several churches. And in a joint letter of his and of the Bishop of London to the Secretary, they said, there would be many parishes unserved, and many speeches would arise, and much resistance there would be. And therefore nothing more than what was expected. As for the disappointment of those well disposed people, that came to receive the Sacrament, he said, in general, that these reporters made *ex musca elephantem:* and that my Lord of London, being that very day, *viz.* Good Friday, to preach at Court, and so present there, was able to give the truest account of matters in his own jurisdiction. But that he could say, that whereas he had sent divers days three or four of his Chaplains to serve in the greatest parishes, what for lack of surplice and wafer bread, they did mostly but preach. And one of his Chaplains serving Palm Sunday, and being informed that divers communicants would have received, the table made ready accordingly, while he was reading the Passion, one man of the parish drew from the table both cup and wafer bread, because the bread was not common: and so the Minister was derided, and the people disappointed. And divers churchwardens, to make a trouble and a difficulty, would provide neither surplice nor bread. All this the Archbishop signified to the Secretary. He called upon the Bishop of London also to do his part, to supply some of the vacancies by his Chaplains. Who sent him word, that there needed only preachers, for others might be appointed to serve the cures. He added, moreover, that it was no great inconvenience, though some parishes wanted in London, saying, that London was no grange, and that they might go otherwhere. But these precise men, said he, for all their brags of six hundred communicants, did promise openly that they would neither communicate, nor come to church, where either the surplice or the cap is. And so he knew it was practised.

Anno 1566.

The insolencies of the Dissenters.

I meet with a paper without date, probably to come in at this time; wherein one Minister was appointed to serve

Orders how one Minister should

BOOK III.

two churches in London. And it contained the order how this should be performed; which ran thus: "Those Min-

Anno 1566. serve two parishes.

"isters which in this time of necessity are commanded and "appointed to serve another church beside their own, shall "on Sundays and holydays at the one church begin morn-"ing prayer at seven of the clock, or soon after; and "reading only one Lesson, which shall be the Lesson of the "New Testament, shall afterwards say the Litany: and

226 "that ended, which may be done by eight of the clock, "shall go to the other church appointed unto him, and "there say the morning prayer in like form with the Li-"tany; and after a sermon made, or homily read, shall "minister the whole Communion, when any just number "of communicants shall be disposed to receive. And like-"wise, preventing the accustomed hour for evening prayer "at the one church, shall afterwards serve the other. *Item*, "The said Ministers shall use this order at the said churches "*alternis vicibus:* so that in the church, where he be-"ginneth one Sunday at seven, he shall begin the next "Sunday at eight. And so in course continually, till other "provision can be made. *Item*, The said Ministers shall "use the same order for the prayers appointed on Wednes-"days and Fridays before noon, and Saturdays afternoon."

His care of London.

Concerning the last particular in the Secretary's letter, which related to his care of London, the Archbishop signified back, that for his own peculiars, fourteen or fifteen were all in good order. Some had refused, but now they were induced; and they were sortly learned with the best of them. Among whom was one Cole, of Bow church, and one Beddel, of Pancras. He complained, that the charge of another should be thus devolved upon him: secretly pointing to the remissness of the Bishop of London. He said, that for his part he could do no more, nor promise any more: that his age would not suffer him to peruse all the parishes; and that he had called on the Bishop of London, who was younger and nearer them, and had vacant priests in his church. And that that Bishop sent him word, that there needed preachers only, having sufficient to

CHAP. XII.

supply the cures. He desired the Secretary, that he might be spoken to, to see to his charge; which might be done seasonably that day, being Good Friday, when he preached at Court. He told the Secretary moreover, that he had talked with new come preachers to London, who had moved to sedition, and that he had charged them to silence. And some he had in prison, which in that quarrel fell to open blows in the church. On Maunday Thursday, he had many of the Bishop of London's parishes, churchwardens, and others, before him, sitting in commission with Dr. Lewis, Mr. Osborn, and Mr. Drury: and so he had done all the week, till he was fully tired. For some Ministers would not obey their suspensions: and some churchwardens would not provide surplices and wafer bread for the Communion, and others opposed and disturbed those that were sent by the Archbishop and Bishop to officiate in the prescribed apparel. All which misdemeanors created him work and trouble enough. Anno 1566.

Which made him in conclusion to complain, "that he "must do all things alone: that he was not able, and must "refuse to promise to do what he could not, and was an- "other man's charge [meaning London]. He marvelled "that he must be charged to see and judge of all parishes "in London, and the care be committed unto him only: as "though the burden should be laid on his neck, and other "men draw backward. All other men, said he, must win "honour and defence, and I only shame, to be so vilely re- "ported. And yet I am not weary to bear to do service "to God and my Prince. But an ox can draw no more "than he can." Complains that the charge of London lay so hard upon him.

But all this pains and labour had not a success answerable. The Queen had followed the Archbishop with repeated commands to press the ecclesiastical orders. And she was in such good earnest to have them observed all her kingdom over, that she had now willed the Archbishop of York, to declare in his province also her pleasure determinately to have them take place there. But her Majesty's Council was backward to empower and countenance our Is discouraged, and makes some stop.

BOOK III. Anno 1566.

Archbishop in his endeavours for that purpose. This, with the clamour and rage of the dissenting Clergy and their adherents, and the hard names they gave him, quite discouraged the good man. He liked not the work, especially being accompanied with so much severity; but it was out of obedience to the Queen, who was continually calling upon him, and ordering the Secretary to write to him, to quicken him. But finding his own inability to do her that service she required of him, he very often and earnestly sent to the Secretary, that the Queen's Council might stand by him with their authority. But he could not obtain his desire. Whereupon he made a stop in his proceedings, and
227 grew more languid in them. But withal he wondered at the great neglect that the Queen's counsellors shewed to her therein.

His grounds that moved him to what he did.

These his dealings must not be interpreted, as though he had any overfondness to the cap and surplice, and the wafer bread for the Communion, and such like injunctions. For it would have pleased him well enough, if some toleration had been given in these matters, as he often declared. But being the chief supervisor of the Church, he laboured to bring in an uniform method in the public service of God, as tending so much to unity and peace. And when the Queen's absolute command was, to have these things observed by Churchmen, it was his care of his Prince's honour that made him so sedulous that her will and pleasure should take place. And this was the conclusion of this effort against the Puritans at this time.

To illustrate all this the more, I will here present the copy of a letter he wrote to the Secretary, wherein he resolved to surcease any further to pursue that matter, with the reasons of that resolution, dated April 28.

His letter to that purpose.

" Sir, The Queen's Majesty willed my Lord of York to
" declare hir pleasure determinately, to have the order to
" go forwarde. I trust hir Highness hath devised how it
" maye be performed. I utterly despaire therin as of my
" self: and therefore must set still, as I have nowe done,

" alweys wayting eyther hir toleration, or ellis furder ayde.
" Mr. Secretary, can it be thought that I alone, having sun
" and moon agaynst me, can compass this difficultye? Yf
" youe, of hir Majesties Counsale, provide no otherwise for
" this matter, than as it appearith openly, what the sequel
" wil be, *horresco vel reminiscendo cogitare.* In King
" Edward's dayes the holl bodye of the Counsayle traveled
" in Hoopers attempt. My predecessor Dr. Cranmer, la-
" bourying in vayne with B. Ferror, the Counsayle took it
" in honde. And shal I hope to do that the Queen's Ma-
" jesty wil have done? What I here and see, what com-
" playntes be brought on to me, I shal not report. How
" I am used of many mennys honds. I commyt all to
" God. If I dye in the cause (malice so far prevayling) I
" shal commyt my soul to God in a good conscyence. Yf
" the Quenes Majesty be no more considered, I shal not
" mervel what be said or done to me. Yf you heare and
" see so manifestly as maye be sene, and will not consult in
" tyme to prevent so many myseries, &c. I have and do
" by this presence discharge my allegiance, dutye, and con-
" scyence to youe, in such place as ye be. I can promyse
" to do nothing, but hold me in silence within myne own
" conscyence, and make my complaynts to God, *ut exurgat*
" *Deus, et judicet causam istam: ille, ille, qui comprehen-*
" *dit sapientes in astutia ipsorum.* Thus God be with
" your Honor. Almyghti God preserve the Quenes Ma-
" jestie: this XXVIII of April, 1566.

" Your Honours in Christ,
" Matth. Cant."

Remarks upon the above letter.

From which letter permit me to make two or three remarks. One is, the great inconveniences, dangers, and confusions, that the Archbishop apprehended would ensue from this licentiousness and disobedience. And that he gathered from what he had already seen; such as fighting in the church; sacrilegious taking away the elements prepared for the holy Communion, even when the piously disposed were ready to receive; and that for no other reason but

BOOK III. Anno 1566.

because the bread was wafer, and not common bread; taking Clerks that were celebrating the holy offices, and turning them by violence out of the church, only because they wore surplices; making a sinner do penance publicly in a square cap; and such like things. Which exorbitant practices could portend nothing but evil to follow. Again, we may
228 observe, that it was not without precedent what his Grace required of the Council, namely, upon great occasions to aid and countenance with their authority the Bishops, in the execution of some weighty ecclesiastical affairs, as the Council had done to Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Hooper. We observe moreover, that the Archbishop, by what he had already done, had raised so much malice against himself, that he seemed to be in some hazard of his life. And lastly, how strong the party of the disaffected were even thus early in the English Church.

Becon's new postil for the use of Curates.

While these matters were thus carrying on, Thomas Becon, a famed preacher and writer, living at Canterbury, where he had a prebend, was employed in a very useful work at this season, namely, in providing the Church with a postil, containing honest plain sermons for all the Sundays in the year, upon the Gospels, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent, to be read by the Curate to his congregation. They seem to be only a translation either out of Latin or Dutch. To which the said Becon added a large Preface, *To his Fellow-Labourers in the Lord's Harvest, the Ministers and Preachers of God's most holy Word.* Wherein he earnestly exhorted them to the discharge of their weighty duty: written from Canterbury, July 16, 1566. To which postil are two prayers added, either of them to be said before sermon, a longer and a shorter, according to the Minister's discretion: and another prayer or thanksgiving to be said after sermon. These prayers and these sermons were framed for Ministers of less ability to invent and compose prayers and sermons themselves; that the people might be instructed in sound and wholesome doctrine, whatsoever the abilities of the Ministers were under whom they happened to live. And this accorded with

the Queen's Injunctions. The title the book bore was, *A new Postil, containing most godly and learned Sermons, to be read in the Church throughout the Year. Lately set forth unto the great profit, not only of all Curates and Spiritual Ministers, but also of all godly and faithful Readers. Perused and allowed according to the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions.* Anno 1566.

CHAP. XIII.

The Judgments of Bishop Cox, in a letter to the Archbishop; and of Bishop Grindal, concerning these controversies. The Bishops' arguments with the Dissenters. Their practices. A letter to the Bishops from the Church of Scotland. The deprived Ministers remitted their first-fruits. A Dominican pretends himself a Puritan. Examined by the Archbishop.

THE Bishops, (for the Archbishop's mind we have seen already,) how little stress soever they laid upon these observances, and how willing soever they were to have them removed by authority; yet were not at all pleased to see the oppositions and the refractoriness of many against them, when they were once by law enacted, and by the Queen's determinate will and pleasure enjoined. Cox, Bishop of Ely, wrote thus in May to the Archbishop. The Bishops disliked the Dissenters' disobedience. And why.

" *Salutem in Christo.* I thank your Grace for your " sundry letters. Your Grace's last I received by Jug, one " of the Queen's Majesty's printers. Wherein I perceive " your travail and zeal, and some griefs that things proceed " not rightly; which is too too much to be lamented, for " such respects as your Grace with others consider rightly. " *Quod Dominus dixit Josue, hoc tibi dictum puta; Con-* 229 " *fortare et esto robustus. Noli metuere, et noli timere,* " *quum tecum est Dominus Deus tuus,* &c. Time and " truth shall put folly to flight. *Interim modis omnibus* Bisnop Cox to the Archbishop. MSS. C. C. C. Epist.

BOOK III. Anno 1566.

"*enitendum, ne nostra Heroina frangatur animo, aut* "*offendatur ad verrucas paucorum, ac interea ad multo-*"*rum tubera conniveat. Malesanus est nostrorum zelus,* "*at Papistarum deliria quavis peste nocentiora.*——— "*Et Dom. Jesus pietatem tuam nobis diutissime servet in-*"*columem.* From Somersham 3 Maii 1566.

"Your Grace's assured,
"Richarde Ely."

By which letter it appears, that the great fears among the wise and good men were, that the Queen, taking offence at these differences among her Protestant subjects, should incline the more to her Popish subjects. And upon that account Bishop Cox reckoned the Puritans the more to be blamed, as endangering even the Gospel itself by their stubborn incompliances. For that this reverend Father seems to mean by those expressions: "In the mean time we must take "care, and endeavour by all means, lest our royal Mistress "be discouraged, or offended with the little warts of a few, "and wink at the greater sores of many. Ours are guilty "of a wild zeal, but the madness of Papists do more harm "than any plague."

Bullinger's judgment printed by Bishop Grindal.

And Grindal, Bishop of London, a wise and learned man, but reputed to be not vigorous enough in these matters, was often upon the bench in the commission at Lambeth, in order to the reproof and restraint of these men. For he saw now these contentions about indifferent things did not edify, but divide the Churches, and sow discord among brethren. And therefore, as a means to allay them, caused to be printed in Latin and English the judgment of Bullinger, which he sent over hither to Grindal, Horn, and Parkhurst, concerning the habits and the lawfulness of wearing them; but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey. Which had so good an effect, that many who had resolved to leave their ministry, rather than put them on, took now other resolutions; and the common people came to soberer thoughts of these habits, by reading that learned foreigner's writing hereupon: who though he used

them not himself, yet condemned them not of any impiety; which none should ever have persuaded them to believe, before the publishing of this writing.

Anno 1566.

All this I collect from a letter of Grindal to Bullinger, wrote in August this year. Vid. Life of Grindal, p. 105.

The Bishops indeed did endeavour to bring in these Dissenters, not only by authority, as ecclesiastical Commissioners, but by the milder course of argument and persuasion. In a paper near about this time, as I guess, I find these syllogisms propounded to them. Arguments used to the Dissenters.

I. No faithful Minister ought once to seem to condemn his faithful fellow Ministers, Fathers, and Bishops, which are yet living, or such as are departed this life by martyrdom, in the true confession of Christian faith. But so straitly to refuse such priestly apparel as they did use, seemeth to condemn them. *Ergo*, No faithful Minister ought so straitly to refuse such priestly apparel. Foxii MSS.

II. In things indifferent the Prince may command, and we ought to obey. But this priestly apparel is a thing indifferent. *Ergo*, In this priestly apparel the Prince may command, and we ought to obey. But these and such like arguments were usually replied unto again.

In the mean time the Puritans were not wanting to themselves, by all means labouring for a toleration in the neglect of these human constitutions. And as they got an interest with some great men in the Court at home, so they made their complaints to the reformed Churches abroad: and by writings and books printed, endeavoured to justify their incompliances. And they sent their case to the Churches of Geneva and of Zurich, as was shewed before. Their endeavours.

230

They sent also their messengers and letters to the Church of Scotland, setting forth how they were deprived; many whereof, as they gave out, of the greatest learning within the realms; because their conscience would not suffer them, at the command of authority, to wear such garments as idolaters used in their idolatry: and that they were hindered by the Bishops from promoting the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Whereat that Church, in the month of December The Church of Scotland write to the Bishops. Part of a Register, p. 125.

BOOK III.

this year 1566, sent an earnest letter to the Bishops in their behalf. Wherein, "they, upon a misinformation no
Anno 1566. "doubt, spake of many thousands, both godly and learned, "that refused the habits, (for as yet the Church was not so "well replenished.) They argued, that the surplice, cornered cap and tippet, had been badges of idolatry in the "very act of idolatry, and that they were the dregs of the "Romish beast. That the scruplers of these things did "not damn nor molest the Bishops that used such vain "trifles; and therefore the Bishops should not trouble "them. That they should walk more circumspectly than "for such vanities to trouble the godly. That they, the "Bishops, should boldly oppose themselves against the authority, that urged the consciences of their brethren further than God burdened them. That though there appeared no great worldly pomp in them, [the Scotch Ministers and Pastors,] yet, they supposed, the Bishops "would not despise them, but esteem them to be of the "number of those that fought against the Romish Antichrist. And so concluded, craving favour for the Dissenters." This was dated from the General Assembly at Edinburgh. The whole letter may be read in the Ap-
Numb. LI. pendix. But surely this was somewhat rough treating their brethren, the English Bishops.

Ministers deprived, pardoned their first-fruits.

But as for those that stood out the three months' suspension, and so were deprived, the hardship of paying their first-fruits (which they had compounded for) was mollified: their compounding for which, and their obligations, some of them had complained of to the Archbishop, as we heard before. He, in all probability, as he had acquainted the Secretary with it, so he moved him to obtain favour for them of the Queen in this behalf. And accordingly I meet
Pap. Office. with a formal warrant drawn up to discharge them. The
Num. LII. draught whereof will be seen in the Appendix. It was directed to the Treasurer and Barons of her Exchequer, letting them understand, that of her grace and mere motion, she had clearly remitted and forgiven unto those persons that were deprived and amoved from their promotions

and dignities spiritual, for not obeying certain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, by her laws and injunctions appointed, such sums of money as were or should be due from them by their writings obligatory, for the first-fruits of the same. And therefore commanding them, that upon the sight of these her letters, and proof had of their deprivations by certificate of the Ordinaries under their hands and seals to them directed, or by any other due means, to cancel and make void the said specialities and writings obligatory. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1566.

In this year came one of these dissenting preachers (in appearance, but in truth a Dominican Friar) to Maidstone, to the Maidenhead Inn there, with divers others his followers; where as guests they bespake a dinner. Divers others resorted hither, inquiring for this man, whose name was Faithful Cummin. These were his congregation. Being thus met in the room they had taken up, Cummin exercised extemporary prayer for about two hours, groaning and weeping much. The exercise being over, most of the company departed; some few tarried and partook with the exerciser of the dinner provided. Of this meeting, John Clarkson, the Archbishop's Chaplain, being informed, acquainted his Grace, and he the Queen and Council. Before whom at length this man was convented the next year, as a sower of sedition among the Queen's subjects. Here the Archbishop examined him. He acknowledged he was ordained by Cardinal Pole; but said, that he was fallen off from Rome, and that he was a preacher of the Gospel; but that he had no licence to preach from any of the Bi- 231
shops since the Reformation. And when the Archbishop asked him, if he had no such licence, how any could be assured that he was not of the Romish Church; he would prove that by his prayers and sermons, wherein he had spoken against Rome and the Pope, as much as any of the Clergy. And he pretended, that it was licence enough to preach, to have the Spirit; which, he said, he had. When the Archbishop again demanded, whether that could be the Spirit, that complied not with the orders of the Church, lately purged and cleansed from idolatry; he replied, he

One of these Dissenters proves a Dominican Friar. Foxes and Firebr.

BOOK III.

endeavoured to make the Church purer than it was. This man had a congregation that followed him, which he termed

Anno 1566. *men of tender consciences:* and with them he prayed and preached, and administered the Sacrament. When he preached in public, he would be absent till the divine service were over, (for the English Liturgy he could not away with,) and then he would come into the church and preach.

Departs beyond sea.

After his former examination, and giving bail for a further appearance, he found opportunity to escape beyond sea: telling his congregation, that he was warned of God to travel abroad, to instruct Protestants in other parts of the world, and would come again to them: leaving these as his last words to them: That spiritual prayer was the chief testimony of a true Protestant; and that the set form of prayer was but the Mass translated; and so praying with them, and getting money from them to bear his expenses, in many tears he parted from them.

This matter and the issue of it shall be related more at large under the next year.

I relate this only as a memorable matter, not to be omitted by an ecclesiastical historian, without making any observation; only noting, how diligent Papists have been, from the first times of our Reformation, to cherish divisions among Protestants: and whether it were the hand of Papists that made this unhappy separation so early in our Church, it is uncertain; to be sure, they presently took hold of these misunderstandings, to continue and blow them up, and to embitter the spirits of well-meaning men against the reformed religion, so well established.

CHAP. XIV. 232

The Archbishop makes inquiry into the Clergy of his province. Appoints public prayers against the Turk. Robinson consecrated Bishop of Bangor. His sermon. The Archbishop receives information where Cranmer's and Ridley's Disputations at Oxford were. Desires of Grafton a sight of certain ancient authors used in his Chronicle. This historian's condition. The Archbishop informed of the misbehaviour of one Day, Curate of Maidstone. The Earl of Oxford holds in Knight's service of the Archbishop.

BUT now to return to our Archbishop again, and to make some further discovery of his extraordinary diligence and care in his office. To know the true state of his province, and what kind of Clergy for learning and abilities, and what numbers to supply the cures, and what parishes void there now were, and especially how the cathedrals were supplied, that he might the better take order in the Church, and see what proficiency it had made in seven or eight years; he sent a letter to the Bishop of London, (and the like I suppose he did to the rest of the Bishops,) to certify him on this side Michaelmas of these things, *viz.* of the names, surnames, degrees, and reputed age of all Deans, Archdeacons, Dignitaries, and Prebendaries, within his cathedral church, and of all others any ways beneficed, or having any spiritual promotion within his diocese. And how many of them be resident; and where and in what place and calling the absents do live; and how many of all such be Ministers or Deacons; and how many no Priests nor Deacons; and how many be learned and able to preach; and how many be licensed, and by whom they be so; and how many of them do keep hospitality upon their benefices; with a note of all vacant benefices, and the names of such as do receive the fruits thereof. The Archbishop undoubtedly had great ends in this inquiry; as to know in what better state the Church now was, as to the number and improvements of the Clergy, and also to

Anno 1566. The Archbishop inquires into the state of his province.

Archbishop Park. Regist.

BOOK III.

Anno 1566.

stop the mouths of Papists or other enemies of the Church, who failed not to make representations bad enough of them: and where there were defects, by knowledge thereof to be the better able to redress them.

Sets forth a form of prayers against the Turk.

The Turks were now very unquiet in the parts next their dominions, and poor Hungary was in danger of being overrun by them. Our most reverend Father now, to shew himself a truly Catholic Bishop, that had a tender concern for the welfare of all Christians, wheresoever dispersed, ordered a form of prayer to be used every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, throughout the whole realm, to excite and stir up all godly people to pray unto God for the preservation of those Christians and their countries, that were then invaded by the Turks in Hungary or elsewhere. This form was printed, and set forth by the most reverend Father in God Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Preface to which shewed, "That whereas the Turks the last year most "fiercely assaulting the isle of Malta with a great army "and navy, by the grace and assistance of Almighty God "were from thence expelled and driven with their great "loss, shame, and confusion; they, being inflamed with "malice and desire of revenge, did now by land invade the "kingdom of Hungary, (which had been of long time a most "strong wall and defence to all Christendom,) far more ter-
233 "ribly and dreadfully, and with greater force and violence, "than they did either the last year, or at any time within "the remembrance of man. That it was therefore our parts, "which for distance of place cannot succour them with tem-"poral aid of men, to assist them at least with spiritual "aid: that is to say, with earnest hearts and fervent pray-"ers; and that the Emperor, as God's principal minister, "might repress the rage and violence of these infidels; who "by all tyranny and cruelty labour heartily to root out not "only true religion, but also the name and members of "Christ, and all Christianity. And for so much as, if the "infidels, who have already a great part of that most goodly "and strong kingdom in their possession, should prevail "wholly against the same, all the rest of Christendom should

" lie as it were naked and open to their incursions and inva-
" sions, to the most dreadful danger of whole Christendom."
There was one prayer to be used for the morning and an- Anno 1566.
other for the evening. That for the evening was to this tenor:

" O God of hosts, most righteous Judge, and most The prayer.
" merciful Father. The dreadful dangers and distresses
" wherein other Christian men our brethren and neigh-
" bours do now stand, by reason of the terrible invasion of
" most cruel and deadly enemies the Turks, infidels and
" miscreants, do set before our eyes a terrible example of
" our own worthy deserts by our continual sinning and
" offending against thy great Majesty and most severe
" justice, and do also put us in remembrance here in this our
" realm of England, of our most deserved thanks for our
" great tranquillity, peace, and quietness, which we by thy
" high benefit, and preservation of our peaceable Prince
" whom thou hast given us, do enjoy, while others, in the
" like or less offences than ours are against thy Majesty, are
" by thy righteous judgments so terribly scourged. This
" thy fatherly mercies do set forth thy unspeakable patience,
" which thou usest towards us thy ingrate children, as well
" in the same thy gracious benefits of such our peace and
" tranquillity, as in thy wholesome warnings of us, by thy
" just punishments of others less offenders than we be.

" For the which thy great benefits bestowed upon us
" without our deserving, as we praise thy fatherly goodness
" towards us, so being stricken in our minds with great dread
" of thy just vengeance, for that we do so little regard the
" great riches of thy fatherly goodness and patience towards
" us, we most humbly beseech thee to grant us thy heavenly
" grace, that we continue no longer in the taking thy mani-
" fold graces and goodness in vain. And upon deep com-
" passion of the dreadful distresses of our brethren and
" neighbours, the Christians, by the cruel and most terrible
" invasion of these most deadly enemies the Turks, we do
" make and offer up our most humble and hearty prayers
" before the throne of thy grace, for the mitigation of thy

BOOK III.

Anno 1566.

"wrath, and purchase of thy pity and fatherly favour to-
"wards them; and not only towards them, but to us also
"by them. For so much as our danger or safety doth fol-
"low upon success of them. Grant them and us thy grace,
"O most merciful Father, that we may rightly understand
"and unfeignedly confess our sins against thy Majesty to
"be the very causes of this thy scourge and our misery.
"Grant us true and hearty repentance of all our sins against
"thee; that the causes of thy just offence being removed,
"the effects of these our deserved miseries may withal be
"taken away. Give to thy poor Christians, O Lord God
"of hosts, strength from heaven, that they neither respect-
"ing their own weakness and paucity, nor fearing the mul-
"titude and fierceness of their enemies or their dreadful
"cruelty, but setting their eyes and only hope and trust
"upon thee, and calling upon thy name who art the Giver
"of all victory, may by thy power obtain victory against
"the infinite multitudes and fierceness of thine enemies.
"That all men, understanding the same to be the act of
"thy grace, and not the deed of man's might and power,
"may give unto thee all the praise and glory: and especially
234 "thy poor Christians by thy strong hand being delivered
"out of the hand of their enemies, we, for their and our
"safety with them, may yield and render unto thee all lauds,
"praises, and thanks, through thy Son our Saviour Jesus
"Christ. To whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, one
"eternal God of most sacred Majesty, be all praise, honour,
"and glory, world without end, *Amen*."

Robinson consecrated Bishop of Bangor.

Now at length was consecrated Nic. Robynson, D. D. Bishop of Bangor, a Welshman, of the University of Cambridge, spoken of under the last year, succeeding in the room of Merick deceased. This Robinson was the Archbishop's Chaplain, eloquent in the English and Latin tongues, well furnished with human learning and divinity, and in Queen Mary's reign had suffered much from the Papists in the foresaid University, where he seemed then to reside. Among the Archbishop's papers there is a sermon, known to be this man's, by what the Archbishop by his own hand

noted upon it, viz. *Concio N. Robinson:* it was preached near this time before some great audience either at Court or St. Paul's Cross, by the Archbishop's order. By which may be perceived his great ability in preaching, and what sort of preaching there was even in those first times of Queen Elizabeth; and what sins prevailed. I will give some few lines of it therefore in this place. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1566.

A specimen of a sermon of his. MSS. C. C. C.

" It is a pitiful case to see abroad in country and town " (and we may see it daily, if we shut not our eyes) godly " preaching heard without remorse or repentance; lawful " prayers frequented without any devotion, fastings kept " without affliction, holy days kept without any godliness, " almsgiving without compassion, Lent openly holden with- " out any discipline. And what fruit of life may be looked " for, upon so simple a seed sowing?——He will not come to " church, but that the law compelleth him: he will never " be partaker of the most reverend mysteries, if he might " otherwise avoid shame: he heareth the chapters, to jeer " at them afterwards: he cometh to the sermon for fashion- " sake only. He makes himself Minister to get a piece of a " living. He sings stoutly for the stipend only.——Chrysos- " tom eloquently lamenting the corrupt manners of his days, " universally throughout all estates, high and low, rich and " poor, man and wife, master and servant, judgeth all at " length to spring of this root, that things in the Church " were done ὡς κατὰ συνηθείων, *as it were for fashion* sake " only, as church prayer, God's word, sacraments, service, " &c. And alas! among us for fashion sake, men of wor- " ship have chaplains, peradventure to say service. For " fashion sake simple men are presented to cures, and have " the name of *parsons.* For fashion sake some hear the " Scripture, to laugh at the folly thereof. For fashion sake " merchantmen have Bibles, which they never peruse. For " fashion sake some women buy Scripture books, that they " may be thought to be well disposed: yea, for fashion sake " many good laws are lightly put in execution, and so forth. " And many carry death on their fingers, [a ring with a " death's head,] when he is never nigh their hearts. He

BOOK III. Anno 1566.

" abhorreth superstition, because he would live as he list:
" he is a Protestant, because of his lands: I warrant you,
" he hateth the Pope, because he is married: he must needs
" be a favourer of religion, because of his promotions. From
" all these fashions what ill fashions in manners and life must
" spring, we may easily conjecture.——I fear me, (and pray
" God from my heart it be not so,) many deal now with
" God's sincere religion publicly professed, (for the which
" the Lord's name be blessed,) as Dionysius the younger in
" his time did with philosophy: who indeed, though he
" maintained many philosophers at his house right well, and
" sometime reasoned of the Divinity, and conferred with
" them; yet in his heart, as he said, he neither regarded
" nor esteemed them a haw; saving, that by that means he
" might be thought of many, a philosopher or a favourer of
" wisdom. Many think it enough to be thought Protest-
" ants. Here I forgat the example of Saul; *Honora me*
" *coram populo*."

Pursuit after Cranmer's disputations. MSS. C. C. C. C.

235 At or near this time I find two learned historians applying to the Archbishop. The one was John Fox, who by his letter signified to his Grace and the Bishop of London, that he had found in a register of a certain church in London, (as he was a curious searcher into registers and records,) that the famous disputations of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latymer, with the Oxford Divines, were under the seal of the University, and the subscription of notaries exhibited into the House of Convocation by Hugh Weston (the chief moderator of those disputes) and some lawyers: which was celebrated in the first of Queen Mary, Boner being Bishop of London: and that there were contained under the same seal other things perhaps not unworthy knowledge. That he had endeavoured to search them out; but when his pains succeeded not, he was compelled to desire the assistance of some that belonged to the Convocation House. Dr. Incent, that was Actuary, told him, that these papers were either in Boner's hands, or in the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that he had them not. And having given this information to the said Archbishop and Bishop,

Fox left it to them to consult as they thought good for the finding of these writings. Which no question set the Archbishop on work, who was an elaborate collector and retriever of such things. Anno 1566.

Certain inquiries of the Archbishop to Grafton the historian.

The other historian was Richard Grafton. The Archbishop was an earnest student in the ancient history of this his native country, and more especially of the ecclesiastical history thereof. And reading Grafton's history, he met with the mention of two things relating to antiquity, that he was desirous to make more diligent inquiry into. The one was a book of Guido [he surnamed *De Columna* perhaps] which Grafton had mentioned to be in his possession. This the Archbishop did desire of him a sight of. The other was a passage concerning King Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain, and concerning two men named Elvanus and Medwinus, whom Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, had sent to this King to convert the inhabitants to the faith, and concerning the conversion of them. The Archbishop's request was to know whence he had those names and the rest of the story. This probably the Archbishop was the more desirous to be informed in, because he intended to make some use of the history of this conversion in his Preface to the Great English Bible, and in his *Antiquitates Britannicæ;* both which he had now under his hand: in the former whereof I remember he makes mention thereof. Grafton accordingly gave the Archbishop a letter, wherein he certified his Grace, that concerning the book of Guido, he had sought for it, but could not find it. But to his remembrance he had delivered it to Mr. Keyes, [Caius the antiquarian I suppose,] and that he would send for it, and then his Grace should see it. And that as for the matter of Lucy, [Lucius,] he added, that Eleutherius sent Elvanus and Medwinus unto him, that the Britains might receive the faith of Christ: that their two names were added by Mr. Keyes, [who, as it seems, had a great hand in Grafton's history:] but where he found them he knew not. But he would learn of him, and certify his Grace. And finally, that the rest of the story of Lucy was in Fabian, [a chronicler in the time of Henry VII.] in the third book, fol. 59.

BOOK III.

The mention of Grafton here gives me occasion to say somewhat more of that eminent printer, and confessor too: for he suffered imprisonment under Queen Mary; the Popish party having a mortal hatred against the man, who was the first that printed the English Bible. He wrote also, or published, a very good Chronicle, as was hinted above. King Edward VI. ought him 300*l*. I suppose the debt was chiefly for an edition of the Bible in his days. Under Queen Elizabeth he fell down stairs, and brake his leg in two places; which made him lame to the day of his death. And by this and other mischances he was reduced in his last age to poverty. So that I find in fifteen hundred seventy and odd, he petitioned the Queen for the benefit of a penal statute made in the eighth of her reign, for the setting a work the greater number of cloth-workers. Which statute was, that whosoever should after the making of that act be licensed to carry cloth out of the realm undressed, should for every nine cloths undressed carry also one cloth of like goodness dressed within the realm, upon pain of the forfeiture, for every
236 nine cloths so carried, of ten pounds, one moiety to the Queen, and the other to the Master and Wardens of the cloth-workers. But the cloth-workers, being now most of them merchants, were offenders against this statute themselves, and would not punish any offenders or offence. Now Grafton desired that the Queen would grant to him and his assigns authority in her name to put in suit the offenders against the said statute; and for his pains to grant him the half of what he should recover in the Queen's name, in any of her Majesty's courts of record, to her use. And this suit he besought the Lord Treasurer to countenance, and got his old friend Dr. Wylson to solicit it before his Lordship.

Anno 1566. Grafton's condition under Queen Elizabeth.

Day, a scandalous Curate of Maidstone. The Archbishop informed of him.

A complaint this year came before the Archbishop against one John Day, Curate of Maidstone. Both the parish and country laid to his charge, that he was a person of a most scandalous life, frequenting alehouses, retreating thither ordinarily from the church, and a common player at cards and dice. This man held this curacy from the first year of Queen Mary, to this year 1566. And when seven holy men and

women were burnt as heretics in the same town of Maidstone, in a place called *the King's Meadow*, he preached at their burning; and said to the people, "That they should "not pray for them; and that as they should see their bodies "burn with material fire, so their damned souls should burn "in the unquenchable fire of hell." And this and the like he said of them the next Lord's day in his pulpit. When, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, some of the friends and relations of these martyrs had required him to recant what he then said, he answered, he would do so. But then, before the public audience, instead of recanting, he both belied himself and them. For he said, that it was now out of his mind what he then said concerning those persons that were burnt, and whether he said they were heretics or no; but, he added, he knew some of them denied the human nature of Christ, and the equality of the three Persons in the Trinity, and so he was sure in that respect they were heretics. Which, as soon as he came out of the pulpit, when some had confuted to his face, and told him, that he had lied in so saying; he said, that there were none of them but had been guilty of telling lies at some time or other, or else they were not men, but justifiers of themselves and hypocrites; and so flung away to the alehouse, his common retreat. Of this, John Hall, one of these men that conferred with the said Day, and an inhabitant of Maidstone, gave Mr. Fox information by way of letter.

Anno 1566.

Which letter began in this tenor: "May it please you to "understand, that one John Day, the Curate of Maidstone "from the first year of Queen Mary unto this present year "1566, (of whom we beseech God for his mercy to deliver "us,) sheweth himself still not to have any fear of God at "all before his eyes. In Queen Mary's days he was defamed "greatly for whoredom, besides his abominable blasphemy "of God's truth, and detestable Papistry. And one most "execrable example thereof above all other is to be had in "perpetual memory." And then the writer proceeds to tell at length that most uncharitable and unchristian censure he gave of the pious Christians at the stake, as they were

A letter to Fox concerning him. MSS. Foxii.

BOOK III. burning, being on Wednesday the 16th of June, 1557. Who, besides his damning them to hell, relates what discourse this Popish Curate had first with them; telling them,

Anno 1566. "That they were heretics most damnable; and that by their "heresy they had separated themselves from the holy Church, "as he called that of Rome, terming it the spouse of Christ, "and Christ's mystical body. And therefore, said he, ye "have no part in him. But when he saw that they were "builded upon the unmoveable rock of Christ's word, and "that at that hour comfortably put their whole trust in their "Saviour, and cried out to him, *Away, Satan; away with "thy doctrine and thy blasphemy;* then in great haste and "fury he turned both his face and talk to the people standing "by, and spake concerning them as was mentioned before." This man being thus put to it; *viz.* now to revoke in the same pulpit what he had said so maliciously before, (which was, that these pious martyrs were heretics and damned,) the better to bring himself off, charged them with Anabaptism and Arianism: asserting, that he knew some of them denied the humanity of Christ and the equality of the Trinity: and that none doubted that such were heretics, and that therefore he might be bold to say, that without the great mercy
237 of God and repentance, they were damned. Whereas in truth they were known to hold no such errors, and much abhorred all such heresies to the death.

His slander of certain martyrs.

Which most vile and false imputation that he had the confidence in so public a manner to lay to their charge, and to defame the memories of such holy persons that had laid down their lives for true religion, stirred therefore the zeal of the good men, their former friends and acquaintance, who knew them well to be none such as he had represented them. Insomuch, that standing where he should pass, they demanded of him, which of these martyrs it was that he asserted these things of. Whereat he was so surprised with his own guilty conscience, that he stood mute for a while, as it were astonished, and at last confessed, that none of them that were burnt at Maidstone held such opinions. Then they roundly charged him for his abominable lying: and asked him,

whether the pulpit was made to utter lies and blasphemies in? Whereupon he made that poor plea for himself, as is abovesaid. For this tergiversation towards true religion now professed, accompanied with the looseness and immoralities of his life, the parishioners drew up a supplication, wherein what is related before, and the rest of his crimes, were set forth; which they presented to the Archbishop, as it seems, sitting in commission ecclesiastical. A copy whereof the aforesaid Hall promised to send to Mr. Fox: wherein he should more at large understand the life and behaviour of this *monster*, as he called him.

A decree in the Court of Wards and Liveries in behalf of the Archbishop. Antiq. Brit. p. 27.

This year was the decision of a famous suit, prosecuted by the Archbishop in right of his see. It was held before Sir William Cecil, Master of the Wards and Liveries, against Edward, Earl of Oxon, a minor, for the manor of Fleet in Kent, which that Earl held in knight's service of the Archbishops of Canterbury. In his own behalf he produced ancient instruments and monuments, and shewed how it had been adjudged in behalf of the Archbishops in the times of King Henry VI. and King Henry VIII. concerning lands of the Lords Rosse, Conyers, and Darcy, which were held in knight's service of the Archbishops of Canterbury. In July, the eighth of Queen Elizabeth, it was decreed by the said Master of Wards and Liveries, with the consent of the King's Attorney, and others of the Council present, that the profits and emoluments of the manor of Fleet, the Earl being under age, did pertain unto the Archbishop; and that all whatsoever had hitherto been received thence for the Queen's use, before the Archbishop had made his own right appear, should be restored to him.

BOOK III.

CHAP. XV.

A Saxon Homily, with two Epistles of Ælfric, set forth by the Archbishop; and a learned Preface. The Great Bible reprinted again. Convocation adjourned to Lambeth. A Suffragan of Nottingham.

Anno 1566. The Archbishop sets forth a Saxon homily.

AMONG the ancient books and treatises which our Prelate, greatly studious of antiquity, occasionally set forth, I make little doubt to add that Saxon sermon (which, as near as I can guess, about this year appeared abroad) of the Paschal Lamb, and of the sacramental body and blood of Christ, written in the old Saxon tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the reign of the Saxons to be pronounced to the people, before they should receive the Communion on Easter-day. Which sermon speaks of that Sacrament plainly and evidently contrary to the novel doctrine of the Papal transubstantiation. The book is entitled, *A Testimony of Antiquity, shewing the ancient Faith of the Church of England, touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, here publicly preached, and also received, in the Saxons' Time, above seven hundred years ago.* It was
238 first printed by John Day in octavo; and reprinted at Oxford by Leon. Litchfield, 1675. In this sermon are these expressions:

A passage therein against transubstantiation.

"Some have often searched, how bread that is gathered "of corn, and through fire's heat baked, may be turned to "Christ's body; and how wine, that is pressed out of many "grapes, is turned through one blessing to the Lord's blood. "Now say we to such men, that some things be spoken of "Christ by signification; some things by things certain. "True thing is and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, "and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and "on this day rose from death. He is said to be bread by signi-"fication, and a lamb and a lion, and somewhere otherwise. "He is called bread, because he is our life and angels' "life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; a lion for "strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But

" Christ is not so notwithstanding after true nature, neither " bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why is then the holy " housel called Christ's body or his blood, if it be not truly " that it is called? Truly, the bread and wine, which by the " Mass of the Priest is hallowed, shew one thing without to " human understanding, and another thing they call within " to believing minds. Without, they be seen bread and " wine both in figure and taste. And they be truly, after " their hallowing, Christ's body and his blood through " ghostly mystery, &c."

The Preface to this homily.

The Preface to this homily, which without doubt was of the most reverend publisher's writing, is both large and learned, and sheweth first how great contentions had then been of long time about the most comfortable Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour. In the inquisition and determination whereof, many had been charged and condemned of heresy, and reproved as bringers up of new doctrine, not known of old in the Church before Berengarius's time; who taught in France in the days when William the Norman was by conquest King of England, and Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory VII. was Pope of Rome. But that the reader might know how this was advouched more boldly than truly, in special of some certain men, which were more ready to maintain their old judgment than of humility to submit themselves into a truth; here was set forth a testimony of very ancient time; wherein was plainly shewed what was the judgment of the learned men in this matter in the days of the Saxons, before the Conquest. It was further shewed, that the sermon before mentioned was found among many other sermons in the said old Saxon speech, made for other festival days and Sundays of the year; and used to be spoken orderly, according to those days, unto the people, as by the books themselves it did appear. That many books of such sermons were then to be seen: some remaining in private men's hands, having been taken out of monasteries at their dissolution: and some yet reserved in the libraries of cathedral churches, as of Worcester, Hereford, and Exeter. That from these places many

BOOK III. had been delivered into the hand of this our Archbishop of Canterbury: by means of whose diligent search for such
Anno 1566. writings of history, and other monuments of antiquity, as might reveal unto us what had been the state of the Church in England from time to time, the things here made known to the reader came to light. That one of these ancient books thus retrieved, and falling into the Archbishop's hands, was a Saxon book of sixty sermons; about the middle of which was this sermon against the bodily presence. That this sermon among others was translated out of Latin into Saxon by Ælfric, a learned Abbot, first of Malmesbury, and afterwards of St. Alban's.

He publishes two epistles of Ælfric.

The Archbishop also did, at the same time and in the same book, (together with the aforesaid sermon,) put forth two epistles of the same Ælfric. The former indeed was but part of an epistle to Wolfstane, Bishop of Scyrburn; where he, finding fault with an abuse of his time, which was, that Priests on Easter-day filled their housel box, and so kept the bread a whole year for sick men, [as if that bread were holier than the bread of other sacraments,] took occasion to speak against the bodily presence of Christ in the Sacrament: "So holy is the housel, said he, which to-day "is hallowed, as that which on Easter-day was hallowed: "that housel was Christ's body, not *bodily* but *ghostly*." The other epistle was addressed to Wolfstane, Archbishop of York: where speaking again of this overlong reserving
239 of the housel, addeth words more at large against the same bodily presence. This latter epistle the Archbishop thought good to set forth in the words of the Latin epistle, as well as the English translation of it. Which Latin happened to be recorded, and still extant in books fairly written, in the cathedral churches of Worcester and Exeter; where it is remarkable there be these words: *Non sit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus, quem pro nobis effudit; sed* spiritualiter *corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis; sicut manna quod de cælo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit.* Which sentence, it must be noted, was rased by some hand out of the copy at Worcester, but by

good hap remained in that of Exeter: whereby it was restored again, as is signified in the margin of the printed book.

Finally, our Archbishop shewed learnedly in his said Preface, out of antiquity, first, that Ælfric was but the translator of the foresaid sermon, as of other sermons contained in two books: and that therefore they were sermons before his time: and the doctrines contained in them were more anciently embraced in the English Church: and next, that it was not hard to know not only what Ælfric's judgment was in this controversy of transubstantiation, but also (what was more) what was the common received doctrine of this Church herein, as well when Ælfric himself lived, as before his time, and also after his time, even from him to the Conquest, when Berengarius lived. Indeed (as our Archbishop confessed) the Church then was in divers points of religion full of blindness and ignorance, full of childish servitude to ceremonies, as it was long before and after; and too much given to the love of monkery; which now at this time unreasonably took root, and grew excessively. But yet to speak what the adversaries of the truth (he meant those of the Church of Rome) have judged of this time, most certain it was, that there was no age of the Church of England that they more reverenced, and thought more holy than this. And that the Archbishop proved from the multitude of saints that they canonized; as Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, and King Edgar, and King Edward the Martyr, and many more, both men and women, which our Archbishop reckoneth up. And all of them in this age wherein Ælfric lived in great fame and credit.

The Archbishop's conclusion hence of the ancient doctrine of this Church.

And then our Most Reverend concludes, "How some "nowadays not only dissented in doctrine from their own "Church, which they have thought most holy, and judged "a most excellent pattern to be followed. Wherefore what "might we now think (as he added) of that great consent "whereof the Romanists had long made vaunt; to wit, their "doctrine to have continued many hundred years, as it were "linked together with a continued chain, whereof had been

BOOK III. Anno 1566.

"no breach at any time? That this their so great affirmation "had uttered unto us no truth, as the reader might well "judge by truly weighing of this that had been spoken, and "by reading of the abovementioned sermon and epistles. "And so trusting, that after the reader had well weighed "this matter of such manner of the being of Christ's body "in the Sacrament, as this testimony shewed, no untruth or "dishonour should need to be attributed to Christ's loving "words pronounced at his last supper among his Apostles: "no derogation to his most sacred institution: no diminish-"ing of any comfort to Christian men's souls in the use of "this reverend Sacrament, [matters urged by the adversa-"ries for the corporeal presence,] but all things to stand "right up, most agreeably to the verity of Christ's infalli-"ble words, and to the right nature, congruence, and effica-"cies of so holy a Sacrament: and finally, most comfortable "to the conscience of man, for his spiritual uniting and in-"corporation with Christ's blessed body and blood to immor-"tality, and for the sure gage of his resurrection." These are the weighty words of our Archbishop, both in managing of the argument taken from the doctrine of our Saxon ancestors, against the Popish doctrine of the Sacrament, and in his full and comprehensive expressing of the true virtue and efficacy of it unto all pious Christians.

Now that this homily and these two epistles before mentioned were faithfully and exactly published from the old manuscript books, (of which there were divers, some in Latin and some in Saxon,) the Archbishop procured the subscription of fourteen Bishops, (besides his own,) who had carefully perused and compared the same, testifying that they
240 were truly put forth in print, without adding or withdrawing any thing; together with divers other personages of honour and credit subscribing their names. The original whereof remained in the hands of the Archbishop. But the transcript of the said subscriptions the Archbishop caused to be printed in the said book at the end thereof. The Bishops that subscribed were, besides Matthew our Archbishop, Thomas Archbishop of York, Edmond London,

James Durham, Robert Winton, William Chichester, John Hereford, Richard Ely, Edwin Wigorn, Nicolas Lincoln, Richard St. David's, Thomas Coventry and Litchfield, John Norwich, John Carlisle, Nicolas Bangor. Anno 1566.

After which names is underwritten, " The record hereof " remains in the hands of the most reverend Father Mat- " thew, Archbishop of Canterbury."

The Bible reprinted.

This year the Great Bible was printed again for the use of churches, being nothing but the old translation of Coverdale, not yet corrected. For though the Archbishop had much in his thoughts a careful review of that translation, and seems already to set about it together with the assistance of other Bishops and Divines, yet it being not yet ready, for the present necessity the old English Bible was now anno 1566 printed again.

Barnes made Suffragan of Nottingham. Regist. Eccles. Ebor.

This year, March the 9th, Richard Barnes, S. T. P. Chancellor of York, was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, in the church of St. Peter's, York, by Archbishop Yong, James Bishop of Durham, and William Bishop of Chester, assisting. For the diocese of York, being destitute of a Suffragan that might be assistant to the Archbishop in his see, being aged and sickly, he presented two of his Clergy to the Queen; of whom she, being to choose one to some see within the province or diocese of York, nominated the said Barnes to the style, title, and dignity of the said see of Nottingham, according to the manner and force of the statute of Parliament 26. Henry VIII. He was afterwards Bishop of Carlisle and Durham successively.

Rogers made Suffragan of Dover.

And so our Archbishop also three years afterwards, *viz.* anno 1569, (for the better supply of his absence from his diocese,) consecrated Richard Rogers, S. T. B. of an ancient family in Wales, a Prebendary of his church, Bishop Suffragan of Dover: Archbishop Parker having hitherto declined to have any Suffragan: though Cardinal Pole, his immediate predecessor had two; namely, Richard Thornden, (sometimes written Thornton,) once a Benedictine Monk; and upon his death, anno 1557, one Thomas Chetham, Titular Bishop of Sidon. So that that see was without

BOOK III.

a Suffragan twelve years. Rogers held that dignity twenty-eight years: and became also Dean of Canterbury, anno 1584, and died in the year 1597, and was buried in the cathedral there: where he hath still a monument remaining.

Anno 1566.

The Archbishop's proxies.

I shall add nothing more under this year concerning our Archbishop but this: that while the Parliament was sitting this eighth year of the Queen, he was under great weakness and indisposition of health; so that being compelled to be absent, he appointed the Bishops of London and Ely to be his proxies: as he certified in his letter of proxy, *Omnibus, &c. noveritis me præfatum Matthæum, ratione adversæ valetudinis, quâ in præsentiarum maximè laboro, quominus præsenti hac sessione Parliamenti interesse valeam*, &c. It was dated Nov. 1, with his hand and seal.

Convocation at Lambeth.

And on the same account the Convocation was adjourned to Lambeth, to the Archbishop's palace there, November the 22d; where a subsidy was granted by the Clergy. And on the 7th of December, the Archbishop was well enough, with the Bishops of London, Chichester, Ely, and Lincoln, to repair to Westminster, and there to present her Majesty with the instrument of the said subsidy, at whose hands she received it pleasingly and thankfully.

241

CHAP. XVI.

Many separate and withdraw communion. They use the English Geneva book. Some are taken at a private meeting in London. The Council's orders concerning them. The learneder sort will not separate. Beza's advice to wear the habits. Papists against the English Liturgy. The imposture of a Friar, pretending himself a Puritan Minister. Brought before the Council. Examined by the Archbishop.

Anno 1567.

The refusers withdraw communion.

WE come now again to pursue the history of nonconformity. Upon the late proceedings with the refusers of the habits, by the Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners,

many of them withdrew from the national Church, and the religious communion of the rest of Christians, and set up separate assemblies; where, casting away wholly the book appointed for the public and common service of God, they served him according to ways and platforms of their own, and used prayers and preaching, and administering of the sacraments by themselves. The reason of their withdrawing was, because "the ceremonies of Antichrist were tied "to the service of God," as one of them told the Bishop of London; "so that no man might preach and administer the "sacraments without them. And that it was compelling "these things by law that made them separate." The book they used in these their private meetings was, for the most part, the book of service made and used by the English at Geneva: which was mostwhat taken out of the French book of Calvin.

The English Geneva book.

This book I have seen in the most copious and complete library of the right reverend Father, Dr. John Moor, now Bishop of Ely, together with several other Offices and Confessions, which were afterwards added to it, and printed with it, anno 1584. It is a small thick volume, and entitled, *The Form of Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments used in the English Church at Geneva: approved and received by the Church of Scotland. Whereunto, besides that which was in the former Books, are also added sundry other Prayers.* The contents of this book are,

I. The order of excommunication, and of public repentance in the Church of Scotland, and commanded to be printed by the General Assembly of the same, in the month of June, 1571.

II. The form and order of the election of Ministers at Edinburgh, the 9th of March, 1560, John Knox being Minister.

III. The Confession of the Christian faith, used in the English congregation at Geneva; received and approved by the Church of Scotland; beginning, "I believe and confess "my Lord God eternal, infinite," &c.

IV. Of the Ministers and their election.

BOOK III.

V. Another confession of prayer, commonly used in the Church of Edinburgh, on the day of common prayers: and many other things, as offices for the sacraments, for marriage, for visitation of the sick, for burial, for ecclesiastical discipline, &c. But to return to our story.

Anno 1567.

Separation, an unhappy event.

This was a most unhappy event of this controversy; whereby people of the same country, of the same religion, and of the same judgment too, concerning the errors of Popery, and the evangelical doctrine, parted communions, and went aside into secret houses and chambers to serve God by themselves; which separation begat estrangements between neighbours, Christians, and Protestants.

How the separation was first set up.

After the deprivation of some London Ministers, in this, or rather the last year, for not wearing the habits, nor observing the other usages; for seven or eight weeks their hearers either came to the churches, and heard the conformable preachers, or went no whither. Many of them then ran after Father Coverdale, who took that occasion to preach the more constantly: but yet with much fear, so that he would not be known where he preached, though many came to his house, to ask where he would preach the next Lord's day. This, it is likely, he did, because he did not care for tumultuous meetings, lest he might give offence to the government. But in the space of these seven or eight weeks, they bethought what was best to do, seeing they could not have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered, without *idolatrous gear*, as they termed it. And they remembered, that there was a congregation of them in Queen Mary's days, in London, and a congregation at Geneva, which used a book and order of preaching, ministering sacraments, and discipline; which book Calvin had allowed of. And, in short, concluded to break off from the public churches, and separate into private houses. And so they did, and used that book, as was mentioned before. But however, of these Dissenters, many of their Ministers disliked of this separation altogether, and would not join with them. And so the Bishop of London told some of them, "They "will not be preachers, nor meddle with you."

They hear Coverdale.

242

Part of a register.

The State began now to be very jealous of this novelty; and the ecclesiastical Commissioners thought it concerned them to look after these private meetings, knowing how contrary it was to the laws. The 19th of June, there were about a hundred got together in Plumbers' Hall, which they hired under pretence of a wedding; and so one of them told the Sheriff. But here they were seized, and about fourteen or fifteen sent to prison. The next day seven of them were brought to examination, whose names were, Smith, Nixon, Wh. Ireland, Hawkins, Rowland, Morecraft; and some of them, I suppose, Ministers. They were convented before Sir Roger Martin, the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Watts, and other Commissioners. Then it was told them, their fault was, that they, contrary to the act of Parliament, met together, using prayers and preaching, and administering the sacraments among themselves. And for withdrawing themselves from the parish churches.

Some taken at a meeting in Plumbers' Hall.

The Queen and Council hearing of these meetings, had sent a letter to the Bishop of London, the sum whereof was, to require such as frequented them to be conformable by gentleness; or, if not, that they should first be punished with the loss of their freedoms of the city, and afterwards abide other penalties. This the Bishop opened at this examination, June 20, and offered to shew it them, with the names of the Counsellors' hands thereto subscribed. The Bishop moreover mildly told them, "That in this severing "of themselves from the society of other Christians, they "condemned not only them, but all the whole state of the "Church reformed in King Edward's days; which, he said, "was well reformed, according to the word of God, and that "many good men had shed their blood for the same: which, "he said, their doings condemned. He asked them, if they "had not the Gospel truly preached, and the sacraments "ministered accordingly, and good order kept, although "they differed from other Churches in ceremonies and in-"different things, which laid in the Prince's power to com-"mand, for order's sake."

The Bishop of London's speech to them.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

Foreign reformed Churches urged against them.

The Dean of Westminster told them, because they seemed to value themselves for following the foreign reformed Churches, that all the learned men in Europe were against them. The Bishop of London added, that the learned in Geneva were against them; and then produced the very letter that came from Geneva, and read therein these words; "That they should exercise their office against the will of "the Prince and the Bishops, we do so much the more trem- "ble at." Tho. Hawkins would have made the meaning of Beza by those words to have been, that they trembled at the Prince's case and the Bishops'; because they, by such extremity, should drive them against their wills to that which of itself was plain enough [Popish,] though they would not utter it.

They dislike wafer bread.

In this conference there happened some discourse about the bread used in the Sacrament, which gave these men dislike, because it was wafer bread, resembling the bread used in the Sacrament by the Papists. But the Bishop of London told them, that the Church of Geneva, by whose pattern they chiefly guided themselves, communicated in wafer cakes. But one of them answered, that the English congregation that were there [in the time of the exile] did
243 communicate in loaf bread. He that is minded to have an account of this whole conference, may find it in a book called *Part of a Register*. After this conference with them, and exhortation to them to forbear these meetings, and no promise given that they would forbear, but rather a steady resolution appeared in them to hold in the same judgment, they were, at least some of them, sent to prison again. But after some time were released.

The learned nonconformists will not separate.

But many of the graver and more learned men, however they disallowed the ceremonies, and would not be brought to use them, and so underwent ecclesiastical censures, did utterly disapprove of these practices of separation, nor would by any means be brought to join with those that did, or meet among them, or preach to them. Among these were Sampson and Lever, and others, as the Bishop of London told those persons above mentioned. Though some other

Ministers there were, that would by no means come to that mind, neither would communicate with the Church that served God after the laws established. And one of them said, that he had rather be torn in an hundred pieces, than communicate with them; as Hawkins told the Bishop of London and the rest. But as for the peaceable nonconformists, and particularly Sampson and Lever, to whom I might add Coverdale, Fox, and Humphry, and some more, as Wiburn, Johnson, and Penny; they were dealt gently with, and had, if not licence, yet connivance to preach in public, and hold preferments.

Anno 1567.

Beza's judgment to wear the habits;

Whereas the Dean of Westminster had told the Separatists aforesaid, that all the Churches were against their practices, as before we saw the judgment of the Church of Zurich, so I shall now produce that of Geneva, which these men supposed to be most of their side. The Dissenters had sent to Beza, the chief Minister there, to advise them what they should do, when these things were so imposed, that they must either leave their ministry or use them. Though he disliked these habits, as being polluted with superstitions, and that in his judgment they deserved very ill of the Church of God, and must answer it another day, who were authors thereof; yet he declared himself for the compliance of the Ministers, rather than to leave their ministry. *Etsi nostro quidem judicio non recte revehuntur in Ecclesiam, tamen quum non sint ex earum rerum genere, quæ per se impiæ sunt, non videri nobis illas tanti momenti, ut propterea vel pastoribus deserendum sit potius Ministerium, quàm ut vestes illas assumant, vel gregibus omittendum publicum pabulum, potius quàm ita vestitos pastores audiant*, &c. That is, "Although in our judgment it was not well done "to bring these habits again into the Church, yet since they "are not of the nature of those things which are of themselves ungodly, we think them not of so great moment, "that therefore, either the pastors should leave their ministry, rather than assume those garments, or that the "flock should neglect their public food, rather than to hear "pastors so habited. Only he advised the pastors to free

Epist. xii. p. 98.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

"their consciences by an open and modest protestation "against them, before the Queen and Bishops, and their "congregations. But yet he dissuaded them from subscrib- "ing to these things as right, or from allowing them to be "so by their silence. But he exhorted all the brethren, even "with tears, that, laying aside all bitterness of mind, and "keeping truth of doctrine, and a good conscience, they "would patiently bear with one another, obey from their "heart the Queen and all her Bishops, and resist Satan, "seeking all occasions of tumults and calamities; and agree "together in the Lord, though in some things they had not "at present the same thoughts." This Beza wrote in the month of October.

And submit to the Bishops.

Where we may observe by the way, that as the reverend Beza exhorted them to submit to the habits, so also to the Bishops. For though he were an earnest patron of the Presbyterian discipline, and came far short of Calvin's moderation in that behalf; yet in one of his discourses he spake thus, *Quod si nunc Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ* &c. *i. e.* "But "if now the reformed English churches did persist, being "upheld by the authority of their Bishops and Archbishops, "(as this hath happened to them in our memory, that they "have had men of that order, not only famous martyrs of "God, but also most worthy pastors and doctors,) let Eng- "land surely enjoy that singular blessing of God; which I "pray God may be perpetual unto it." This passage is quoted by Dr. George Downame, in his sermon at the consecration of Mountague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, anno 1608.

De Minister. Evangel. cap. 18.

244

Papists declaim against the Liturgy.

Upon these domestic broils among Protestants, the Papists, under disguise, fell foul upon the English Liturgy, and combined with the Puritans in defacing the common service used in our churches. Sir William Cecyl, the wise Secretary of State, kept a memorial book, or journal, wherein he writ matters that occurred. Thence Sir James Ware, the antiquarian, extracted these words: "In these days, "[anno 1567,] men began to speak against the reformed "prayers, established first by King Edward VI. and his

Sir James Ware.

" Parliament, and since by her Majesty and her Parliament. Upon which account, divers Papists disguisedly " spoke as bitterly against the reformed prayers of the " Church, as those then called Puritans did." And with this preface he ushered in the story of Faithful Cummin, a Dominican Friar, a person generally reputed a zealous Protestant, and much admired and followed by the people, for his seeming piety, and for speaking against Pius V. then Pope. He was accused by John Clarkson, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicolas Draper, and Mary Dean: who, being sworn upon the holy Evangelists before her Majesty and the Lords of the Council, deposed, that the said Cummin was no true Protestant, but a false impostor, and a sower of sedition among her Majesty's loyal subjects. Upon which, Monday, 5th of April, the said Faithful Cummin was brought before her Majesty and the honourable Lords of the Privy Council, and there examined by his Grace the Archbishop; who when he had asked him of what order he was, Cummin answered, *Of Christ's order*. And when he asked him again what order that was, he said, A preacher of the holy Gospel. And being demanded again, under what power he owned to hold that Gospel, he answered, Under Christ and his saints. The Archbishop asked him again, whether he acknowledged any other power, save Christ, to be on earth; he acknowledged he did; namely, the holy Catholic Church. But the Archbishop, willing to know what allegiance he would confess to the Queen, demanded, if he did not acknowledge a defender of the holy Catholic Church: to which he replied, That God was the only defender. Whereupon the Archbishop, addressing himself to the Queen, said, " Your gracious Majesty may " perceive, that either this man hath been instructed what " to say, or otherwise he must be, by his answers, a man of " craft; to which the Queen replied, she supposed so."

The imposture of one Cummin, a Dominican.

Examined by the Archbishop.

Then Clerkson, who had known him a year or more, being called in, the Queen asked him what he had to say against this man, that he was suspected to be an impostor. He replied, three things; First, That he be required to

The causes why he was suspected.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

prove his Orders. Secondly, Why he never came to the prayers of the Church of England, but started up, and preached to the people, not coming into the church till the prayers were finished. Thirdly, To prove that ever he received the Sacrament according to the Church of England, from any of the orthodox Clergymen. Accordingly, when the Archbishop first inquired of Cummin concerning his Orders, he said, he was ordained of the Cardinal, meaning Pole; [but Pole never ordained any, for ought appears in his register.] And he acknowledged he had no certificate or licence to preach, under any other Bishop's hand. Which made the Archbishop ask him, How they might then be assured that he was not of the Romish Church? To which he answered, That several that had heard his prayers and sermons could testify, that he had spoke against Rome and her Pope, as much as any of the Clergy had. The Archbishop then said, that he perceived, that he would have any one preach, so he spake but against the Pope in his sermons.

Pretends to the Spirit.

Cummin answered, Not every one, but he whose function it was, and who had the Spirit. But because that was a dubious expression; when the Archbishop asked him what spirit, he replied, The spirit of grace and truth. Then his Lordship asked him, whether that spirit in him was the spirit of grace or truth, that did not comply with the orders of the Church, lately purged and cleansed from schism and idolatry? But Cummin said, he endeavoured to make it *purer*. The Archbishop went on to demand of him, how he endeavoured to make the Church *purer*, when he would not communicate with her in the Sacrament, nor in prayer. He said,

245 he endeavoured it, when he prayed to God, that he would open the eyes of men to see their errors: and that many had joined with him in his prayers. And as for the Sacrament, he had, he said, both given and taken the body of Christ, among those of *tender consciences*, who had assembled with him in the fear of the Lord. And withal acknowledged, that he had a congregation that followed him.

Cummin and his company met at an inn.

Draper, another witness against Cummin, was a cook at the Maidenhead in Maidstone. He testified, that Cummin

and his company came to his house, and bespake a dinner: and by chance going up stairs, he heard one groan and weep; and upon this, going into the room where they were, he was startled; but they told him, they were all at prayers. And the Queen asking how long they were at prayer, he said, about two hours. Mary Dean, a servant in the family, said, she saw this Cummin at prayers, and thought he was distracted. But the people said he was an *heavenly man*, and that God's Spirit made him weep for the sins of the people. Anno 1567.

In fine, the Queen required him, either to receive Orders, and become of the Church of England, to qualify him to preach and pray amongst her subjects; or else commanded him to be committed to close prison, unless some would be bound for his appearance. So one Bland, his half-brother, gave bond for his appearance on the 12th of April following; on which day he appeared. But other business in the Council intervening, he was ordered the next day to appear. But Cummin thought it his best way now to be gone. So he came to his followers, told them, "That the Queen and "Council had acquitted him; that he was warned of God "to go beyond seas, to instruct the Protestants there, and "would return to them again. He told them, moreover, "that *spiritual prayer* was the chief testimony of a true "Protestant, and that the set form of prayer in England "was but the Mass translated." And then praying *extempore* with them, shed many false tears, which, it seems, he had at command. Then telling his people he had not a farthing to support him in his journey, yet being God's cause he would undertake it out of charity, being assured that the Lord would raise him up friends; they fell a weeping, and collected for him thirty pounds before his escape. And so he got away. And though search was made for him in London and Kent, and among his followers, (many of whom were examined before the Council,) yet he could not be heard of. He is bound to appear again. But escapes.

Till September following, one John Baker, master of a ship called the Swan of London, arriving at Portsmouth, said he had seen Faithful Cummin in the Low Countries. Goes to Rome.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

Which coming to the Queen's ears, she sent for the said Baker to the Council Board, where he gave the said relation of his having seen him in the said countries: and added moreover, that occasionally speaking of him to one Martin Van Daval, a merchant in Amsterdam; he told him, that this Cummin had been lately at Rome, and that Pius Quintus had put him in prison: but he writing to the said Pope, that he had somewhat of importance to communicate to him, the Pope sent for him the next day, and said to him, "Sir, I have heard how you have set forth me "and my predecessors among your heretics of England, by "reviling my person, and railing at my Church." To whom Cummin replied, "That with his lips he had ut- "tered that, which his heart never thought; and that "his Holiness little thought that he had done him a "considerable service, notwithstanding he spoke so much "against him." When the Pope asked how? he said, "he "had preached against set forms of prayer, and that he "called the English prayers English Mass, and had persuad- "ed several to pray spiritually, and *extempore*. And that "this had so much taken with the people, that the Church "of England was become as odious to that sort of people, "whom he instructed, as Mass was to the Church of Eng- "land. And that this would be a stumblingblock to that "Church while it was a Church." And upon this the Pope commended him, and gave him a reward of two thousand ducats.

And is rewarded by the Pope.

The Queen sends abroad to take him.

The Queen wrote over to her agent beyond sea, if possible, to take Cummin, and send him into England. But the thing took air, and some of his friends gave him advertisement of his danger: whereupon he quitted the Low Countries, and retired into the Romish territories. All this I have taken out of a book called *Foxes and Firebrands;* and have laid it at this length, that it may be the better observed, what arts the Papists have used to undermine this Church.

246

CHAP. XVII.

The Archbishop visits Norwich diocese. His commissions, and Articles of Inquiry. The disorders there. The Archbishop's endeavours to rectify them. Blames the Bishop of Norwich. The Archbishop will not dispense with an order for three Priests in Merton college. A conspiracy in that college, against the Archbishop, dispersed. He founds scholarships in Norwich: and sermons anniversary. His ordinances for them.

NOW did the Archbishop intend to visit the diocese of Norwich, where he had understood many things to have been out of order, and the Bishop himself not without his imperfections. For which place he had a more special love and tender concern, being born and bred there, mentioning this in his commission to have been a particular cause of his visitation. In order to this, May 8, he issued out an inhibition to John, Bishop of Norwich, from visiting the church, city, and diocese. And a mandate came forth, dated May the 16th, from him to the said Bishop, for his summoning all persons concerned, to appear at the said visitation, having this preamble; *viz.* Anno 1567. The Archbishop visits the diocese of Norwich.

MATTHEUS permissione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepisc. totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, venerabili confratri nostro Dno. Johann. ead. permissione Norwicen. Episc. saltem. et fraternam in Dom. charitatem. Suscepti cura regiminis, &c. *i. e.* "The care of government undertaken "by us, compels us, that, by rooting out vices, and planting "virtues, we endeavour to fulfil the duty of our office, "as much as with God's help we may. Hence it is, that "we purpose and intend, ere long, God assisting, to visit "your cathedral church, and city, and diocese of Norwich, "of our province of Canterbury; as well in the head as in "the members; and the Clergy and people living and re-"siding in the same, by our metropolitical right; and to "correct the defects found there, lacking necessary correc- Mandate from the Archbishop to the Bishop of Norwich. MSS. T. Baker, D. Johan. coll. Cantab. Soc.

BOOK III.

" tion and reformation; and, according to our power, to " restore them to their due state.

Anno 1567. " Wherefore he [the Archbishop] committed to and " commanded his brotherhood [the Bishop of Norwich] to " take order, that the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral " church, and all and singular Archdeacons, Canons Choral, " Choristers, and other Ministers of the said church; and all " and singular Rectors, Proprietaries, Vicars, &c. and all " others exercising any ecclesiastical function, appear be- " fore him, or his Vicar General in spirituals, or his Commis- " sary, the days, hours, and places, that should be appointed " and specified in a schedule annexed to these presents; and " humbly to undergo his metropolitical visitation, to be " exercised in that behalf: and further to do, receive, and " hear such things, as on his part were to be declared and " ministered to them: premonishing the Dean and Chapter, " Archdeacons, Canons, &c. of the said cathedral church, to " exhibit and produce their foundations, dotations, charters, " grants, statutes, ordinances, and all other their muni- " ments, &c. and to cause all executors of the deceased, and " the widows and kindred of such as are departed intestate, " living within the city and diocese of Norwich, to appear, " and produce the testaments and last wills of the said " defuncts. He also cited the Bishop of Norwich himself
247 " to appear, by his Proctor lawfully constituted, before him " or his Vicar General in spirituals, on the 18th day of " July, in the chapter-house of his cathedral of Norwich, " between the hours of eight and ten in the morning: then " and there to undergo this metropolitical visitation: and to " do and receive that which the nature and quality of the " same his visitation did of itself exact and require: and " what he should do or cause to be done in the premises, " to certify by his letters patents: and by a schedule to " notify all the names and surnames of all and singular " so cited and summoned; and the names of their benefices " and promotions.

" Dated as above from his manor of Lamehith

" Jo. Incent, Register."

Anno 1567.

The Archbishop also sent articles to be inquired of in this cathedral church, being the same for all the rest of the cathedral and collegiate churches in his provinces; and were nine in number. The first concerned the residence and behaviour of the Dean, Archdeacons, and Dignitaries of the church. The second concerning the Prebendaries and their residence; their livings; their apparel; their preaching. The third concerning the using of divine service and sacraments in their church, according to the Queen's laws and injunctions; and concerning communicating thrice a year. The fourth, concerning the well ordering of their grammar-school and the children in it; and concerning the keeping of the statutes and ordinances of it. The fifth concerned all their other ministers and officers, doing their duties in all points obediently; and concerning stewards and receivers making a true account. The sixth was concerning the doctrine and judgment of the head and members of their church; and concerning any of them preaching unwholesome, erroneous doctrine, or moving any not to conform to the orders of religion reformed and restored. Particularly, if any affirmed the Queen not to be head and chief governor of her people or Church of England; or that it is not lawful for a particular church to alter its rites and ceremonies for better edification; or to affirm, that any man might by his private authority do the same; or that such are to be borne with that extol superstitious religion, relics, pilgrimages, lighting of candles, &c. ducking to images, praying in a tongue unknown, &c. or other Anabaptistical errors, [which it seems were already crept into this Church:] as, maintaining that infants should not be baptized: that every article in the Creed was not to be believed of necessity: or that mortal sins committed after baptism were not remissible: or that man, after he have received the Holy Ghost, cannot sin: or that afterwards he cannot rise again to repentance: or that any liveth without sin: or that it is not lawful to swear in some cases: or that the civil magistrate cannot punish a man with death: or that any man may take upon him any ministry in Christ's Church:

Articles of Inquiry, MSS. ut supra.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

or that the word of God did condemn the government of women, &c. The seventh was concerning the names and surnames of all and singular the members of the said Church: and of any of them attaining their places by simony, and whether any of them were swearers, adulterers, fornicators, &c. The eighth was concerning having necessary ornaments and books for the Church; and concerning the reparation of it. The ninth, to present whatsoever they should think necessary and profitable for the Church.

Answers to the inquiries. N°. LIII. LIV.

To these articles of inquiry were distinct answers made by George Gardiner, one of the Prebendaries. Which with the articles at large may be read in the Appendix. Some particulars whereof were, that one Wenden, one of the Archdeacons and a Prebendary, did not reside, and went not in priestly apparel, but in a cloak with a Spanish cape, and a rapier by his side; was no Priest, and lived at Lovain. That Smith, another of their Prebendaries, kept at Swineshead in Lincolnshire, and was neither Priest nor Preacher. That there were but two preachers among the Prebendaries. That the communion was ministered in a chalice, contrary to the Queen's advertisements. That they had no grammar-school, but they allowed twenty marks a year to one that taught a grammar-school in the city; and he received such scholars as they sent him. To the article concerning preaching or holding errors, the answer only was, that he knew no offender, because he knew no man's conscience,
248 and openly he could accuse no man. The master of the choristers suspected, for carrying tales between gentlemen, and by that means caused unquietness. Toller, one of the Canons, was a great brawler, and kept another man's wife. To the last article, that he desired service might be sung more deliberately, with Psalms at the beginning and end of the service, according to the Injunctions. That the chalice might be turned into a decent communion cup. That a divinity lecture might be read, according to their foundation. That their Prebendaries might be all Priests, and resident. And some provision might be made against spoiling their woods.

Anno 1567.

But now to go a little back, and to give some particulars of this visitation. June the 28th, a commission was signed to Dr. Yale, the Archbishop's officer; Dr. Thomas Godwin, Dean of Christ's church, Canterbury; and Dr. Drury, Advocate of his Court of Arches, and Commissary of his Faculties; James Gervis, an Advocate of the said Court; and Thomas Bickley, B. D. his Chaplain, to visit the said church, city, and diocese. The Archbishop began his commission with these words, *Suscepti muneris solicitudo et cura nos imprimis movet, movere et potest natalis patriæ charitas, excitat officium, ut in civitate et dioc. Norwicen. unde orti et enutriti sumus, juxta Apostoli præscriptum*, &c.

Commission to Dr. Yale, &c. to visit.

Regist. Parker.

Norwich was a large diocese, and the report was come to the Archbishop's ears, that it was greatly gone into disorder, partly by Papists, and partly by Puritans; by livings also simonically disposed of, and many unsupplied. And that which contributed to these irregularities was, that the Bishop had not visited in seven years, according to an evil custom, which prevailed in that diocese, which that Bishop himself complained of, but could not help; and his late Chancellor, Dr. Gascoin, had greatly neglected his duty. So that the Bishop was very glad of this archiepiscopal visitation; but yet believed it would not be found so bad as was reported, as he signified to the Archbishop. Towards the latter end of July, the said Bishop of Norwich wrote to the Archbishop's Commissioners, who had now made a good progress in their visitation, "rendering unto "them his hearty thanks, for their painful diligence taken "about the reformation of his diocese. Wherein, as they "had supplied, as he said, the defaults of his officers, "upon whom he might justly lay the burden of such "things as were amiss, so his trust was, there should "follow thereupon such speedy redress as he had always "desired."———He gave them again his thanks for their pains, and wished unto them all as well as to himself, and so concluded his letter, dated from Ludham, July 27.

The Bishop of Norwich writes to the visitors.

The Bishop also wrote now an account of the state of

BOOK III. his diocese, which, with his letter to the Archbishop, he prayed the Commissioners to deliver to his Grace. His
Anno 1567. letter was as followeth:

And to the Archbishop. E Biblioth. R. P. Joh. Ep. Elien.

"My duty in humble wise remembered. These are to "render thanks to your good Grace, that it hath pleased "you to have so fatherly a care of the state of this diocese, "as to appoint such grave and learned persons to visit the "same, for the reformation of such things as are amiss. "I have, as my duty is, received them. And my trust is, "there shall not appear unto them so many disorders, "as unto your Grace hath been reported. And yet such as "shall be found, I may in part excuse me of, for that "I can visit but once in seven years, (as the custom hath "been;) but I see no reason thereto; and being now almost "seven years since I did last visit with an unexpert Chan-"cellor. Since which time committing the order and re-"formation of such cases unto my late Chancellor Dr. "Gascoin, and my other officers, they have not in all parts "so trustily behaved themselves as my desire and their du-"ties required. Which as your Grace in some part can "witness with me, so my trust is, you will consider thereof "accordingly.

"I signified unto your Grace a year past of one Leonard "Elston, a schoolmaster of Worsted, procured thither by "Dr. Gascoin; who having written a fond work against the "state of true religion, now used, and sending the same to "a friend of his, I chanced in the way to light upon that "book, which as at that time I thought not meet to trouble
249 "your Grace withal, being in every part unworthy the "reading; so now hearing him to be apprehended, and in "the gatehouse at Westminster, I think it not amiss, "together with these letters, to send the same unto your "Grace; that having sufficiently wherewith to charge him, "he may have that to him belongeth, and others by his "example warned not to offend in the like, &c.

"Your, &c. Joh. Norwic."

The good Archbishop's reason therefore for this visitation appears to have been certain scandalous doings here. Which I will set down from a letter by him wrote to the Lady Bacon not long after, in the month of February, choosing rather to use his words than my own. Anno 1567. The reason of this visitation;

"Of late I sent my visitors to Norwich diocese; his [the "Lord Bacon's] country and mine, to set order, and know "the state of the country. Whereof I hear in that country, "that *Quid vultis mihi dare* had so much prevailed there "among the *Simoneans*, that now to sell and to buy bene- "fices, to fleece parsonages and vicarages [was come to "pass,] that *omnia erant venalia*. And I am informed, "the best of the country, not under the degree of Knights, "were infected with this sore: so far, that some one "Knight had four or five, others seven or eight benefices "clouted together; fleecing them, and defrauding the "Queen's subjects of their duty of prayers. Some were for "setting boys and servingmen to bear the names of such "livings. Understanding this enormity, how the Gospel "was thus pinched, to the discouraging of all good labour- "ers in God's harvest, I mean to inquire of it. In such "inquisition was presented at Norwich, that my Lord [Bi- "shop of Norwich] hath set a servingman, not ordered, a "mere laybody, in the face of the whole city, to be a Pre- "bendary of his church there. And that he had at home "at his house another Prebendary. And bearing them "great under my Lord's authority, despised mine, to be at "the church's visitation. This matter had been long "tossed among the people, of the two places thus used. "Whom I knew not of, till my visitors came home again."

Shewed in his letter to the Lady Bacon. MSS. G. P. Arm.

Lay gentry fleece the benefices.

Servingmen enjoy prebends.

The good Archbishop, when his visitors came home, inquiring of them first of the cathedral church, was informed of this by them. He at his next opportunity told the Bishop of Norwich of it, and what was talked; but the Bishop seeming not to remember their names, the Archbishop ceased further talk of it then. But the Archbishop seemed not well content that they should have neglected to

The Archbishop's dealing with them.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

do their duties to his Commissioners, in not appearing upon summons. But the said Commissioners for this absence had charged the Dean and Chapter, unknown to the Archbishop, to pay them no rent of their prebends, till they had shewed good cause to the Archbishop of their non-appearance. One of them, whose name was Smith, came thither soon after for his money, and was denied it. And after, he resorted to the Archbishop for a letter of release, whereby he might have the Archbishop's allowance to receive his money. When his Grace perceived what he was, and withal that he had honest learning, moved him to enter into Orders, to avoid the speech of the world, and not to live so contrary to laws, and so to honest, as he said, that small number of the Church besides, being but six Prebendaries, who though they were all at home, one could hardly be spared, as they might be in churches where were forty or fifty prebends. But this man, after many words, answered the Archbishop, that though he had been brought up in some profane learning, yet in Scripture he had no knowledge, and therefore he would not enter into the ministry.

Persuades one of them to resign.

And then he further asked the Archbishop's counsel. Who told him, he thought it best for him, for the necessity of life, after his service spent with my Lord [Bishop of Norwich,] reserving some pension, to resign the prebend to such an one as were able to do good service in that church. He told the Archbishop, that there were some that had offered him well, but he liked not their judgments; and in fine, he thought good, to gratify the whole city [of Norwich,] to resign it to one Mr. Walker, who was desired for the gift of his preaching to continue there. And so to be out of the danger of non-residency from a little benefice he had in the country, whither he must be fain else to go, and leave the city destitute of his labours. The Archbishop, for the compassing so good a design, gave Smith his letters of release to the Dean, to receive his payment, after what time he should resign his prebend upon a pension of five pounds assured by the church. Upon this supposed vacation, the Duke of

Norfolk [a personage very well disposed to religion, and out of his kindness to the city of Norwich, and being, as it is like, moved thereto by the Archbishop] writ to the Bishop of Norwich, (now, as it seems, at London,) in the aforesaid Walker's behalf, [who came up with these letters to the Bishop.] But notwithstanding Walker could not be admitted. And the cause was, that Smith was bound to the Bishop of Norwich to pay five pounds pension out of his prebend, to a sister's son of the Bishop's, studying at Cambridge. And this was the answer the Bishop himself gave Walker. Which when he had told the Archbishop, he was sorry to hear it of him, *qui fœnum habet in cornu*, as he expressed himself, [meaning, I suppose, being so well to pass in wealth.] As he thought it would be in the Greenyard, a common place where sermons were made. But the Archbishop excused it as well as he could to Walker. Who told his Grace, that this kind of doing was common in all the country, and he marvelled that they which favoured the Gospel should so practise, with divers words to that effect. Whereby the Archbishop, as he said, gathered the sequel, what was like to follow this repulse; [namely, the scandal and reproach of it to light upon the Bishop.]

Which the Bishop of Norwich hindered.

And immediately in that very article of time, while he retained Walker at dinner in his house on purpose, the Archbishop writ to the Bishop, to put the matter to his wisdom and consideration, without mentioning any of the hard circumstances of the cause, how it was like to be taken. But he signified what a pleasure it would have been to my Lord of Norfolk, who he was sure would have taken it thankfully, to have sped; and so being made known among his friends in the city, would have, he doubted not, promoted the credit of the Gospel, for his Grace to be the mover, and bringer into the Church and into the city such a preacher, had Walker sped at the said Duke's request. This was the contents of the Archbishop's letter to the Bishop of Norwich. But it would not serve for Walker, who was the messenger that carried it. This five pound pension was the

Blamed therefore by the Archbishop.

BOOK III.

stop and let. But the answer he sent to the Duke's Grace was, that Walker, for whom he requested, should be sure of the next vacant room, when it chanced there. Which being told the Archbishop, he made this reflection; "I pray God send my Lord many joyful years to continue "both in life and in office till that day and time; but I "think this offer would have been taken in time. And "I wish I had borne this five pound pension of my own "purse, that the common slanderous speech might have "been stayed, where I fear it will by this doing be "farther wondered at. But it may be said, Let such as "talk of it, remedy it, if they can. O Madam, God is the "rewarder of all good doings, and reformer of all disorders. "I see this country so much without remorse of conscience "in this outrage, [of robbing Ministers of what is allotted "to them,] that the stones will speak of it, if it be not "reformed." Such was the zeal and honesty of this good overseer of the Church against these abuses and wrongs done to the Clergy, and through them unto all the people, by putting their revenues into the hands of laymen, that did nothing for it.

Anno 1567.

The Archbishop denies a suit of the Attorney General, and why.

He was in the month of June at Croydon, labouring under a severe fit of the stone, to which disease he was very subject. Hither the Queen's Attorney writ to him for a favour towards Merton college, (Man, the Warden, being now Ambassador in Spain;) but the Archbishop granted not his suit; yet gave him so good a reason for his denial, that he could not take it amiss. In a former visitation of that college, the Archbishop had, among other Injunctions, enjoined, that there should be three Priests at least in the college. But the young men of the house were so addicted to pleasure and sloth, that this injunction was too hard for them, and they obtained of Mr. Attorney, to desire the Archbishop to dispense with it. But one of the wise and godly Archbishop's main maxims for the Church's good was herein so much opposed, namely, the furnishing the

251 Church with ministers and preachers, which it then much

wanted, that he would by no means comply with a request of that nature. But take the reason of the Archbishop's denial from his own letter to the said Attorney. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1567.

His letter to the Attorney concerning Merton college. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist.

"I marvel much that the Fellows of Merton college "should be so much grieved with one order we made for "three only Priests to be within the college: whereunto "they be all sworn by statute: and among the number of "twenty of them, that not three are disposed to serve the "realm in the holy ministry, but would in idle pleasure "wear out their lives. I cannot of conscience favour them "therein. And of late hearing of a by-statute they had, "that none of the younger Fellows might be Priests, I dis-"pensed with them in that statute, whereby they might "the better come to the number of three. They ought all "to be ——— and so the nigher to be Divines. There is "one physician among them, tolerated for the reading "of Linacre's lesson within their house; which else would "be to the more shame of the house, if outward students "should read it. I am sorry that Latham should deceive "mine expectation, to abhor the ministry, being one of the "ancients to give good example to the house. But because "I hear their Warden shall shortly come home, he shall "take order among them.———And I am sorry, that this "matter being of this congruence, I cannot pleasure your "request, as else I would. Surely, Mr. Attorney, if there "be no preachers to maintain Christ's religion, to move the "subjects' hearts, in persuasion of obedience to the Prince, "and the tenants to their landlords, neither Westminster "Hall will long continue, nor outward force will rule the "matter. In which consideration, methinks their Founders "have bestowed their cost to bring them up that way, "to deceive God and the world, I think it not reasonable. "And thus pinched at this time with a shrewd fit of stone, "I wish you God's grace and health, as to myself. From "my house at Croydon, June 21.

"Your loving friend,

"Matt. Cant."

BOOK III.

This college, as the Archbishop had once at least before visited it, so now again in August he issued out orders,

Anno 1567. Certain controversies in the said college decided by the Archbishop. Reg. Park.

"for the appeasing (as the words in the register ran) of "certain controversies lately risen in Marten college in Ox- "ford, between the Fellows of the same college, about the "calling of certain Bachelor Fellows of the said college "to the degree of Masters of Art. First it was ordered by "the said most reverend Father, that before Saturday "next coming, or at the furthest, at the first coming home "of the Vice-Warden of the said college, the said Vice- "Warden shall call the company of the Fellows and Scho- "lars of the said college together, and before the same "company so gathered shall open and declare the calling "of Sir Tatam and Sir Borne to the degree of Masters, "made by the Vice-Warden, and the consent of the five "seniors, to be orderly and lawfully done, and so to be re- "puted and taken." Some other orders followed, which I shall not here insert, being of no great concern.

A conspiracy of some Fellows of Merton against the Archbishop. Park. Reg.

But it was not long after, the Archbishop had much more trouble with this turbulent college. For some of the Fellows, namely, Wanton, Fletcher, and Row, entered into a conspiracy, written by the hand of one of them, and secretly devised by the oath of the said parties, (as they themselves confessed,) to wage law against the Archbishop, for his patronage and jurisdiction of the said college: as also for borrowing of money, and for the lease and sale of Ibstonwood; to maintain their quarrel against his Grace; and also for the maintaining of their expulsion of R. Latham, whom the Archbishop had restored, and for restoring to their fellowships such persons as the Archbishop had expelled or suspended; and also for the satisfaction of the losses of the said parties so suspended by the Archbishop. These had got several others of the same college to their party, namely, J. H. F. W. E. F. C. A. and others.

His kindness notwithstanding to them.

252 The Archbishop was so tender of the reputation of these hot-headed blades, notwithstanding their malice against him, that he would not have their names written at length in his register. For so it is inserted in the margin of the regis-

ter. *The Archbishop gave order, that in the register their names should be spared by reason of danger and slander.* CHAP. XVII. Anno 1567.

The combination was this, to which they subscribed their names: The combination.

" Whereas doubtful things ask judgment to discern, and " weighty matters strength to wield their sway; we, and " every of us, the sooner to avoid the doubtful danger " whereunto we are brought, and the better to wield the " weighty affairs we presently take in hand, do our power, " strength, policy, and wit, to the uttermost we may do " them; that is to wit, concerning *jus patronatus*, La- " tham's expulsion, Wanton's and Jessop's admission; the " reducing of them, with Mr. Heming, to their full and " former state in their fellowships. For that it toucheth us, " and every of us, our estate, assurance, liberty, and author- " ity, for our being in the house, to do so far for them, " both jointly and severally, every one, whose names be " here subscribed, as right and honesty may require, or " law and reason can permit; to our comfort in trouble, " and in quietness to our joy, and to all our profits, if we " prevail.

" *God send the ship full safe to lay,*
" *That bears his sails full low.*

" John Heminge, Christopher Atkinson,
" Tho. Wanton, Henry Savyl,
" James Whitehead, John Whetcomb,
" Robert Fletcher, John Wintley."
" Will. Row,

This dangerous and bold attempt, after it was discovered, was examined and sifted, and finally dispersed, by the prudence and care of the Archbishop and others, by virtue either of the ecclesiastical or some special commission. Some of the decrees were these: " That two of them should " remain in the city of London, for this Lent, and not re- " turn back to the college. That Mr. H. having the This business dispersed, and decrees made.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

" words of the said purposed conspiracy written in a paper,
" and in presence of four Fellows of the college, whose
" names are there, shall subscribe his hand to this recogni-
" tion, saying thus; 'I *N.* do utterly renounce this se-
" ditious conspiracy, tending to the subversion of the estate
" of the college, whereof I am Fellow: and promise, by
" this my writing and subscription, never hereafter to
" attempt the like. And also, I promise from henceforth,
" to be faithful to the wealth and worship of my said college,
" to my uttermost powers, by the grace of God.' And
" he ordained, that the three chief conspirators, and for
" contempt, should within ten days remove themselves out
" of the company and circuit of the same college, and so re-
" main until the day of St. John Baptist next following,
" except upon the repentance and unfeigned submission
" of them, or any of them, it shall be thought meet by the
" Commissioners to release, or obviate any of the orders
" concerning any of the persons afore-named. But one was
" ordained to be actually expelled. That whereas the
" Founder decreed, that there should be in the college
" always three at least in order of priesthood, and none,
" not one, now was; he decreed that henceforth there
" should be always three at the least in holy Orders. And
" that within this day and the day of St. John Baptist,
" they dispose themselves to be within the same Orders ac-
" cording to their oath. That the three senior residents
" shall take Orders, or else to avoid their fellowships.
" And then the next three seniors to take Orders, except
" some of the juniors will take the same. That the Vice-
" Warden for the time being, and the seven seniors with him,
" shall not at any time, in the absence of the Warden,
" or without his consent, suffer any thing to pass by
" their common seal, either lease for term of years, either
" advowson, annuity, &c. that may tend to the hurt of the
" possessions of the college; and before that, the Archbi-
" shop of Canterbury, for the time being, be informed
253 " by them thereof, to expend how reasonable it may be.
" That neither the Sub-Warden nor any of the fellowship

" shall hereafter attempt to alienate or spoil the lands, " the moveable goods or woods of the same college, of " their private authority, during the time that their War- Anno 1567. " den, Mr. John Man, abideth Ambassador to the Queen's " Majesty in Spain, nor shall do any thing contrary to the " right and interest of the same college. That Latham " be reputed and taken in all constructions to enjoy his " fellowship and right of the same, as he hath enjoyed " it in times past. And that the late sentence, unjustly " passed against him, be revoked, and utterly frustrated, " being contrary to law and good conscience, as by the " judgment of certain learned men appeared, with the sub- " scription of their hands."

These and other decrees, dated March 8, were made and subscribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, Sir Gilb. Gerard, the Queen's Attorney General, Dr. Tho. Yale, and Dr. Will. Drury. And so this storm was allayed for this time.

Founds three scholarships for Norwich; MSS. Joh. D. Ep. Elien. No. 757.

At this time did the good Archbishop express also his kindness and peculiar love towards the city of Norwich, together with some other neighbouring places in that county, by founding three scholars to be sent thence to Bene't college, and for preaching certain sermons. For by an indenture, dated the 24th of June, in the 9th of the Queen, he gave 200*l.* to that city. For which they were to grant an annuity of 10*l.* to the said college: and the Master and Fellows thereof were to bestow 8*l.* of the said 10*l.* to these uses, and none other; that is, towards the use and exhibition of three grammar scholars, to be found within the said college: to be from time to time nominated and appointed by the Mayor and his successors, with the assent of the most part of the Aldermen, out of the schools at or in the city of Norwich, or Alesham in Norfolk. And the Mayor of the city, and his successors, to employ the forty shillings parcel of the said annuity after this manner, that is to say, to a preacher to be sent or appointed by the said Master and Fellows of Bene't college, to preach or declare one sermon at the town of Thetford in Norfolk. 6*s.* 8*d.* Also.

And four sermons to be preached.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

to a preacher that shall preach a sermon at Windham, in the said county, 6*s.* 8*d.* And for a sermon to be preached in the Greenyard of the city of Norwich, 6*s.* 8*d.* And for a sermon in the parish church of St. Clement, by Fribrig, [where the Archbishop was born,] 10*s.* And the 10*s.* remaining, to the persons and officers under named: to the Mayor, being at the sermon at the parish church of St Clement's, 12*d.* To the two Sheriffs, being at the sermon, 16*d.* To the Parson or Curate of the parish of St. Clement, present at the sermon, 8*d.* To the Town-clerk, being at the same sermon, 6*d.* To the Sword-bearer of the same city, being at the sermon, 6*d.* To four of the Mayor's officers, or Sergeants at the mace, being present, 16*d.* To the Clerk of the parish church, 4*d.*; and to the same Clerk yearly, for overseeing the tomb of William Parker and Alice his wife, set within the churchyard of the parish of St. Clement, that it be not misused to the decay thereof, 12*d.* To the poor of that parish, 20*d.* To the prisoners of the gaol of the city, 20*d.* And the portion of such persons aforementioned, as should be absent from the sermon in St. Clement's parish church, to be distributed to and among the poor of the said parish, and the prisoners. And as often as the said 10*l.* or any part thereof shall be behind, and unpaid, or not distributed, so often the said Mayor and Sheriffs shall pay unto the Master and Fellows of Bene't college 4*l.* of good English money, in the name of a *pain:* and then it shall be lawful for the said college to enter and distrain.

The lands out of which this annuity was to be paid was the manor and farm of Hethehilde, with the appertenances, in the county of Norfolk.

His ordinances for the scholars;

The Archbishop also made ordinances for these his three scholars, abovesaid, and for the said sermons. Which were, that the scholars were to be sent to the college from the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich. That without all favour and affection and partiality, as they would answer to Almighty God for doing the contrary, they should name and appoint for scholars, such as should be born within the city,

and being between the age of fourteen and twenty, well instructed in their grammar, able to write and sing, and, if it might be, to make a verse; and such as should be of honest parents, and brought up in the fear of God, and disposed to enter by God's grace, in time to come, into the ministry, and in that vocation to serve God and his Church. And that the said scholars, for the time being, should direct their studies to that end and effect. And that if, after the term of three years' continuance in their studies, the Master and Fellows should perceive, by sufficient proof, that the said scholars, or any of them, were not disposed that way, then they should give notice thereof to the Mayor and Aldermen, to provide some other to supply the room of such indisposed persons, as also of such others as should depart out of this present life in the time of their exhibition. The scholars to have the said exhibition continued for six years, from the first day of their admission. No scholar's room to be longer vacant than six weeks. No scholar to absent himself out of the college in visiting his friends, more than one month at the most in the year.

254

And sermons.

The first sermon to be made at the town of Thetford, the Sunday going before Rogation-week. The second sermon at Windham, on Monday in Rogation-week. The third to be made at St. Clement's, in Fybridge, on Ascension-day following, in the forenoon or afternoon, by the appointment of the Mayor. The fourth sermon in the Greenyard, or other such common place in Norwich, to be preached the Sunday following the said Ascension-day. That if the said Master and Fellows should neglect or forget to send out of their college, or out of some other college of the University, such preacher, to perform the said sermons, then the Mayor to nominate and assign them.

The first preachers.

The first sermon of this foundation was made in the Greenyard, on Sunday, July the 20th, 1567, by Tho. Godwine, S. Th. P. Dean of Christ's Church, Canterbury: present, the Commissioners of the most reverend Father in God, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury; (they with the said Dean then, *jure metropolitico*, visiting the city and diocese

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

of Norwich;) present also the Duke of Norfolk, and other worshipful persons, and John the Bishop of Norwich, with his people, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the city. The same day and year, in the afternoon, the said Godwine preached in the churchyard of St. Clement, next Fybridg, under the great oak there. The same year, July the 25th, John Pory, S. Th. P. Master of Corpus Christi college, made a sermon at Wimondham, or Windham; and July the 27th at Thetford. These sermons were preached somewhat out of the order prescribed, occasioned, I suppose, by the visitation. But the next year, *viz.* 1568, all was performed regularly. For May the 23d Dr. John Pory preached at Thetford; the 24th at Wyndham; the 27th at Norwich, in the parish of St. Clement's, before noon; and the 30th in the Greenyard. And anno 1571, May the 20th, being Rogation Sunday, Tho. Aldrich, Master of Corpus Christi, preached at Thetford. May the 21st, being Rogation Monday, he preached at Wymondham. May the 22d, being Tuesday in Rogation-week, he preached at Mattishal in Norfolk, [the Archbishop's wife's native town,] and saw the first distribution made among the poor of the same town, according to an order made then by the Archbishop. May the 24th, the same person preached at Norwich, being Ascension-day, in the parish of St. Clement's: and there saw a distribution made according to the said Archbishop's order. And the next Lord's day, being May the 27th, he preached publicly in the Greenyard, before the Mayor and citizens. And in the year 1573, April 6, &c. the same sermons were preached by Robert Norgate, M. A. then Master of the said college.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Archbishop's kindness to Petrus Bizarrus. Curwin confirmed Bishop of Oxford. Some account of him. The Bishop of Bangor sends the Archbishop the state of his diocese; and of his pursuit of British antiquities there. The Bishop of Peterborough informs the Archbishop of abuses done to his Clergy. The Bishop of Carlisle moves the Archbishop to prevent the danger of the alienation of a benefice from the Church. Ælmer of Lincoln writes to the Archbishop concerning ancient books there. Dr. Caius sends the Archbishop his book of the antiquity of Cambridge. Contest in Cambridge about the descent into hell. The Clergy makes waste. The Secretary informs the Archbishop of both. The Queen and Lord Keeper offended with the Archbishop. His constancy notwithstanding. His advice of dangers from Spain; and of informers against the Clergy. 255

OUR Archbishop had a due regard for foreigners, especially the learned sort of them, and the embracers of true religion, for which they were exiles. Such an one, an Italian, he preferred this year to a prebend in the church of Salisbury, of his gift, to the value of 20*l.* per annum, which was confirmed to him by Jewel, Bishop of the diocese. He was a Tuscan born, named Petrus Bizarrus, Perusinus, *i.e.* of Perugia. He wrote some learned tracts; and that he might have the better conveniency of printing them, and likewise of being serviceable to the State of England, by giving intelligence of foreign affairs, in the year 1570, he desired the Secretary, that he might enjoy his prebend, though absent, with some little increase of his stipend, to enable him to live. And in the mean time he offered to her Majesty his most faithful and diligent service; though he was minded to remain at Venice, or Lyons, where he would print some of his writings; and thought no places in Europe more fit for coming to the knowledge of occurrences. And how useful this was for princes and kings, he said,

Anno 1567. Bestows a prebend upon Peter Bizarrus.

Paper Office.

BOOK III.

daily experience witnessed. He prayed the Secretary to choose which place he would have him reside at, and assured him, that whatsoever benefit he should confer upon him, should be upon a thankful person, and one that would be ever mindful of him and his. This was the substance of a Latin letter, dated June 12; and in the conclusion, he prayed the Secretary to communicate it with the Lord Robert and the Earl of Bedford. And such a correspondence (as aforesaid) he held with Cecill; a bundle of such letters of intelligence, in Italian, from him, I have seen, and possess.

Anno 1567.

Curwin confirmed Bishop of Oxon.

This year our Archbishop confirmed Hugh Curwin, (or Coren,) LL. D. Bishop of Oxford, removed from the archbishopric of Dublin in Ireland, of which kingdom he also had been Lord Chancellor; being well skilled in the civil law. Which office he performed many years with reputation. But being now grown old, he desired to return, and die in his own country: as he did the next year at Swinbroke near Burford. Being the King's Chaplain, he preached often before him. In the year 1532, in a sermon before the King, he spoke much in behalf of the supremacy; when one Elstow, a Friar of Greenwich, openly told him in that presence, *he lied:* for which he was committed to prison. In 1533, when Friar Peto had in the King's presence, at Greenwich, inveighed against the King's marriage with Anne Bolen; Dr. Curwin the next Sunday preached before the King, and spake as much for that marriage; and added, that he much wondered, how a subject dared so audaciously to behave himself before the King's face, as he had done. But however he were for the supremacy and the marriage, and went along with the King in his other proceedings, yet he was a zealous man for the corporal presence; and the death of pious Frith was attributed to him. For in a sermon preached before the King in Lent, he inveighed against the Sacramentaries; and at length in some heat said, "It is no mervail, though this abominable heresy "so much prevail among us; for there is one now in the "Tower (meaning Frith) so bold, as to write in defence of

Stow.

256

" that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation." But this was the Bishop of Winchester's device to put the King upon prosecuting that poor man. Which took place, the King forthwith commanding the Archbishop of Canterbury that then was, and the Lord Crumwel, to call him into examination. Anno 1567.

The state of Bangor diocese. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist.

Nicolas, Bishop of Bangor, last year preferred thither, having this year made some inspection into the condition of his diocese, sent the Archbishop, according to his order, the names of all the Dean and Chapter, and of all the Ministers in the diocese, with account of their residency and their hospitality; such also as were not Deacons nor Priests, and yet held ecclesiastical preferments. To the end, as he wrote, that his Grace might perceive, how men that were no Ministers had such livings, to the utter decay of learned men to be Ministers, when others had that liberty, [to have benefices, and not be in Orders.] He had but two preachers in his diocese; but he told the Archbishop of others that could do well, whom he would labour to make willing to preach, and to take licences. He added, that whereas the Archbishop had sent down Dr. Yale, with his letters commissional to visit that diocese, that it had done much good in short time, and more he trusted it would do hereafter to the glory of God, and the salvation of such people.

The Bishop of Bangor writes to the Archbishop of antiquities. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist.

The same Bishop of Bangor writ an account to the Archbishop of his pursuit after British or other antiquities, in the parts of his diocese, that he had got a young man to write Eadmerus's History, and had sent it up to him. He writ, that there were no monuments of antiquity left within that country, but certain fabulous histories, and they lately written: as the rude laws of one Howel Dau, or Dha, and the life of a troublesome prince or two, which were subdued since the Conquest. That he was promised daily the sight of some Welsh histories, but as yet saw nothing, nor could hear certainly of any doings of the old Britons.

The Bishop of Peterburgh writes to him, concerning Ministers abused. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist.

I find also some other Bishops' and learned men's letters to him under this year. The contents whereof I will briefly rehearse. Edmund, Bishop of Peterburgh, gave him to understand, how the parishioners of Wistenden put their Vi-

BOOK III.

car into the stocks: and so had another parish served theirs; and otherwise ill entreated them, rather in contempt of the ministry, than upon any just cause. This Bishop desired the Archbishop, that he would favour those Ministers' suits, who, as it may seem, had made their complaints to the Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners; or rather were complained of, and brought up thither by their enemies, to their further charge and vexation. He also wrote the Archbishop, that another person had fetched up the Minister of Barton Segrave, to the Archbishop's Court of Audience, out of malice, to put the poor man to charge. He desired the cause might be remitted back unto him, the Bishop of the diocese, before whom it lay before.

Anno 1567.

Bishop of Carlisle writes to him, to rescue an advowson from lay hands. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist.

John, Bishop of Carlisle, wrote to him, April 9, about an advowson, like to go into secular hands, and that his Grace would do his endeavour to prevent it. What the case was may be understood by the letter itself. "I have a *commendam* of a parish, called Rumald church; it will expire within a year, or less. The advowson of the same is offered to be sold to gentlemen of this country, at unreasonable sums of money. So that it is apparent the revenues thereof are like to come into the temporal men's hands, and the cure into some unlearned ass, as many others are like to do in these parts; unless your Grace be a good stay therein. For this cause, and for that my charge here in the Queen's service doth daily increase; and also, that in times of wars, I have none refuge left to fly unto, but only it; I am compelled to be a suitor to your Grace, for the renewing of my *commendam*, for the
257 time of my life. In doing whereof, your Grace shall both stay the covetous gripe, that hath the advowson, from his prey, the unlearned ass from the cure, where I have now a learned Preacher, and bind me, as I am otherwise most bound to serve, and pray for your Grace's long continuance in honour and godliness.

"Your Grace's
poor Brother to command,
Johannes Carliolens."

To the learned John Ælmer, then at Lincoln, being Archdeacon there, (afterwards Bishop of London,) had the Archbishop writ, as he had done to the rest of the learned men in other cathedral churches, to search and inquire into the libraries in those parts, for old written ecclesiastical histories; and to send him the names and titles of all such as he should discover. Ælmer, in November, from Lincoln, where he had his preferment, wrote back to the Archbishop, that he had made the best search that he could, both in his own study and sundry others, and could find none. And that for the most part of the old fellows he had there, as he expressed it, were Schoolmen, as Alexander de Hales, Johannes de Turre, &c. But he spake of an Archbishop of Canterbury's book, viz. *a Comment upon the Old Testament*, which he had, and which he promised his Grace to send him, as soon as he could get opportunity. And in fine, he professed how he rejoiced, that God had chosen the chief Pastor of this Church out of his native country; meaning Norfolk.

Anno 1567.

Ælmer's account to the Bishop of his search after ancient books. MS. C. C. C. C. Epist.

Dr. Caius, the Founder and Master of the college that bears his name, in the beginning of April, sent his letters to the Archbishop, together with his book of the *Antiquities of Cambridge*. Which work his Grace chiefly put him upon writing. The occasion whereof was a supposed reflection upon that University. For Thomas Caius, a learned antiquarian of Oxford, and Register of that University, had in seven days made and writ a small treatise, entitled *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiæ*, and presented it to the Queen in September last, when she was at Oxford; wherein the honour and antiquity of the other University received some abatements. This MS. as it seems, by the Secretary's means, a Cambridge man, coming into the hands of the Archbishop, a Cambridge man also, was transcribed, and communicated by him unto another Caius, and a learned antiquarian of Cambridge; the Archbishop exhorting him to consider well the book, and to vindicate his University; and contributing to him not a little herein. The work being done, the author sent the first draught of it to his

Caius's book of Cambridge.

Assertio Antiq. Oxonien.

Employed and assisted therein by the Archbishop.

BOOK III. Anno 1567.

Grace, for his review and accurate judgment. And according to that, he intended, with his correction, and what he pleased to add, to print it. And as he desired his Grace's judgment, so he let him know, that he should be glad he would procure him Dr. Haddon's and Secretary Cecyl's, whom he described to be *men of wit and skill*, and close also. For it was his earnest desire, that the copy might be kept greatly concealed, and not shewn to any; no, not to his servant Joscelyn; who he feared would shew it to every body, and give copies, *ante maturitatem*, and do little good in it himself. And he was the more inclinable to print it, being mindful of what the Archbishop had once said, how troublesome the writing out of copies were, and what depravations commonly crept into writing. But he committed it wholly to the Archbishop. Yet if he approved the printing of it, he intended to view it over again, because many things were roughly left, for want of leisure, and out of haste to satisfy his Grace. Some things there were, which the Archbishop thought fit to have left out: what he would have added, or altered, Caius prayed him to note, according to the number of the page. All this makes appear, how from the first to the last, the Archbishop's influence and assistance ran through this curious work. Concerning which, Caius's letter may be found in the Appendix.

N°. LV.

And so well did the Archbishop approve of this book, that the next year [*viz.* 1568] it came forth in print;
258 Caius concealing his name under that of *Londinensis*. And again, 1574, it was reprinted with his own name, John Caius. The author of *Athenæ Oxonien.* saith, that Thomas Caius wrote an answer to his namesake, and adversary, of Cambridge, which never came out; but that he had seen two copies of it at Oxon.

Dispute in Cambridge concerning Christ's descent into hell.

The great controversy arose in the University of Cambridge, about this time, what the true sense of *Christ's descent into hell* was; whether it were a local descent, as it was then commonly taken, or to be understood in some other meaning. This dispute was managed with so much

heat, that it came to the Secretary, who was that University's Chancellor. And he sent unto the Archbishop for his advice in this matter; who gave him his thoughts for the better stilling and composing this difference. But what that was, I find not: perhaps, to forbear all contesting about that doctrine; the sense of which was left in such a latitude in the Book of Articles, without assigning any particular meaning thereof. CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1567.

Complaint had been made to the Queen concerning the waste that some of the Clergy made in their church lands and tenements, by long leases, or otherwise. This report was brought to the Queen by such as owed the Clergy no good-will, but were ready to get their possessions themselves. The Queen, upon this, was almost come to a resolution, to have a commission issued out, to inquire into these misdemeanors of the Clergy throughout the whole nation. This the Secretary communicated to the Archbishop. Of both the before-mentioned matters thus the Secretary wrote to the Archbishop, September 12. The Clergy accused for waste.

"It may please your Grace to receive my humble "thanks for your care taken, in the discreet advice given to "me, concerning the appeasing of the unprofitable rash "controversy, newly raised, upon the article of the *Descent* "*of Christ to Hell.* The Secretary to the Archbishop hereupon. MSS. C. C. C. C. Epist.

"And again, much troubled with the Queen's Majesty's "earnestness to have certain commissioners in the whole "realm, to inquire of the wastes of the whole Clergy. For "so she is also much thereto enticed. I do what I can to "delay the execution; fearing that thereby the Clergy "shall receive great blemish in opinion; and so I mean to "defer it, if I can. From my house in Westminster.

"Your Grace's at commandment,
"William Cecyl."

What proceedings were made further in this matter, I know not; but in the year 1571, against this waste there was an act of Parliament, and against the covetousness of An act against waste made by Ministers.

BOOK III.

Churchmen, defrauding their successors, wasting the goods of the Church, and letting leases for many years.

Anno 1567.

The Queen offended with the Archbishop.

The good Archbishop, as he had struggled with a very painful fit of the stone this year, so he also encountered with no small troubles of mind, as well as body. For he being a most earnest and invariable lover of truth, integrity, and righteousness, would not spare either prince or noble, in speaking or writing freely his mind. This made him fall now under the displeasure both of the Queen, his mistress, and the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, his old friend. The Queen gave him publicly a most severe chiding, and that before many of his officers, as well as others; because he had freely spoke something to her relating to his office, but what particularly, I am not able to declare. Yet was she so wise, as not to allow his esteem and respect to be abated by occasion of her anger towards him. To prevent which, the next day meeting him, she shewed him a very gracious aspect. Take this from the Archbishop's own pen, in a letter to the Lady Bacon. "I will not be abashed to "say to my Prince that I think in conscience, in answer- "ing to my charging. As this other day I was well "chidden at my Prince's hand; but with one ear I heard "her hard words, and with the other, and in my conscience "and heart, I heard God. And yet her Highness being "never so much incensed to be offended with me, the next
259 "day coming to Lambeth bridge into the fields, and I ac- "cording to my duty meeting her on the bridge, she gave "me her very good looks, and spake secretly in mine ear, "that she must needs continue mine authority before the "people, to the credit of my service. Whereat divers of "my Arches, then being with me, peradventure mervailed. "Where peradventure somebody would have looked over "the shoulders, and slily slipt away, to have abashed me "before the world."

And so is the Lord Keeper.

The Archbishop meaning by that expression to give a secret reproof to the Lord Keeper Bacon; who, in some displeasure now also taken at him for something else, had shewn himself after that fashion towards him. The occa-

sion of this anger towards the Archbishop, his old friend and acquaintance, seems to have been by a visitation of the diocese of Norwich. Where he, as before was spoken, had heard much irregularity to have been; shameful simony, and other wrongs done to the Church by gentlemen, and some knights. How two laymen enjoyed two prebends in that church, was mentioned before; and what good remedy the Archbishop intended to make therein, by procuring one of these prebends for a learned Minister, and thereby also providing a good preacher for that city; which by the Bishop of Norwich, by reason of a former bargain with him that held that prebend, was prevented. As he wrote to that Bishop immediately, upon this disappointment; so, while his mind was full of inward trouble at it, he wrote also to the Lord Keeper, complaining to him, after his godly way, of these corruptions and wrongs done to the Church: and, it is very likely, laying some charge in that respect upon the Keeper himself, and by his counsel and example giving occasion hereunto. Bacon, being a passionate man, could not bear this, but fell out with this plain dealer. He returned a few lines to the friendly letter the Archbishop sent him; telling him, that "he conceived that now of the "Archbishop, which he thought not to have heard at his "hands;" and sent a hard answer by the Archbishop's man, by word of mouth, whom the Archbishop intended should not have known any thing at all of these dealings between them, so privately wrote on his part. Anno 1567.

The Archbishop made no more words to the angry Keeper; but he did soon after write his mind at large to the Lady Bacon, his wife; a most prudent, learned, and godly woman, with intention that he should know the Archbishop's mind by her. "He desired her, who was a great "solicitor to the lord her husband, in the causes of the "poor for justice, that she would take a fitting opportunity "to represent him to her lord, because to him, he per-"ceived, he might not write; except the things he wrote "were *placentissima*. He protested to her, that he meant "not only prudently in what he lately wrote, or spake, to The Archbishop hereupon writes to the Lady Bacon. MSS. G. P. Armig.

BOOK III. Anno 1567.

" the Lord Bacon, but christianly, godly, and friendly. " And that he wrote with that deference, as that if Bacon " had been prince of the realm, and he [the Archbishop] " his chaplain, he might have writ as he did. And yet, " as he chose to express it, might Matthew Parker write " privately to Nicolas Bacon, in matters of good friendship, " without offence. But still, in humility of heart, he would " not stick to submit himself to the page of his chamber, " and would be admonished by him in reason, though " he were his enemy. And again, in doing his duty to " God, and the office of friendship to them, whom he did " sincerely honour and love, he would not be abashed to " say to his Prince that he thought in conscience. For " speaking his mind so plainly to his Lordship, he said for " himself, that God, the God of vengeance, would ask ac- " count of him, if he should hold his peace; when both my " Lord and I, said he, shall stand dreadfully before his " chancery. And therefore he would not so covet the favour " of men, as to displease God: and that he could do no " less, of tender heart to his estimation. And loath he would " be, that his example should be alleged for divers spoilers " of the ministry in that country of Norfolk. He beseeched " this honourable lady, his wife, to help to remove this " scandal out of God's house; that that Lord might not " bespot the glory of his old age. Evil reports went about, " which he would not write, or credit all tales. Fy on " the world! to carry God's good elect, and principal mem- " bers of his kingdom, so to be drowned in the dregs of this " mortality, not to regard these so chief causes. What
260 " shall be hoped for in friendship, if the advertising of one " another in true faithful friendship, and to God-ward, shall " stir up enmity and disliking? He said, he was jealous " over my Lord's conscience, and over his honourable " name. That he had joyed in him, and always honour- " ably reported him; and in great places, and before the " most honourable, compared him with More and Audley, " for eloquence, wit, and learning in law, and with Bishop " Goodrick, for his sincerity towards justice; though they

" all had their faults: which he prayed God to keep my " Lord and him from. The first imbued with Papistry; " the second, *omnia, et ab omnibus.* The third, a dis- " sembler in friendship.

" I would be loath to break friendship with any mean " body, much less with my Lord. And yet either King, " or Cæsar, contrary to my duty to God, I will not, nor in- " tend not, God being my good Lord. And it is not the " solemnity or commodity of mine office that I so much " esteem. I was sorry to be so accumbered: but necessity " drove me; and what fate shall thrust me out, *susque* " *deque fero.* I am grown into a better consideration by " mine age, than to be afraid or dismayed with such vain " terriculaments of the world. I am not now to learn to " fawn upon men, whose breath is in their nostrils." But I leave the reader to peruse the whole letter in the Appendix, wherein so much of the good temper and brave spirit of our Archbishop will appear.

Num. LVI.

His advice upon apprehensions from Spain;

More of that spirit, and public concern for religion, and the professors of it, this godly Archbishop shewed in another matter happening this summer. There was now a secret contribution made, by means of the Archbishop, among the Bishops and Clergy, for some foreign friends, Protestants (as it seems) in Flanders, and those parts under the Spanish yoke, who endured great and intolerable pressures. But however privately this charitable business was carried, it came to the Spanish Ambassador's knowledge; who then had a great stroke with the Queen. And she (though for politic ends) seemed to be too much led by him, to the trouble of her truest friends. This, with some concern, the Secretary had hinted to our Archbishop. Whereat the venerable man declared himself astonished: but, however, took this occasion to excite the Secretary most earnestly to use his interest with the Queen, to set her right in these Spanish matters. And these were his words to him: " That whereas the Spanish Ambassador knew of " their contribution, he would wish that he not only heard " of it, and suspected it, but saw it. And yet prudence

To Secretary Cecil.

BOOK III.

Anno 1567.

"would be used. God save the Queen's Majesty (said he) "from his enchanting. Her peril is evidently feared in "this security. The realm is like to be in danger, if our "foreign friends be not well. For God's sake, and for his "Son's religion sake, by whom *vivimus et salvi sumus*, "have good consideration in this matter, and use your wis- "dom, *opportunè*, *importunè*. *Non putarâm*, is no wise "man's saying. God fortify you, and my Lords of the "Council. God make the Queen's Majesty to understand "all foreign sleights." This he writ from Croydon, July the 17th. This great danger did the honest party of the Court apprehend the nation and the religion to be under at this time, from the crafty insinuations of the Spaniard; and this was the seasonable warning of this great watchman. The Queen, however, continued this favour for Spain, or at least backwardness to fall out with that nation: notwithstanding many base and false characters and stories of her and her government were commonly vented, and told about there, to her dishonour. In January the next year, our Archbishop sent a paper of notes thereof to the Secretary, that he might take his opportunity to acquaint the Queen with them; and by this means take off her favourable sentiments towards that her most dangerous enemy. For he doubted, as he said, there never was any notice given her, how courteously (as he spake ironically) she was used in Spain, by these their public stories of her.

The Clergy watched by informers.

Among the various discouragements of the Clergy nowadays, there were many that watched their tripping, by transgressing any penal law, to take advantage against them that way. Many promoters there were, that were ready to inform against such as did not reside, let the non-residence be never so necessary or reasonable; hoping to enjoy the for-

261

Anno 1568.

feiture of ten pounds a month for absence. The Archbishop, in one of his letters writ this year, makes mention of a very honest man, having two benefices, and keeping a very good house at the greater benefice, who was notwithstanding accused in the King's Bench in Hilary term, by one of these informers, for *non-residence* from his less be-

nefice; and, as it seemeth, was fain to pay the penalty for divers months' absence. Therefore one Walker, mentioned before, a learned preacher in Norwich, and so of great use in that city, where there was scarce a preacher besides, notwithstanding, out of fear of this kind of informers, resolved to leave the city, and return to his small living in the country. And so by the means of these evil men that city was deprived of the good service he did in it.

Anno 1568.

CHAP. XIX.

The Archbishop's care for preserving hospitality at Canterbury. Attempteth to make the river there navigable. Consecrates a Suffragan of Dover. Orders to the Archbishop to inquire into the religion and condition of all strangers. The Archbishop, by letters of the Privy Council, hath the care of records and monuments. The Bishop of Sarum sends up a Saxon book to the Archbishop. Sir John Southworth, a Lancashire gentleman, and a Papist, sent by the Council to be examined by the Archbishop. Committed afterwards to the Bishop of London. The Archbishop repairs Bekesbourn chancel.

His care for preserving hospitality in his church of Canterbury

OUR Prelate, among other his episcopal qualities, had a great care for preserving the reputation of his church of Canterbury. To which the keeping of hospitality tended considerably; that travellers and strangers might not want for entertainment there. But the Queen having determined to reserve the prebends of that church for her Chaplains, he seemed not to like of it; lest their non-residence might prejudice that good housekeeping, that was so convenient to be there maintained. But there was another thing in it, that tended most fatally to the destruction of hospitality there: and that was, that, notwithstanding their non-residence, they obtained grants to receive their full profits, without any defalcation for absence: whereby the charge lay still harder upon those that resided. And this would make them think

BOOK III.

Anno 1568.

of absenting themselves too. And upon that occasion some now were about so to do. They heard that Dr. Nevison would sue for his whole profits absent, and Mr. Freke would do the like. Three more, *viz.* Mr. Sentleger, Mr. Boleyn, and Mr. Dorel, were so preferred. The Archbishop thought it worth writing to the Secretary for the redress of this matter: "Praying his Honour to consider how the Church "stood, that foreigners and noblemen, passing that way, "might find convenient numbers at home to offer them a "dinner: for if many of them should be absent, and have "their whole profits, as many of them had lately obtained, "the rest would be too much hindered in their hospitality: "and it would make them also to absent themselves. This "therefore he thought not expedient; and that three of "them had such a grant of the whole profits, notwithstand-"ing non-residence, he said, it was enough, and too much, "and so left it to their consideration." This matter he wrote of to the Secretary, March 29.

His endeavours for the making the river to Canterbury navigable.

And he was a friend to the city of Canterbury as well as the church, being a furtherer, if not a first propounder, of making the river to Canterbury navigable. The charge was computed to amount to fifteen hundred pounds. Which being too great for the city to raise of itself, there was endeavour made to get aid elsewhere. And for this purpose he
262 laboured, by the Secretary's means, to procure letters from the Queen: and that they might be penned in such form that the Lords of the Council might subscribe them, to be directed to the Justices of Kent, to be delivered them at their next meeting. He prayed the Secretary's help, and left it to his management, as he should think good: appointing his servant to attend the Secretary's pleasure; intending himself to have come and spoke to him by word of mouth concerning it at the Star-chamber, if the business had taken there, which it seems was adjourned, and so he went not; but supplied his absence by a letter, May 21st, exciting both himself and the Secretary to the doing of good, from the uncertainty of their abode in the world; which he meant by those short sentences wherewith he concluded his letter; *Dum*

sumus in mundo, operemur bonum: and, *Opera illorum sequuntur illos.*

Anno 1568. Rogers made Suffragan of Dover.

In this eleventh of the Queen, the Archbishop under his seal recommended to her Majesty two persons for the office of a Suffragan within the province of Canterbury, and to nominate one of them. These two were Richard Rogers, B. D. and John Butler, Clerk, Canon and Prebendary of Christ's Church, Cant. And being so nominated by her, to grant him the style, title, name, and dignity. So she by letters patents sealed under her privy seal, May 12, nominated Rogers for Suffragan of Dover, and commanded the Archbishop to consecrate him thereunto, according to the act of Parliament in the 36th of Henry VIII. and renewed in the first of her reign.

Dangerous errors brought in by strangers.

Those in the Netherlands that professed religion were now persecuted intolerably by D'Alva, that breathed out nothing but blood and slaughter. Great numbers of them from all parts daily fled over hither into the Queen's dominions, for the safety of their lives, and liberty of their consciences; and had hospitable entertainment and harbour for God's sake and the Gospel's: being allowed to dwell peaceably, and follow their callings without molestation in London and Southwark, and elsewhere. But with these came over Anabaptists also, and sectaries, holding heretical and ill opinions, and some also suspected to be guilty of horrible crimes, as was pretended by their enemies.

The Queen's command to make inquisition after them.

This the Queen being informed of, and not intending to allow harbour to such sort of persons, (though all sincerely professing the purity of Christ's religion, she was very ready to receive and cherish,) issued out her letters, dated in May, to our Archbishop to this purpose; "That he, with the "Bishops his brethren, under whose jurisdictions any con-"fluences of these strangers were, should take particular "cognizance what and who they were. And that he should "give speedy order to the Bishop of London, and all other "Bishops within his province, where these people took up "their residence, that they should make a special visitation "and inquisition in every parish, of all manner of persons, "being strangers, of what country, quality, condition, and

BOOK III.

Anno 1568.

" estate they were, with the probable causes of their coming " into the realm, and the time of their continuance here, and " in what sort they lived, and to what churches they resort- " ed; and to make and continue registers thereupon. And " to give notice to the Justices of peace concerning such as " should be suspected of the foresaid crimes, or were not " conformable to the religion, agreeable with the laws of " the land, or permitted to places especially appointed for " strangers to resort to for the exercise of religion." This letter I have exemplified in the Appendix.

Num. LVII.

The Archbishop to the Bishop of London thereupon.

The copy of this letter the Archbishop sent to the Bishop of London, as was commanded, adding by postscript, " These shall be therefore in the Queen's Majesty's name, " to will and require your Lordship, that having regard, as " I doubt not but you will, to the execution of the Queen's " Majesty's said letters within your own diocese, you do also " forthwith signify the tenor hereof to all [and] singular my " brethren, the other Bishops and other Ordinaries within " my province, where you shall think any confluence of " strangers to be, &c. Dated May 24, 1568." This in truth was chiefly occasioned by this Bishop's application to the Secretary, many Anabaptists now holding secret conventicles in the city; and by that means had corrupted a great many of the citizens with their doctrines. This was now the third search made for strangers in this Queen's reign.

263 The Archbishop has authority from the Council for searching after antiquities.

As the Archbishop had the chief care of the Church and of religion under the Queen, so had he also of the venerable antiquity of the nation. Whose great skill therein, and earnest desire of retrieving the ancient stories and accounts of persons and things in these islands, from the times of the Britains and Saxons, was so well known, that a kind of office was granted him for the preservation of these antiquities. And the Privy Council granted him their countenance, to gather up ancient monuments throughout England, in whose possession soever they were; not indeed to keep or convert to his own use, but to have the sight and reading of them. For in July divers of the Queen's Privy Counsellors, the Lord Keeper Bacon, the Duke of Norfolk, the Secretary, and others, issued out their letters to all persons, to notify

the Queen's pleasure, " That the Lord Archbishop of Can- Anno 1568.
" terbury should have a special care and oversight in the
" conservation of such ancient records and monuments
" as were written of the state and affairs of the realm of
" England and Ireland; which were heretofore preserved
" and recorded, by special appointment of certain of her
" Majesty's ancestors, in divers abbeys, to be treasurehouses
" to keep and leave in memory such occurrences as fell in
" their times. And because divers of such writings were
" commen into the hands of private persons, and so partly
" remained obscure and unknown; they willed and requir-
" ed, that when the same Archbishop should send his letters,
" or learned deputies, requesting to have a sight of any such
" ancient records, that they would, at the contemplation of
" these letters, gently impart the same: not meaning to with-
" draw them from the owners, but for a time to peruse the
" same, upon promise or band given of making restitution.
" So as, when need should require, resort might be made for
" the testimony that might be found in them; and also by
" conference of them, the antiquity of the state of these coun-
" tries might be restored to the knowledge of the world.
" Dated from Howard Place, [now called the Charter
" House,] anno 68, July 7.

" Nic. Bacon, C. S. Th. Norfolk, W. Northampton,
" R. Leicester, W. Howard, W. Cecyl."

This letter was printed, because there would be occasion to use divers copies of it, to be shewn by the Archbishop's many deputies to such persons as had any of these ancient books, or instruments, or records, in their possession, and to authorize them to require the sight of them.

Search into the cathedrals for ancient books.

It is probable the Archbishop obtained this letter to meet with such as were unwilling, or otherwise refused, to oblige him with the sight of such ancient books or writings as were in their possessions; but the Archbishop's desire alone prevailed with many others, considering the public end he drove at, especially with the Bishops of the several sees; whom he had friendly exhorted to examine the books in their churches,

BOOK III.

and to inform him what they were, and if among them any Saxon authors were found. The Bishop of Sarum had been this year at London, and received great respects from our Archbishop, who took that opportunity to pray him to search narrowly the library of his cathedral for the said purpose; and as he went his visitation, (which the Bishop performed this year,) to make diligent inquiry for such ancient books; and that in his correspondency with Bullinger he would confer with him in some certain matters. Upon the Bishop of Sarum's return back to Salisbury, he did according to the Archbishop's desire; and what success he had, these his letters will shew;

Anno 1568.

Bishop of Sarum to the Archbishop, concerning a Saxon book found in that church's library. Public Librar. Cambr.

" My duty most humbly premised, with like thanks for " your Grace's favour to my late being there. It may please " your Grace to understand, that, according to my promise, " I have ransacked our poor library of Salisbury, and have " found nothing worthy the finding, saving only one book " written in the Saxon tongue; which I mind to send to " your Grace by the next convenient messenger. The " book is of a reasonable bigness, well near as thick as " the Communion Book. Your Grace hath three or four " of the same size. It may be Alfricus, for all my cunning.
264 " But your Grace will soon find what he is. Other certain " books there are of Rabanus and Anselmus, but as common, " so also little worth. If I had any leisure, I would send " your Grace the titles of all. But as now I am entering " into the visitation of my diocese. By the way, if I may " learn of any antiquities, I will do your Grace to under- " stand. Thus I humbly take my leave from Sarum, the " 18th of January, 1568.

" Your Grace's most humble,

" Jo. Sarum."

After his return from his visitation, he sent up the said Saxon book to the Archbishop, accompanied with another letter to this tenor;

" After my most humble commendations. Being now

Anno 1568.

Another letter from the same Bishop to the Archbishop. *Ubi supra.*

" newly returned from the visitation of my diocese, and " having this convenient messenger, I thought it my duty " to perform my promise. And therefore have sent your " Grace that hidden treasure that we had in our library. " Whether it be Alfricus or no, or what matter it contain- " eth, your Grace will soon judge. I have made inquiry " for such antiquities, as I have passed through my Clergy " in this visitation; but as yet I can find nothing. If there " be any thing found, I shall have understanding of it. I " will not forget to write to Mr. Bullinger: and if your " Grace shall otherwise command me to others else, I am " always ready. Thus I humbly take my leave from Sarum, " the 31st of January, 1568.

" Your Grace's most humble,

" Jo. Sarum."

These letters are found in a volume in folio in the public library of Cambridge; being St. Gregory's tract, *De Cura Pastorali*, turned paraphrastically into Saxon.

Southworth, a Papist, committed to the Archbishop.

The Lords of the Council wrote to the Archbishop, and the rest of the ecclesiastical Commissioners, to call before him Sir John Southworth, a gentleman of Cheshire or Lancashire, and a Papist, and by his corporal oath to examine him upon certain articles and matters that had been already objected against him by the Bishop of Chester, to whom he had refused to give an answer: he had promised, that to the Lords he would, but not either to the former Bishop or the Archbishop of York, upon some mistrust that he should not find such indifference at their hands. So being brought up, the Lords, as was aforesaid, committed him to the Archbishop and Commissioners, the said Lords advising, that he should be only dealt with about those articles; thinking it convenient for other things touching his conscience, that he rather should be won by persuasion. He was privy (it is like) to certain secret conferences held at York, between the Bishop of Rosse and Lidington, friends of the Scotch Queen, and the Duke of Norfolk, to use his interest to procure her liberty, propounding to him a match

BOOK III.

with her: he might also be privy to some fugitive Priests, who in these parts were now busily stirring the people to discontent, and drawing them away from their obedience: Pope Pius V. this year, by Ridolph of Florence, but residing in London as a factor, exciting the Papists every where against the Queen. But the articles touched not these matters, but they concerned his entertainment of Popish Priests into his house and company, and relieving them who had not only refused the ministry, but also in his hearing had spoken against the present state of religion; and about his neglect in coming to church to the common prayer and holy Communion, so often as he should have done.

Anno 1568.

The Lords, together with their letter, had sent the Archbishop a form of a submission for the said Knight to subscribe. On the 14th of July he appeared before the Archbishop, according to their Lordships' order: and the said form being offered to him, he refused to submit himself to any such subscription: telling the Archbishop, his conscience could not serve him in most points of that order. But he offered not to receive nor sustain any such disordered persons, as heretofore he had sustained and holpen. This
265 the Archbishop signified back to the Council; and that he seemed further to desire that he might be suffered to live according to his conscience; and desired much to go over sea. The consideration of all which suits he [the Archbishop] referred to their honourable wisdoms.

Escapes, but busy the next year at Bath.

This Southworth escaped now, having at last subscribed and complied with the established laws; but soon after revolted. For the next year, *viz.* 1569, in May, Sir John Southworth was at Bath, where there was great flocking of gentlemen, all hinderers of God's word and the Gospel, and this gentleman the ringleader, and no little doer in Bath, (where Bonner's friends and relations also were,) and remained in great admiration, as one Thomas Churchyard informed Secretary Cecyll. And thereupon he was taken up again, and committed to the custody of the Bishop of London.

I find him in August the following year, *viz.* 1569, with

Anno 1568.

the said Bishop, who then sent letters to the Council, that he could do no good with him for altering his opinion in religion. Besides the Bishop's labour with him, the Dean of Paul's, by him requested, conferred with the said Knight very often, and had used also much courtesy and humanity towards him, and not without charge; which in reason might have been a means to move the said Sir John somewhat to relent, but the man was altogether unlearned, carried with a blind zeal without knowledge: [I do but transcribe Bishop Grindal's letter to the Secretary;] his principal grounds were, "He will follow the faith of his fathers: "he will die in the faith wherein he was baptized." Sir John after this earnestly requested to repair to the Court, to sue unto the Council, that he might be employed in some service. And the Bishop allowed him to go. The Bishop was now discharged of him, and the Dean of St. Paul's harboured him, where, after he had been ten or twelve days, he grew weary of him; for the Knight now became more peremptory by the Dean's gentle usage, and would come neither to prayers nor sermon. So the Bishop in behalf of the Dean suggested to the Secretary how gladly the Dean would be to be delivered of him. Yet the Bishop in his letters now to the Lords, prayed them to spare his imprisonment for a time, because the prison sicknesses reigned usually at that time of the year.

Harboured with the Bishop of London,

And Dean of Paul's.

The Archbishop, who was a great repairer of the houses and chancels pertaining unto his see, did this year repair and beautify the chancel of Bekesbourn church, where he had an house. He set up fair and comely seats of wainscot for ornament. And in one of these seats, which probably might be that wherein he sat himself, are still remaining the arms of Parker, and the date 1568 engraven: but now are much gone to decay, through the negligence of the tenants, that should have kept them in repair; and some of them have been lately pulled down, and cut to pieces. About that time an augmentation was given to the vicarage, being a pension of corn, *viz.* four quarters of wheat and eighteen quarters of barley per annum; and ten pounds in money: so settled, as it seems, by the Archbishop's means.

The Archbishop repairs Bekesbourn chancel.

N. Battely.

BOOK III.

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1568. 266

Corpus Christi college, Oxon, visited by the Bishop of Winton: and more effectually, by commission from the Queen. The Archbishop of Canterbury's privilege to visit Oxford. The Commissioners Ecclesiastical appoint a visitation of Corpus Christi in Cambridge. The University refuse their visitation on account of their privileges. The Commissioners call the College up to Lambeth. The Archbishop satisfieth the Chancellor of Cambridge of their doings. Papists banished the Court. Some in the diocese of Gloucester officiate without orders. The Archbishop pacifieth differences in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge. The Queen's appointment of Latin prayers disobeyed in most colleges. The Archbishop's advice to the Chancellor hereupon. Procures new statutes for Corpus Christi college. Gives the advowson of Abb church, London, to the college. His advice for a Bishop of Chichester. Appoints Lent Preachers for the Queen. Tremellius and Corranus apply to him. His brother Mayor of Norwich.

A President placed in Corpus Christi, Oxon.

A NOTABLE visitation of Corpus Christi college in Oxford happened this year. The occasion was this: upon the avoidance of the presidentship of that house, the Queen sent letters to the Fellows, recommending William Cole to their choice to supply that place, a sober and religious man, who had been an exile under Queen Mary. But notwithstanding, being well affected towards Popery, they rejected the Queen's letter, and chose for their President one Robert Harrison, formerly of that house, but gone from thence for his favour to the Romish religion. The Queen hearing this, pronounced their election void, as being made amiss, and against the statutes; and again commanded them to elect Cole. But they still refused, urging, that their former election was done according to their consciences and their oaths. Soon after, Horn, Bishop of Winchester, their visitor, was sent down to place Cole, which he did; but first was fain to force the college gates, being shut against him.

There being such a nest of Popish Fellows here, and the rude carriage the college had shown the Bishop, their Visitor, considered, he intended a farther visitation for them. But upon other intervening business, it was deferred by him: which made the Fellows triumph. But some other Fellows were here of a better inclination; as Hooker, and his learned and ingenious pupil George Cranmer, nephew to the late Archbishop of that name. This man last mentioned, in this juncture wrote a letter to the Bishop of Winchester; who the last time he was at the college adjourned his visitation till another time, and afterward, as report went, laid it wholly aside. This rumour, Cranmer told him, brake all the hopes of the good men, and begat the triumphs of the bad. These talked abusively of the Bishop, that he would come when there was hope of gain, *viz.* ten mark. But now, being no hopes of that, he would not trouble himself to take the pains. Cranmer told him, moreover, how they spake against him, and boasted how well it succeeded, that they had resisted him, [as though he were afraid to come again to them.] He urged also to the Bishop, that he would do well to purge the New college and Winchester school, wherein were harboured many popishly affected. This letter came into the hands of Archbishop Parker, sent to him by the Bishop aforesaid; who prayed him, that care might be taken about these irregularities by the ecclesiastical Commission, rather than by him as Visitor. The Archbishop sent the letter to the Bishop of London, who approved of some speedy course to be taken for redress. 267

Anno 1568.

The ill behaviour of the Fellows towards their Visitor.

Geo. Cranmer.

What was done with the colleges of Winchester and New college, I know not; but Corpus Christi was procured by the Archbishop to be this year visited by commission from the Queen to the said Bishop of Winton, Secretary Cecyll, Cooper, and Humfrey, Doctors of Divinity, and George Ackworth, LL. D. an officer of the Archbishop's. Where lighter punishments were inflicted upon lesser crimes, and three notorious Papists expelled, whose names were Reynolds, Windsor, and Napier.

The college visited by Commissioners.

The Archbishops of Canterbury

The Archbishop had lately met with an old writing taken out of the rolls of Parliament, anno 1411, and of the 13.

BOOK III.

Regis Henrici IV. wherein was expressed the power of the Archbishops of Canterbury to visit the University of Oxford. It began, *Memorandum quod memorabilis in Christo Pater, Thomas Archiep. Cantuar. in præsenti Parl. nostro exhibuit quandam petitionem*, &c. It was concerning his right of visiting that University; and it was confirmed by that Parliament. The aforesaid writing is very large. This the Archbishop ordered to be put into his register, as appears by this note subjoined, "*Memorandum*, That the copy "of the act of Parliament above mentioned, touching the "University of Oxford, was delivered to me John Incent, "the xix February, A. D. 1568. by the most reverend Fa- "ther in God, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and "commandment to me given by him to register the same in "manner and form above specified." As for this prerogative of the Archbishops of Cant. I find by the notes of Dr. Yale, preserved in the Cotton library, that the scholars of Oxon submitted themselves to the Archbishop of Canterbury, *et nequeunt sese exceptos. Ex. Reg. Arundel.* P. 266. And in the same Cotton volume I find this prerogative declared and ratified by King Richard II. in these words: *Declaratio Regis per literas suas patentes, quod jus visitandi Cancellarium et Universitatem Oxon. pertinet et pertinere debet, ac in perpetuum pertinebit ad Archiepiscopum Cantuar. et Ecclesiam suam, et non ad ipsum regem.* This happened upon some contest and debate moved between Thomas, Archbishop of Cant. on the one part, and the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and some others of that University, on the other, upon the use and exercise of jurisdiction and visitation of the said University; the Chancellor and the rest saying, that the visitation belonged to the King alone. This was dated at Westminster, June 1, in the 20th year of King Richard II.

Anno 1568. might visit Oxford.

Cleopatra, F. 1.

The Commissioners ecclesiastical receive information against Bene't college.

This year I meet with an instance of the Archbishop's great love and good-will to his old college of Corpus Christi in Cambridge, where he was educated, and whereof he was once governor, and ever after a loving patron. The present Master, Dr. Pory, was aged, and often absent, and

government and good order was greatly wanting in the college. The Archbishop, the Bishop of London, Dr. Yale, Dr. Drury, and Dr. Watts, were now some of the Queen's Commissioners. To these information was lately brought of divers misdemeanors, as well in manners as in doctrine, of which this society was guilty. I make no question this information was brought by the Archbishop's means: who, finding no other way so convenient to remedy the abuses grown in that house, thought good to attempt the doing of it by the Commission. The method therefore taken was this. Upon this information they directed their letters of commission to the Vice-Chancellor, and some other Heads of the University, to examine and inquire into these matters, and to return them an account thereof. But they to whom this commission was directed made some stop thereat, delaying the execution thereof, fearing, as they said, to prejudice their privileges, if they should advance the ecclesiastical Commission in the University. And hereupon the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Young, sent letters by the University beadle to Sir William Cecyll, their Chancellor. Upon the receipt of which, the said Chancellor desired their opinion who were the Commissioners, and had sent this commission to his Vice-Chancellor. They signified accordingly their opinion in a letter that ran thus:

Anno 1568.

The University decline their jurisdiction. And why.

" It may please you to be advertised, that our opinion is, 268
" that the Queen's Majesty's commission for causes eccle-
" siastical doth extend, and may be executed, upon persons
" resiant within either of the Universities, or within any
" other privileged place within the realm, by virtue of the
" words, ' in places as well exempt as not exempt:' and
" that the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and others which
" are joined with him in commission, from the Commission-
" ers here, may safely, without prejudice of the liberties
" of the same University, proceed to the execution of the
" said commission. Yet notwithstanding, we think it not
" amiss, for avoiding all scruples, that the said Vice-Chan-
" cellor, and the other associates with him, do declare by

The judgment of the Archbishop and others herein. MSS. Ceciliana.

BOOK III.

Anno 1568.

"protestation, that their meaning, in executing of the said "commission, is not to prejudice any the liberties of the "said University, but only to shew their obedience unto "the authority of the Queen's Highness, committed to the "said Commissioners.

"From Lambeth, the 4th of January, 1568.

"Matth. Cantuar.
"Edmund London.
"Tho. Yale.
"Tho. Wattes."

The contest between the University and the Commissioners.

This letter, as the resolution of the point, the Chancellor returned to the Vice-Chancellor, by the same beadle that had been sent to him a little before. But the Queen's Commissioners had intelligence, that the Vice-Chancellor, notwithstanding this, proceeded not to the execution of the commission which they had sent. Whereupon they revoked their said commission, and advocated the said cause to their own examination: to the debating whereof the most part of the said society, being parties to the said matters, voluntarily appeared at Lambeth, and submitted themselves to be ordered. But one Stallard, Bachelor of Arts, and principal party in the business, remained still at Cambridge. Him they sent for by their letters and commandment. The execution of which the Vice-Chancellor stayed; commanding the said Stallard not to appear before them: and withal withstood a search of suspected books, by the Commissioners decreed to be made in the said college; removing such as they had appointed to do the same; and causing a search to be by such, and in such manner, as he, the Vice-Chancellor, devised, unsealing the door, which they for that purpose caused to be sealed. For which doings, the Vice-Chancellor answered by his letters; alleging, that it was never heard that any extraordinary or foreign authority had intermeddled to call any from the University.

The Commissioners' letter to the Chancellor upon occasion thereof.

Though this did somewhat provoke the Queen's Commissioners, yet before they would do any thing more, they thought it convenient to signify the whole matter to the Chancellor,

for that the Vice-Chancellor was his deputy. So they writ to him, and made him privy to all their proceedings, before they called him in question; expecting the Chancellor's further mind herein at their next meeting. They let him know, "That they marvelled not a little at what the Vice-Chancellor wrote and did, having in fresh memory their own "continual proceedings in this commission, since the first "time of it. And that they had from time to time called, "as occasion served, out of both the Universities, and had "always to that present, appearance humbly, without any "denial or contradiction; and had done therein, as they "trusted, good service to God, the Queen, and the realm; "removing by authority of their said commission, out of "both Universities, divers stubborn Papists, and head adversaries of God's true religion, to the number of forty "and more; and some of them such as had been sent to the "Commissioners by order of the Privy Council, as might "appear by their records. The denial of which authority "now, after so long a time, they took too much to prejudice the credit of their said former doings, and to derogate the authority of the Queen's Highness commission, "committed unto them by act of Parliament." What further issue this business had, I find not. But the college seeming to want a stirring resident Master, the present being seldom there, and grown old, as was said before, the Archbishop at last prevailed with him to resign, as we shall see the next year. 269

Papists banished the Court;

The nation was now very sensible of Papists, who had flocked about the Court, and sheltered themselves in the houses of persons of the best quality and reputation. The Queen now issued out her command to her Counsellors, that all Papists should be banished her Court, which was done; and the true Protestants took great joy thereat.

And from the Archbishop's family.

And the Archbishop himself, by a command, turned out of his family some persons that were discovered to be so disposed. Whereof I suppose one was Dr. John Caius, who was sometime entertained by the Archbishop for his learning. Now also were the Doctors of the Arches examined,

BOOK III.

as was reported; and some of them refused to subscribe to the supreme authority of the Queen.

Anno 1568.

Two scandalous Ministers.

Under the Clergy of the reformed Church, here did some unworthy men also now shelter themselves. Two such the Bishop of Gloucester had discovered in his diocese; notice whereof he sent to the Archbishop in the month of October; *viz.* that they had administered the Communion, christened infants, and married people, and done other spiritual offices in the Church; and yet never took holy Orders. One of these had counterfeited that Bishop's seal; and the other was perjured. The said Bishop writ also the same intelligence to the Secretary, that such wretches, and scandals to religion, might be detected; and due punishment taken upon them.

Contest in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge.

The Archbishop now had a new trouble created him, from his own abovementioned college, as he had not long before from one or two colleges in the other University; declaring himself much vexed at the frowardness of some parties there. The contentions there chiefly arose from the diversity of religion: whereupon one party spited the other. For the allaying of this contest, the Archbishop used privately the assistance of Dr. Pern and Dr. Leeds. Whereby he at present compounded the matter between them, and brought them to a quietness. But it was not so firm, but a difference broke out soon after into further trouble: which again the good Archbishop, as an affectionate father to this college, laboured to pacify, partly by the authority of the Queen's Council, and partly by the help of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Pern, and Dr. Whitgift.

Offence at Latin prayers in Cambridge.

But it is worth the knowing the main ground of these dissensions. It was a late order of the Queen's, for Latin prayers to be said in the colleges, for the better accustoming of the scholars to the learned language. For whereas she had devised a Latin book of prayers for the Latin colleges, certain in this college would have none of them. And so it was, not only in this, but in most of the colleges besides: where they had overthrown the Queen's authority, in respect of this order. But the Archbishop had counselled the

Master of Gonvil hall, and charged him of Corpus Christi college, to keep the said order, and to regard the Queen's authority. Which thing, because these colleges only did, the adverse party in each college were much offended. Insomuch, that some of the fellowship of Bene't college went contemptuously from the Latin prayers, the Master being the Minister then that read the same. And some of them said, that *Latin service was the Pope's dregs:* and further, some of this number said grace at the common table in English. These and such other disorders, the Archbishop was now about reforming. But he knew what need there was of the assistance of Sir William Cecyl, the University's Chancellor; and therefore applied to him in the beginning of January, letting him know, "that the "authority of chancellorship must interpose: and warned "him, that, if it should not set a stroke in this cause, he "might peradventure hear worse of the whole University "hereafter: adding, that, when his Honour should be "rightly informed, that little company was able to shew "what the whole University meant. And that for his part, "he had done uprightly, and intended so to do."

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1568.

The Archbishop moves the Chancellor herein.

The Archbishop was minded to bring the University to some uniformity in this matter: and for that intent soon after thought to wait upon the Chancellor at the Court, 270 (but his health would not permit, as he wrote to him,) to talk with him, what were best to be done in this Cambridge contention; whether to suffer by silence the commandment of the Latin service to be overthwarted, or to urge it still; which was, as he said, the chief ground of the distastes among them. And that if he, as Chancellor of that University, would resolve it, he knew most of the Heads would rather follow it. He pressed this matter again in the month of February unto the Chancellor; having forborne a while, because of urgent business of state, that the Archbishop knew then lay upon him. Now he offered it again to his consideration, to resolve the doubt, which was looked for at his hands from Cambridge; that is, for their order in private chapel prayers. The Archbishop reminded him,

Febr. 18.

BOOK III.

Anno 1568.

how it made variance, which soon might be appeased. And added, that he had no other charge in the matter, but to wish well to that body. And that, as he understood, their beadle was then with him, so he would please, if his leisure could so serve, to transmit his advice: and so wished his Honour well to fare in God. I am sorry I cannot go on to acquaint the reader what was further done in this matter, for the use of the Latin prayers in the colleges; but by what hath been said, we see the Archbishop's zeal to have the Queen's orders uniformly observed; and his judgment to have sedition timely checked, for fear of greater inconvenience.

New statutes for Corpus Christi college.

Now also, in the month of February, the Archbishop applied himself to Secretary Cecil, about new statutes for his said college of Corpus Christi in Cambridge. In King Edward's days, when he was Head of that college, he moved the King's visitors for the renovation of the statutes of the said college. Whereupon they granted, that Dr. Mey and himself should finish them, which he then caused to be written fair, and procured the visitors' subscriptions. At the visitation that happened under Queen Mary, these statutes were abolished; and they returned to their old ones. Upon the coming of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, was another visitation of the University appointed; where the Archbishop, Secretary Cecil, and some others, were in commission. And those statutes of King Edward were revived again. But upon pretence of some imperfection in the manner of doing it, some of the college thought themselves not bound by them: and because the Master of the college went down that week to the audit, the Archbishop thought good to have the new statutes recognized; and where some things necessary of the old statutes were omitted in the former book, he had them now inserted; and so to offer them to the house to be received. This copy of the new statutes, therefore, he sent by his servant to the Secretary, praying him, for the more authority, to put his name to them, as he had desired the hands of some others of the visitors, who were, (beside himself,) the Bishop of Winton, Sir Anthony Cook, and Dr. Walter Haddon.

Another good turn the Archbishop did this year for the said college. For the better and more flourishing state of it, he yielded and made over the rectory of Penshurst in Kent unto the Queen, confirmed by Goodwin, Dean of Christ's church, Canterbury; in lieu of her grant of the advowson, donation, and presentation of the rectory of the church of the blessed Mary the Virgin, Abchurch, London, to Bene't college. This charter of the Queen, whereby she granted this church to the college, was dated the 7th of July, 10 Eliz. which patent cost the Archbishop 20*l.* 9*s.* 8*d. viz.*

Anno 1568.

Gives this college the perpetual advowson of Abchurch, London.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
The Great Seal - -	8	9	0
The writing and enrolling,	2	6	8
The Signet and Privy Seal,	4	13	4
The vellum book, - -	0	10	0
The wax and examination,	0	4	0
To the learned Counsel about the same conveyance from the Archbishop to the Queen.	1	0	0
	20	9	8

271

The Archbishop did intend this living for the Masters of the college, for the time being, that some more gain might accrue to them by this addition to their mastership. But Fellows of that house have commonly been incumbents there.

Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, deceased this year, August the 13th, whereof Dr. Overton of that church had given notice to the Secretary the next day; and withal mentioned Day, Provost of Eton, as a good man to succeed, both in regard of his learning and piety: and three or four days after, the Archbishop suggested to him, that when it was the Queen's pleasure to appoint another Bishop there, that she would remember her Chaplain, Mr. Courteis, giving him the character of an *honest learned man;* that he was of age

Bishop Barlow dies.

One recommended by the Archbishop to succeed;

BOOK III.

competent, and among other qualifications, he added, that he was poor, and wanted living. But he trusted, that he would supply the office to God's honour and the Queen's contentation. And as the Archbishop recommended one, so he endeavoured to prevent another, namely, Cheny, Bishop of Gloucester, whose unsound principles were well known both to the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops. His doctrines gave great offence to the people of his diocese, and created such disagreements between them, both in Gloucester and Bristow, (which he held *in commendam*,) that that Bishop had wished he might be discharged of the burden of his bishopric. But the Archbishop told the Secretary, that he pretended this, but meant another thing, intending rather a remove than a discharge. And, "that they the Bishops "knew by experience what rule Gloucester made among "his people. That he would bring them to his contempla- "tion; which he laboured to do, but spied that he should "never, and thereupon wished that he were discharged." Which he pretended a long time, but meant something else. Nor truly was he a proper man to be translated to this diocese, abounding so much with Papists and Papism. The person the Archbishop named succeeded, but it was almost two years after this vacancy.

Anno 1568.

But not the Bishop of Gloucester.

Nominates Lent preachers.

One thing more I find the Archbishop doing about the latter end of the year, (which he seemed yearly to have done,) and that was, drawing out a list of such preachers as were to come up before the Queen the Lent following; which he sent the 19th of January to the Secretary to review, for his judgment, how he liked them. That so none might preach before her Majesty, but whom she should have a pleasure or content to hear; which the Secretary best knew.

Tremelius writes to the Archbishop. Corranus presents his sons with French books.

Two learned foreigners did this year make their addresses to the Archbishop: Emanuel Tremelius, (who was one of the learned exiles under King Edward, entertained by Bishop Cranmer, and then Parker's acquaintance in the University, where he was Public Professor of the Hebrew tongue,) paying him his respects in a letter, and therein in his wife's, as well as his own name, saluting *optimam Do-*

minam una cum utroque filio; meaning the Archbishop's wife and his two sons: and Anthony Corranus, a learned Spaniard, and preacher to the Spanish congregation in London, lately come from Antwerp, having been preacher in French to a congregation there, whither he had fled from his own country, for the profession of true religion. This Corranus, understanding these children of the Archbishop learned French, (as they were brought up in all good literature,) with a letter addressed to his Grace, sent them two French books, writ by himself, for the use of the church at Antwerp; in which church he first began to perform the office of a pastor, as he wrote to the Archbishop. One of these books was a confession of his faith: which he afterward set forth in Latin and English. This learned man wrote also certain tables concerning the works of God; which appeared abroad in four languages, Latin, French, Dutch, and English. Wherein he endeavoured to comprehend, as it were in propositions, the holy doctrine of both the Testaments. Intending thereby to set forth the true and right meaning and pure truth of the Christian religion, drawn out of the fountains of holy Scripture: and that in orderly method and apparent plainness. But this writing of his gave offence to some in those days, who charged it with Pelagianism. For which therefore he met with much trouble, and was fain afterward to write articles of his faith, printed by Tho. Purfoot, anno 1574. We may hear more of this man hereafter.

Anno 1568.

His books.

Vid. Archbishop Grin. Life, book i. chap. 15.

And this year, the Archbishop's brother, Thomas Parker, was Mayor of Norwich. And Allen, his Grace's Chaplain, if I mistake not, being now at Norwich, in a letter to his Grace from thence, delivered his brother the Mayor's commendations to him. And I meet with a certificate signed by the Bishop of Norwich, and Thomas Parker, Mayor, dated in August, whereby he and the said Bishop constituted one Simon Warner, to be guider and keeper of the house, or hospital, of our blessed Lady and St. Clement, without St. Austin's gate, in Norwich: putting out John

272

The Archbishop's brother Mayor of Norwich.

BOOK III. Bradley thence, and from any manner of collection by him any more to be made for the poor in the said hospital.

Anno 1568.

CHAP. XXI.

The Archbishop sets out a new edition of the Great Bible; and of a smaller for families. The Clergy find arms. Their taxation put into a method by the Archbishop. Makes a rate of arms for his own diocese. His taxation of himself.

The Archbishop publishes the Great English Bible;

A GREAT Bible by statute being to be had in all churches, and the edition of the old Church Bible being almost gone, our pious Archbishop set himself to prepare a new edition for the churches. And this was the year, (*viz.* 1568,) if I mistake not, that a new English translation of the Bible did appear in print, whereof our Archbishop was the great procurer. Of his pains in this work somewhat was said before, under the year 1565. This then was the year (as it seems) when the Great English Bible was first printed. For the Bible called *the Great English Bible*, with the year of the impression, (*viz.* 1568,) I find in the catalogue of the books the Archbishop gave to the library of Corpus Christi, Cambridge. He had used about this work the help, not only of his learned Chaplains, but of his brethren the Bishops; sending them particular portions of the Bible, of the former translation, to revise with the exactest scrutiny. And dealt so earnestly with all of them, that they refused not to be companions and partakers with him in these his labours. And afterwards himself, with other learned Divines in his family, perusing all again, he set forth a more correct translation of the holy Scriptures, of the same volume with the former, or a little bigger, and better printed. And so highly pleased was this good Prelate, when he saw an end put to this great work, that he seemed to be in the same spirit with old Simeon, using his

Matthæus.

very words, *Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* This was that which was commonly called *the Bishops' Bible*, because the Archbishop and the Bishops had the chief hand in correcting, reviewing, and publishing it: a thing which his predecessor Cranmer laboured to do with his fellow Bishops, but could not obtain. But there was a better set of Bishops at this time in the Church of England. Under the year 1572. we shall have a fuller account of the pains our Archbishop took in this most useful work. For it was that year printed again in the greatest folio, with another review. CHAP. XXI. Anno 1568.

But our good Archbishop had a care, that private families, as well as churches, might be supplied with the sacred Bible well corrected, to read and meditate in, for their spiritual profit and comfort, as often as they pleased. And therefore the very next year I find it set forth by him in a small, but fine black letter, in large octavo, a curious book, sometime shewn me by the learned Mr. H. W. an excellent antiquarian. In this Bible, the first capital letter at the first chapter of Genesis is adorned with the arms of the see of Canterbury, impaling the Archbishop's coat, with the letters M. P. set on each side, (which is commonly seen in the books written or printed by his procurement,) and underneath is set the year 1569. The chapters here are divided into verses; but no break in a chapter till the end thereof. And this, I think, is the first English Bible printed with distinction of verses. This Bible hath divers alterations in the version from the former English translations; which shews it to have been all revised anew: and there be divers notes set in the margin by the Archbishop, as it seems, which are different from the notes of Tindal and Coverdale; and such as are very instructive and significant. Take for a specimen the first note, set against the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis; *The earth was without form and void, &c.* "Although the works of God, both in the "creation and in his spiritual operation, may seem rude "and imperfect at the first, yet God, by the working of his "Holy Spirit, bringeth all to a perfection at the end." And smaller Bible. Anno 1569. Humphrey Wanley. 273

Things now tended apace towards a rebellion, which

BOOK III.

broke out in the north this year, headed chiefly by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; the Earl of Sussex, a true-hearted gallant gentleman, being now Lord Lieutenant of the north. But however secretly it was carried, it brake not forth before November; yet it seems there were already jealousies and suspicions of some such enterprise, or of some invasion of the Spaniard, by the managery of Duke D'Alva: who indeed was privy to the plot, and intended to send over forces to the assistance of the rebels. For the Queen was now making preparation for arms. And in May her Privy Council sent to the Archbishop concerning the Clergy: that a certain view should be taken of their armour; and certificates made of the armour to be provided by them, according to the proportion and rate prescribed and used in the time of King Philip and Queen Mary. Whereupon the Archbishop wrote to the Bishop of London, to give notice of it to his brethren, the Bishops of the province; and withal he sent a schedule, how the Clergy should be charged. Which was to this tenor.

Anno 1568. The Queen prepares for defence of her kingdom.

The Clergy charged with arms.

The Archbishop to the Bishop of London, for rating the Clergy. Parker's Register.

"Whereas the Lords of the Queen's most honourable "Privy Council have given commandment for the provision "of armour, and other furniture, by the Clergy of this "realm, according to such order and rates as were used in "the time of the late King Philip and Queen Mary, the "several rates and orders in that behalf then used are "hereafter particularly specified; *viz.*

"That every one of the Clergy, having land, or pos-"sessions of estate of inheritance of freehold, shall provide, "and find, and be chargeable with armour, horse, and "other furniture, in such sort, and manner, and form, as "every temporal man is charged, by reason of his lands "and possessions, by virtue of the statute made in the 4th "and 5th years of the reign of the late King Philip and "Queen Mary.

"*Item*, That every one of the Clergy, having benefices, "spiritual promotions, or pensions, the clear value whereof, "either by themselves or joined together, do amount to "the clear yearly value of thirty pounds, or upwards, shall "be bound, and charged to provide, have, and maintain ar-

" mour, and other provisions requisite, according to such " proportion and rate as the temporality are bound and " charged by the said statute, by reason of their moveable " goods.

" *Item*, If any of the Clergy of this realm hath both " temporal lands and possessions, and also spiritual pro- " motions, he shall be charged with armour, and other " provisions, according to the greatest rate of one of them, " and not with both."

His observations in doing it.

He added also observations of his own in rating for the proportion of armour; *viz.*

" I. The Bishop to rate himself among the temporalty " for lands.

" II. To rate the Dean and Prebendaries, as the tem- " poralty for goods, from thirty pounds upwards.

" III. To rate the whole diocese in like sort.

" IV. To account such as be resident within the diocese, 274 " under the sum of thirty pounds, and yet having benefices, " or pensions elsewhere, to make up the same sum, or up- " wards, to be rated there among the supplies.

" V. To rate every Incumbent where he is resident, and " every ordinary Chaplain, not resident in the diocese, " where he serveth."

And this the Archbishop sent to the Bishop of London, to be dispersed to all the Bishops of his province. The Archbishop also sent this order to the Dean and Chapter of York, that archbishopric being then void.

His method for equal rating them.

I find also in one of the Archbishop's MSS. in the Bene't college library, that this following was the way propounded of laying the charge of armour.

They that had *l.* per ann. were rated to find

l.	Corslets.	Almain Rivets.	Pikes.	Long Bows.	Sheaves of Arrows.	Steel Caps or Sculls.	Black Bills or Halberds.	Harquebuts.
200	i	ii	i	ii	ii	ii		i
100	i	i	i	ii	ii	ii		
40		ii		i	i	i	i	
30		i		ii	ii	ii	i	

BOOK III.

Anno 1569.

This great pains the Archbishop took to draw the matter into a good method, and that the weight might lie even and just upon the Clergy; and yet, that the Queen might have as large aid as might be from them; as appeared hence. The Secretary had employed one Godfrey, belonging, it may be, to the First-fruits Office, to draw up a book of all the Clergy of England, and what armour might be expected from them, according to their benefices. Which being done by the said Godfrey, the Secretary sent his book to the Archbishop for his judgment thereof. Who liked it not, telling the Secretary, that the rate, as he made it, was of small importance, to that which should be certified from every Ordinary; besides, that it was in many respects imperfect. For the illustrating which, view the table he drew up for his own diocese, on the opposite page.

275 Of this table of his own diocese, the Archbishop sent divers copies to several of his brethren, where he thought it might be taken for their better expedition: not as intending to prejudice their own inventions, as he told them, but shewing his, if they liked it. He desired the Secretary to inform him, if there were any thing further to be considered, and he would follow it. By this scheme, I cannot but observe by the way, how largely the Archbishop taxed himself. Whence one might perhaps make a calculation of the value, even then, of the revenues of that see, but especially of his generous and open mind, to serve the Queen and his country: taxing himself at six horse, with armour, ten light horse, with their furniture; forty corslets, forty Almain rivets, forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheaves of arrows, thirty steel caps, twenty black bills, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions. This strength then the Queen might expect in this dangerous time from the Archbishop and the rest of her Clergy.

The Archbishop's large taxation of himself.

A Rate of Arms for the Clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury.

	Horses and Geldings, with Armour for them. Whereof the one half to be Horsemen at the least.	Light Horses, with their Furniture of Harnesses, and Weapons.	Corslets.	Almayn Ryvets, Platecotes, Brigandines.	Pykes.	Long Bows.	Sheafs of Arrows.	Steel Caps.	Black Bills, or Halbards.	Harquebuts.	Morians, or Salets.
Archbishop	vi	x	xl	xl	xl	xxx	xxx	xxx	xx	xx	xx
Archdeacon, who being also Bishop of Rochester, was charged under his own diocese.											
Bishop of Dover				ij		i	i	i	i		
Dean of the Church			i	ij	i	ij	ij	ij		i	i
Prebendaries xj			viij	xi	viij	xviij	xviij	xviij	ij		
Preachers iv				vi		vj	vj	vj	iv		
R. Sturmouth				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
R. Wickham				i		i	i	i	i		
R. Mersham				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
R. Hollingborn				ij		i	i	i	i		
R. Biddenden				i		i	i	i	i		
V. Cranebroke				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
V. Tenterden				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
V. Feversham				i		ij	ij	ij	i		

SUPPLIES.

R. Adsham				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
R. St. Andrew's				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
R. Alington				ij		i	i	i	i		
V. Lydd				ij		i	i	i	i		

PECULIARS.

R. of Bowe				ij		i	i	i	i		
R. of St. Dunstan's				ij		i	i	i	i		
R. of St. Foster's				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
R. of Hays				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
R. of Bocking				i		ij	ij	ij	i		
Summa Tot.	vj	x	xlix	lxxxiij	xlix	lxxxv	lxxxv	lxxxv	xliiij	xxj	xxj

The Rates after Mr. Godfrey's Book for xv Benefices of xxx*l.* and upwards.

			xviij		xxvij	xxvij	xxvij	xv		

The Sum Total of another Diocese, which I suppose was Rochester, was this:

i	iij	xxvj	ɔcxvij	xxvj	ɔclxxxiiij	ɔclxxxiiij	ɔclxxxiiij	cccv	ix	vij

Place this Rate between p. 544 *and* 545.

CHAP. XXII.

Sherborn house in disorder. Lever's application to the Archbishop for redress thereof. Persons nominated for vacant bishoprics. Consulted with about them. His judgment of Ælmer; Bishop Grindal; Curteis. Stands up for his Courts. His excellent letter to the Secretary about dispensations. Favours Binneman the printer.

WE return now to give account of more of our holy Prelate's cares and counsels, in the emergencies of the remaining part of this year. Anno 1569.

Mr. Thomas Lever, that truly pious and learned man, (of whom mention was made before,) was now Master of Sherborn house, an hospital near Durham. But though a good man were the governor of it, yet in regard of religion there were great disorders, and little obedience in it: its members, I suppose, were favourers of the old superstition, and too negligent of the worship of God, according to the prescription of the reformed religion. And being not able to remedy these things himself, he had sought for redress of them from the Bishop of Durham, who then was Doctor Pilkington. But whether out of fear of that party, who were very strong in those northern parts, and this year made a great rebellion; or out of some prejudice to Lever himself, he did but coldly proceed to do any thing for the correcting and bettering of these things. Lever was come to Town in May this year, and made the Archbishop a visit, when he shewed him at large his grief for the evil ordering of the house; adding, that the Bishop considered it not, though he had complained to him. But our Archbishop thought this was not a matter to be neglected, though the misdemeanors were so far northly: but the rather, he reckoned consultation ought to be had for religion in those parts where it most wanted. This made him recommend the matter to the Secretary; telling him, it were pity that the Church, being so far off, should yet be out of good order. There was no good understanding in this church of Durham between this Bishop and his

The Archbishop is concerned for the disorders in Sherborn house.

The church of Durham out of order.

BOOK III. Anno 1569.

Canons. Whereof this Lever and his brother or relation, Ralph Lever, who was afterwards Dean, were two. The latter whereof, was one of those that had drawn up articles against Whittingham, the present Dean, whom the Bishop favoured. The feud in this church grew high, and lasted long. Insomuch, that in the year 1577, the year in which Bishop Pilkington died, a commission was sent from the Queen to Sandys, Archbishop of York, and the Dean of that church, and others, to inquire into that church of Durham and the
276 disorders there. And it may be to these home discords might be imputed the negligence of the Bishop, in Lever's business, before mentioned. Thus do private prejudices oftentimes hinder much public good.

The Archbishop for Aylmer's succeeding in the diocese of London.

There were now some sees vacant, three at least, York, Chichester, and Oxon. Which having remained so for some time, the Queen intended now in June, before her progress, to fill. This, when the Secretary wrote him word of to Croyden, where his Grace now was, he was glad to hear. For he liked not to have the bishoprics empty: knowing the inconveniences that were apt to accrue to a diocese, *sede vacante*, both as to the revenues, which were then especially made a prey of, and to the inferior Clergy too, for want of a careful inspector into their doctrine and manners; and being not ignorant what advantages the secret Popish missionaries might have upon the flock, being without a shepherd: therefore he told the Secretary, "that "in his opinion the Queen had done graciously to purpose "to furnish the places then vacant of watchmen, the times, "as he said, being then dangerous, and requiring prudent, "speedy, and vigilant foresight." This indeed the Queen was sensible of; and therefore, before she filled these vacancies, did use to consult with the Archbishop, and take his judgment. The Secretary, as from the Queen, had felt him, as to his opinion for the removal of Grindal, of London, to York; and who was fittest to succeed in that see of London. Among others, Aylmer and Curteis were much talked of. The Secretary desired the Archbishop's thoughts of these men. To whom he returned this answer,

that once he had at Hampton Court, when the Queen was there, told the Earl of Leicester, at his request, whom he judged fit to occupy the vacant sees. Wherein he *tituled to him his fantasie*, as the Archbishop expressed himself. He then mentioned, among others, Aylmer for London: but doubting withal how he would be accepted of by the Queen, being no more then but Archdeacon of Lincoln; [though famous for his being tutor to the Lady Jane;] and so he passed him then over. Anno 1569.

The character he gave him;

But when the Secretary had now again brought up his name, he was glad of it, knowing Aylmer's learning, and thorough-paced obedience to the discipline of the Church, and therefore was very willing that he should succeed Grindal, now in nomination for the see of York. The Archbishop therefore gave the Secretary this character of him, that he thought certainly that the Queen's Highness should have "a good, fast, earnest servitor" at London, of him, and, he doubted not, fit for that busy governance; especially as these times be, said he, when Papists, the Queen's mortal enemies, pretend what they will, [of duty, love, and loyalty,] have gotten such courage. And as to my Lord of London, he thought him as fit for York, "a heady and stout people; witty, but yet able to be "dealt with by good governance, as long as laws can be "executed, and men backed." There were, it seems, some frivolous objections made by some of the courtiers against these men to the Queen. To which the Archbishop gave this general answer, "That if the Queen's Highness, and "her realms, will be well served, she must bear with some "manners of men. Men, said he, cannot be angels, and "yet, I trust, disciplinable, and soon reformed, (I speak of "our sort,) if they be reasonably considered of in themselves, and not by others' gay reports, [made to the Queen,] "for the most part unanswered, [when if others, that "thoroughly knew them, had been present, they might "have given sufficient answers to control such reports.] "If it were sufficient to accuse, added he, who should be "innocent?"

And of the Bishop of London;

BOOK III.

Anno 1569. And of Curteis.

He forbore to give his judgment of the rest of the persons that were mentioned by the Secretary, and whom he himself had, it seems, recommended before for the vacant sees: saying, it would be too long to discourse particularly the cause of his judgment towards them, but generally, that he thought them meet in such considerations as moved him; but he left all to her Majesty, according as she should allow in them all. But particularly as to Curteis, who was the Queen's Chaplain, and a noted preacher; for whose advancement to York, there were some endeavours at Court; and for the keeping Grindal still at London; a thing the Archbishop inwardly perhaps liked not of, being desirous of his removal from London, though he thought convenient not openly so to declare himself: therefore he told the
277 Secretary concerning Curteis, that he might do better to be nigher to serve the Court, than, as yet, to be removed far. And that it was thought hardly of, that there should be so mean Chaplains towards the Prince, as, it seems, many of them now were. So that it seemed convenient in his opinion, for the Prince's reputation, to retain Curteis her Chaplain yet longer, who was a famed Court preacher. Nor when he was Bishop did he lose that fame; preaching then not seldom at the Court, and at other assemblies of great solemnity: and some of his Court sermons, and other public ones, were printed in the years 1584 and 86; namely, these following. There was one preached at Greenwich, in the year 1573; on Eccles. xii. the seven first verses, *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth*, &c.——*Then shall the dust return to the dust as it was: and the spirit shall return to God that gave it.* Another was preached at Richmond, in the year 1575, on Judges i. and the first thirteen verses. *Now after the death of Joshua*, &c. *And Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.* Another at Paul's Cross, 1576, upon Revelations xii. the first nine verses. *And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun*, &c.——*And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which*

A Court preacher.

deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. Another at Westminster, 1576, on Acts xx. verse 28—31. which seemed to be a Convocation sermon. *Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers,* &c.——*Therefore watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears.* Anno 1569.

How the bishoprics were bestowed.

But to return to the thread of our history; the conclusion this came to was, that Grindal was removed, though not before the next year, to York, and Curteis made Bishop of Chichester, and Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, succeeded Grindal in London. And Aylmer, missing all, must be contented to stay five or six years more, and then he shall be advanced to that diocese, which the Archbishop so earnestly wished him in, and where he would have been glad to have seen him placed before his death. But in all probability he was opposed by the Earl of Leicester, who began now to be acted very much by *puritanical* counsels. Oxon yet remained unfilled.

Stands up for his Courts.

In the month of June happened a case at the Arches, wherein the Archbishop shewed his stoutness, in standing up for the privileges of his Courts, in relation to the granting of dispensations; though he thereby were under some danger of incurring the displeasure of his good friend the Secretary, nay, and the Queen herself. There was one Mr. Tilney, that was to be dispensed with in some matter or other as to marriage. This case came before the Arches, where were present the Archbishop, the Lord Keeper, and the Secretary. A question was then moved, whether this gentleman might be dispensed with, and if so, doubt was made who might do it. The Secretary said, that the Queen might do it, (and probably had done it already,) for she might do, he said, as much as the Pope; and said farther, that the Archbishop might do it, and why not the Queen? This the Archbishop not liking, and being a man not of many words in public, gave some blunt answer to the Secretary; as at that sudden occasion, wanting time and

BOOK III.

place to have opened his mind further. But soon after he wrote him his mind more at large; that he might prevent incurring any displeasure, either from the Queen or him. He bade him, "not to mistake his words, for that he "intended not to arrogate to himself above his measure, or "to derogate the Queen's authority; which in all respects, "as God and laws might bear, he would as well have de- "fended, as he would wish his own life regarded. Where- "upon he thought good to put to the Secretary's consider- "ation, privately, some of his cogitations. He would not, "he said, dispute of the Queen's absolute power, or pre- "rogative royal, how far her Highness might do in following "the Roman authority. But he yet doubted, that if any "dispensation should pass from her authority to any sub- "ject, not advouchable by laws of her realm, made and "established by herself, and her three estates, whether that "subject be in surety at all times afterwards: specially "seeing there be Parliament laws, precisely determining
278 "cases of dispensations. Wherein, as he had heard say, "King Henry himself did use that authority in some of "his own private causes. The Prince, he said, might dis- "pense *in omnibus casibus insolitis;* where the Arch- "bishop's authority is shut up by the words of the statute. "If these cases had their right course, the Prince might "grant them; but yet by a warrant to the Office of Faculties, "under that law, to pass. And whereas somebody may "say, that the Bishop of Canterbury can dispense; I think "for myself, said he, I take some heed not to extend my "sleeve beyond my arm, nor to use much ready talk, "*in medio magnatum.* Which made him to sit sometime "mute, and hear out. And yet he thought to this day, he "had not absolutely granted any *casus insolitos*, if they "were weighed, but left them to his Prince, as he ought. "It was one thing to discuss what is done in order, or out "of order, and commonly hand over head; and what is "safely and surely done by warrant of law. During the "Prince's life, who will doubt of any thing that may pass "from that authority? But the question is, what will stand

Anno 1569. His judgment as to the Prince's dispensation.

" sure in all times, by the judgment of the best learned? " And here I am offended, added he, with some lawyers, " who make the injunctions of a Prince in her own life not " to be of such force as they make a Roman law, written " in the same or like case. *Exempli causa;* I urge the " Injunctions upon all Ministers, when their case comes in " question; whether they be capable of any ecclesiastical " living, if they marry not in such due form, as yet I " think is godly prescribed; especially, if the words of the " Injunction be regarded; which were once a disjunctive, " but by the printer made a copulative; viz. *that the parties* " *marriable, must be so allowed by two Justices of the peace,* " *or* (and) *by the Ordinary.* It is said to me, that the omis- " sion or contempt of this maketh them not incapable. " Marry, if there be any Roman law that forceth deprivation, " then is the danger seen, but not before. Sir, I think " these lawyers keep but their old trade, and not regard " much the imperial laws of the Prince: and yet these new " cases of marrying have no other direction in law before- " times, but by Injunction for this present time. But this " he saw led him into a sea of perplexities; and so proceed- " ed no further; but praying the Secretary to take in good " part, and plain sense, that he did bluntly speak the other " day to him before the Lord Keeper. And that in such " narrow points to tread in, he professed himself ready to " be informed to judge otherwise, if he might see reason " and learning to lead him."

Anno 1569.

Urges the filling the vacant bishoprics.

The Queen used not to be very forward in filling up the vacancies of the sees. But the Archbishop was as industrious to perform his office in calling upon her, and those about her, to do it. The bishoprics before spoken of being yet void in August, he sent word to the Secretary, " that " there could not be too many watchmen, which Latimer, " said he, was wont to speak; and that there was one dili- " gent watchman ever resident, which never ceaseth to walk " about for his prey." But for all this, the sees remained as they did, till the next year. And then they were filled, as before was said.

Aug. 9.

BOOK III.

Anno 1569. Furthers printing Latin books. Binneman.

As he was a great patron and promoter of good learning, so he took care of giving encouragement to printing, a great instrument of the increase thereof. This made him a suitor to the Secretary in the behalf of one Binneman, a diligent printer in those days, that he might have the Queen's privilege for printing a few usual Latin books, for the use of grammarians, as Terence, Virgil, Tully's Offices, &c. a thing not done here in England before, or very rarely. The said printer had brought the Archbishop a little piece of his workmanship, as a proof: which, upon his desire, the Archbishop sent to the Secretary, to see the form and order of his print. The Archbishop said, he thought he might do this amply enough, and better cheap, than they might be brought from beyond the seas, standing the paper and goodness of his print. Adding, that it were not amiss to set our own countrymen on work, so they would be diligent, and take good characters.

279

CHAP. XXIII.

An edition of Matthew Paris preparing by the Archbishop. Censured about it; and vindicated. His labour to prevent incestuous marriages. His table of marriage.

Preparing to publish Matt. Paris.

HE was now very busy in preparing to publish the excellent history of Matthew Paris, our countryman, to the world. He compared as many copies as he could get for that purpose. The Secretary having a choice collection of manuscripts, and among them one of this author; our Archbishop desired now to borrow it of him for a week or two; telling him, after a second letter for it, that he would be loath to be importune, but he would turn it to the commodity of our own country: and as in other works every man was doing, these were but in few men's hands, and were testimonies, he said, not to be lost, and time would be taken, [for the publishing such things, while one might.] This book came not forth till the year 1571. And since that, thrice reprinted; that is, in the year 1606, at Zurich, in the years 1640, and

1684, at London. Great was the pains our Prelate took in the finishing this work, and the exactness he used about it. Which consisted in considering what books Paris put forth, of which he was the true and undoubted author: where he began his history, and how far he continued it: and what faithful and ancient historians he followed; and when he left off writing. For this purpose he consulted divers manuscript pieces of this author. One whereof he had of his own, which was procured him, as it seems, by Stow, as himself in his history tells us: another was that of Secretary Cecyl's, before mentioned, which began at the year 1066, and proceeded as far as 1208, *viz.* to the 10th year of King John. He also made use of an ancient copy of Edward Aglionby's, Esq. as to the former part of the entire great history: which was continued from the beginning of the world, to the year 1189. Another excellent copy, which he had before him, was that of Sir Henry Sidney's, that went on from the year 1189. to 1254. This manuscript was writ by Matthew Paris's own hand, as our Archbishop said in his Preface to the book; but that it was foully maimed in some leaves, and erased in many places by some Friar; but restored by some other copies. He used also a copy belonging unto Henry, Earl of Arundel. By this copy he was helped as to the latter part, *viz.* from the year 1254, to the last year of Henry III.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1569.

The MSS. he made use of.

Where all these manuscripts now are, I cannot tell: but that of Sir William Cecyl and that of Aglionby are both in the private library of Bene't college. That called the Lesser History, which is an abridgment of the larger, is in the Arundelian library. And in the Cotton library is a transcript of it also, by William Lambard, that ingenious, learned, and painful antiquarian, and great acquaintance of our Archbishop. In which transcript he wrote these words with his own hand: *Hujus libri duo tantummodo vidi vetusta exemplaria, quorum alterum penes Henricum Arundeliæ comitem est; alterum verò penes Matthæum Cantuariæ Archiepiscopum. W. L.* This was dated by him in the year 1565.

Where to be met with.

W. Lambard.

BOOK III.

Those of the Church of Rome set very hard upon the first publisher of this book; not knowing, I suppose, that our Archbishop was the man; but if they had, his authority would not have much more swayed with them. Particularly Baronius; whom Casaubon, in his Prolegomena to his learned Exercitations, brings in uttering his uncharitable censure in these words: *Nisi probra illa fuerint additamenta, potius ejus, qui edidit, novatoris, hæretici hominis: quum peculiare sit illis libros quos potuerint, depravare.* "Unless these reproaches" [he means those charges which Matthew Paris lays upon the Church of Rome, in regard of their greedy rapines] "be rather the additions of that "innovator and heretic that put forth the book; since it is "peculiar to them to deprave what books they can." I leave Casaubon there to answer this charge laid upon Protestants, of depraving authors, and to throw back that imputation upon themselves. But that the Archbishop should be guilty of it in publishing Matthew Paris, none can easily believe, who knew the man and his communication. Such a lover of antiquity, such a restorer of it, such a person of honour and integrity, could never be guilty of so much violence to truth, learning, and antiquity. He may be vindicated also from those divers manuscript copies of this author that are still extant: which have those very passages in them, of the rapacities of the Popes, for which the sincerity of the publisher was called in question. And Casaubon says, that he himself had, in his own study, one of these manuscripts in parchment, well writ, that came out of the King's library, of that antiquity, that he supposed it to be that very book that had been dedicated by the author to the library of the abbey of St. Alban's: and that he had examined, and found no diversity in those things, that spake of the covetousness and spoil of the Popes. And lastly, that there were other pieces of this author in many English libraries, not then published, as the Lesser History, and the Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's, wherein the like, or greater matters, are related of the rapaciousness of the Popes.

Anno 1569. The publisher censured by Baronius; Casaubon's Prolegomena.

280

And here I cannot but take notice also of the disingenuity of one of the members of our own Church; I mean Brian Twine, in his book called, *Academiæ Oxoniensis Apologia;* who, out of a too childish fondness of the University wherein he was bred, presumed to question the sincerity of our grave Archbishop, as though he were not sufficiently faithful or honest in publishing this historian and some others; because he did not like somewhat that is related in them. Thus, when in one of them there happened this passage, "That once many deserted Oxon, and retired to "Cambridge," Twine, thinking belike that this might be some reflection upon his University, writes, *Si illis standum sit historiis, quas Matt. Parkerus Cantuar. Archiep. edidit.* And in another place of his book, speaking of his setting forth Matt. Paris, adds invidiously, *Si vera sit, Matt. Cantuar. editio.* But I leave the reader to see what reply Dr. Fuller gives him in his History of Cambridge.

Anno 1569. And by Brian Twine. Acad. Oxon. Apolog.

Hist. Camb. p. 14.

But there was another matter, of greater moment than the publishing of Matthew Paris, and more properly pertaining to his function, that exercised our Archbishop's thoughts, and took up much of his care at this time. It was concerning incestuous and unnatural contracts and marriages, which were now very rife, to the great scandal of the nation, and its reformed religion. Cambridge itself, a place where more knowledge and more grace ought to have been, was too guilty of it. That unnatural filthiness was too much known and blazed there abroad, in that great liberty of marriage, which was then used: a thing that made good men lament, and the adversaries laugh. And Dr. Fulk himself, of St. John's college, had laid under a great blot for it. But such favour notwithstanding many had for him, that he was now near being elected Master of that college, by a great party he had there. Which much offended our Archbishop, that "Fulk's head should be thus stroken," as he after his plain way expressed it. But to vindicate the dead, though we go a little out of our way to do it; it seems this was some calumniation cast upon him, his name being unjustly stained. And he recovered soon his reputation; being publicly judged

His care for preventing incestuous marriages,

At Cambridge.

Dr. Fulk.

BOOK III.

clear by the Bishop of Ely, that college's Visitor. And as he had under his trouble, occasioned by this slander, resigned his fellowship, so he was now reelected by the college again. And this year the Earl of Leicester, to countenance him the more, received him into his family for his domestic or ordinary Chaplain. But it must not be denied, but that, by some frailty, Fulk had given occasion to these surmises.

Anno 1569.

And at London.

And at London there was one Gerard Danet, of a good family, and his german sister, both having the same mother, who had contracted for man and wife, and had two children betwixt them, and she then big with the third. And this course they had continued ten or twelve years, the mother also allowing it. And they were so far from the thoughts of separating from one another, that they could not be persuaded it was a sin they lived in. The Archbishop had cited Danet before him, but secretly, for the sake of his family,
281 and had examined them, but it flew abroad. All with little success, though he laboured, as he expressed himself, with all the wits he had to persuade them both that it was a sin to be repented of. He took them also apart; and spent a whole afternoon with the sister, but all in vain. Six years before, he had the man before him, and thought he had won him in secret communication from his lewdness; and so he promised the Archbishop then. But it fell out otherwise. "Thus," said he, "the devil locketh up men's hearts in out-"rage. Thus this watchman, the devil, watcheth and wan-"dereth, to shame God's word, and to shame their house." This he wrote to the Secretary, protesting before God, he knew not what to do with them, nor how to deal, wishing he had his counsel.

Publisheth a table of marriage.

Vid. Bishop Sparrow's Collections.

This was a sin that this kingdom had been very much addicted to, even from the beginning of the Queen's reign, and, no question, before too. Insomuch, that our good Archbishop had, in the year 1563, set forth a table of marriage, shewing in what degrees of affinity and consanguinity marriage was unlawful; that none might be left in such an ignorance, as to commit the sin, and not know thereof. Therein

he gave this threefold admonition. First, That none contract with such persons as were expressed in that table, nor with any of like degrees against the laws of God. Secondly, That they make no secret contracts without consent or counsel of their parents or elders, under whose authority they be. Thirdly, That they contract not anew with any other upon divorce and separation made by the Judge for a time, the laws yet standing to the contrary.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1569.

CHAP. XXIV.

Letters from the Council to the Archbishop, to take account of his diocese. He visits by commission. Visitation of the archdeaconry, certified to the Archbishop. A debate between the Dean and Canons; referred to the Archbishop. Eastbridge hospital visited. The Archbishop makes new statutes for it.

THINGS began now to look black and cloudy upon the realm. The Popish princes abroad were entered into a secret league against the Queen: the Pope had declared her excommunicate by a solemn bull, and given away her crown. In Lancashire the gentlemen that came hitherto to church, now withdrew on a sudden; a dangerous insurrection was peeping forth in the north; and Scotland threatened us. These matters begat deep thoughts at Court. And in October, or the beginning of November, the Queen entered into serious deliberation with her Council concerning the state of her kingdom, and for the redressing of things, as yet amiss therein. And the matters ecclesiastical coming under consideration, she found a defect in the care of her Bishops, and that her subjects wanted teaching, and due information in religion, many of them falling into the errors of Popery, and others neglecting to resort to their parish churches, and refusing to comply with the rites and usages of the Church. This gave a great concern and trouble to the Queen: for she esteemed the disunion of her subjects in the religion

Vid. Annals of Reform. ch. liv.

The Queen deliberates about church matters.

BOOK III. established, a great ground of her danger. Whereupon she charged her Council to inquire into these matters, and to
Anno 1569. provide speedy reformation thereof. The Lords therefore directed a long and earnest letter to the Archbishop, (and the like was notified to all the Bishops,) to appoint inquiry to be made of all such, certifying their names and qualities, that had of late not resorted to their parish churches, nor used the Common Prayer according to the order of the
282 Church; and of the number of preachers in each diocese; and divers such like things, for the better understanding the state of the dioceses. Which may more fully be perceived in the letter which I have hereto subjoined; directed, *To the most reverend Father in God, and our very good Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury:*

MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" After our hearty commendations to your good Lord-
" ship. The Queen's Majesty of late in conference with us
" upon the state of this realm, among other things meet to
" be reformed, is moved to think, that universally, in the
" ecclesiastical government, the care and diligence that pro-
" perly belongs to the office of Bishops, and other ecclesi-
" astical Prelates and Pastors of this Church of England, is
" of late years so diminished and decayed, as no small num-
" bers of her subjects, partly for lack of diligently teaching
" and information, partly for lack of correction and reform-
" ation, are entered either into dangerous errors, or into a
" manner of life of contempt or liberty, without use or exer-
" cise of any rites of the Church, openly forbearing to resort
" to their parish churches, where they ought to use common
" prayers, and to learn the will of God by hearing of ser-
" mons, and, consequently, receive the holy Sacraments. Of
" the increase of which lamentable disorders, her Majesty
" conceiveth great grief and offence. And therefore hath
" expressly charged us to inquire the truth hereof by all
" good means possible; and to proceed speedily for the re-
" formation and remedy hereof.

" Whereupon, according to her Majesty's charge, and as
" we find it very requisite of our own duties, as well towards

" Almighty God, as to her Majesty and our country, we " have entered into a further consideration hereof. And " though we find a concurrency of many causes, whereupon " such general disorders and contempts have of late years " grown and increased, the remedy whereof we mean to " seek and procure by as many other good means as we " can; yet certainly we find no one cause hereof greater, " nor more manifest, than an universal oversight and neg- " ligence (for less we cannot term it) of the Bishops of the " realm, who have not only peculiar possessions, to find, " provide, and maintain officers, but have also jurisdic- " tions over all inferior Ministers, Pastors, and Curates; " by them to inquire, or be informed of this manner of " contempts and disorders, and by teaching and correc- " tion to reform them: or if the offenders should for any " respect appear incorrigible, thereof to make a due inform- " ation to her Majesty, as the supreme governor, under " God, of the whole realm. And surely, though we know " that some of the Bishops of the realm are to be more " commended than some others for preaching, teaching, " and visiting of their dioceses; yea, and for good hospi- " tality, and for other good examples of life; yet at this " time doubting, that a great part of the realm in sundry " places is touched with the infection of these disorders, " though some more, some less; and as we fear no bishop- " ric fully free; we have therefore necessarily concluded to " notify to every one of the Bishops alike, this her Majes- " ty's carefulness and desire, to have her realm herein re- " formed: and for that purpose at this present to seek the " understanding of the state of every diocese in certain " points hereafter following.

" And therefore we will and require your Lordship, in " her Majesty's name, that, first, you will earnestly con- " ceive and thankfully allow of this her Majesty's godly dis- " position. And next, that you do circumspectly, and as " quietly as you may, without any manner of proceeding " likely to breed public offence, inquire, or cause to be in- " quired by such as are faithful officers, and not dissem-

BOOK III. Anno 1569.

" blers, what persons they be, and of what quality, degree,
" and name, that have not of late time resorted to their pa-
" rish churches within their diocese, or have not used the
" common prayers according to the laws of the realm, or
" have not at usual times received the holy Sacrament: and
" how long they have forborne. And further, we require
" you to be advertised, what ecclesiastical public officers you
" have under your Lordship in your diocese. Who they
" be, with their names and degrees, ordained to see to the
" execution of the laws and orders of the Church. Like-
" wise, what preachers you have properly, for the most part
" conversant with yourselves in household. And what other
" preachers residing abroad in your diocese. And what
283 " ecclesiastical livings every one of them hath, with the
" values thereof; or what other stipends they have, where-
" with they have any maintenance or sustentation to con-
" tinue in their function. Likewise, we require you by au-
" thority of these our letters to confer with the Dean and
" Chapter of your cathedral church, and with the heads of
" any other collegiate church in your diocese, or with any
" other persons having any peculiar jurisdiction within your
" diocese, and cause them to certify distinctly by writing,
" what number of Prebendaries, Canons, and Preachers
" they have, which do reside within the said churches and
" jurisdictions, and how many do not reside. And how
" many of them do use and not use to preach. And what
" be their names and degrees. And in like sort, the names
" and degrees of them that have any sustentation in their
" churches to preach, and yet do not reside nor do preach.
" And likewise, we desire to be advertised, what churches
" or places, ordained to have common prayer, are by any
" means presently void of Curates. And in whose de-
" fault the same happeneth, and in what sort you think the
" same may be best remedied.

" And while you shall be occupied in the inquisition
" hereof, wherein we would have you use all good diligence,
" we heartily and earnestly require your Lordship, as you
" will be accounted worthy of your calling, to employ all

" your care and industry in procuring more diligent preach-
" ing and teaching within your dioceses, as well by your-
" selves as by all other, having the gift to preach. And
" therein to use all charitable means by diligent instruction,
" and faithful teaching and example of life, to stay the good,
" faithful, and obedient subjects in their duties; and to in-
" duce and persuade others to return from their disorders
" and errors. So as all parties may observe their duties in
" the public and open service of Almighty God, according
" to the ordinance and use, that by the common order of
" the realm is for God's honour established. And what-
" soever your Lordship shall think meet and needful to be
" granted or devised for your further assistance, thereof to
" advertise us. Whom you shall find ready to aid and
" satisfy you, as farforth as we shall find in our powers rea-
" sonable, either by ourselves, or by means to her Majesty,
" whom we perceive earnestly disposed to have the glory of
" God increased by the due reverence of all her subjects in
" his service, according to his blessed word and command-
" ment. And thus we bid your good Lordship well to fare.
" From Windsor this 6th of November, 1569.

" Your Lordship's loving friends,

" N. Bacon, C. S.	E. Clynton.	W. Howard.
" F. Bedford.	F. Knollys.	W. Cecyll.
" W. Northampton.	R. Sadleyr.	Wa. Mildmay.
" R. Leicester.		

" *Postscript.* We pray your Lordship not to delay the
" answering to us with speed the names of the *recusants*
" to come to church without deferring for the rest. And
" to procure the like certificate of these matters from the
" bishoprics of Chichester and Oxford, now vacant. And
" to that end to send them a copy of these our letters, with
" special charge to see the same accomplished."

The Archbishop visits *jure ordinario*.

About this time, in the month of November, (and for the cause abovesaid no question,) the Archbishop visited his own diocese. Among the MSS. preserved in the library of N. Battely.

BOOK III.

Christ's Church, Cant. there is one containing a great collection of notes taken out of old ledger books of monasteries and priories, registers and records of Archbishops and Bishops: in this is recorded, that this year 1569. Archbishop Parker visited the diocese of Canterbury *jure ordinario:* though he came not down in person before the next year. And he was the first, saith the writer, for ought it doth appear upon the records, that visited that diocese *jure ordinario.*

Anno 1569.

His commission to visit. Park. Regist. 284

To proceed therefore with this visitation. The Archbishop commissioned Andrew Peerson, B. D. and Thomas Lawse, M. A. together with the Suffragan of Dover, to visit the city and diocese, and granted them afterward a particular commission, *ad reformanda detecta*, " to examine, dis- " cuss, correct, and legally to punish, whatsoever crimes, " excesses, faults, &c. were discovered either in the Laity or " Clergy."

Injunctions. Park. Regist.

The Injunctions now given to the Dean and Chapter of Christ's Church are set down in Latin in the Archbishop's register. " The first was inviolably to observe all the " statutes of that foundation, not contrary to the word of " God, and the laws of the kingdom of England. For that " he interpreted, none were bound to such statutes as were " repugnant to the word of God and statutes of the land. " And that no Canon should procure any dispensation by " any authority for the abrogating of the said statutes.

" That no matters of weightier moment, that required " not speed, as the demising of their lands, their woods, or " possessions, or alienations of any goods of the church, the " commencing of law suits, &c. be done in any other time " or manner, but in two general Chapters, according to the " statute limited, under pain of amotion, &c." I omit the rest for brevity sake.

The Archdeacon's visitation. N. Battely.

Now to give some further account of this visitation, so far as it concerned the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, (there being about thirty parishes exempt from his jurisdiction,) which account is collected from the original MSS. late in the hands of the reverend Archdeacon, Dr.

Battely, late deceased. The Archdeacon's Official at that time, whose name was Vincent Den, visited his archdeaconry by order of the Archbishop's Commissioners before mentioned; and returned an account thereof at large to the Archbishop, prefaced with this letter:

Anno 1569.

The Official's letter hereupon to the Archbishop.

" Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino, Domino " Matthæo, permissione divina, Cant. Archiepiscopo, totius " Angliæ Primati, et Metropolitano: vestri humiles et devoti " Vincentius Denn, LL. D. Archidiac. Cant. Officialis, et Tho- " mas Cranmer Notarius Publicus, ejusdem Domini Archi- " diaconi Registrarius et Actorum Scriba, omnem et omnimo- " dam obedientiam, et reverentiam, debitam cum honore. Li- " teras vestras missivas dudum reverendo Patri Richardo per- " missione divina Episcopo Suffraganeo Dovor. et venerabili- " bus viris Andreæ Peirson, S. T. B. et Thomæ Lawse, " A. M. Commissariis vestris ad visitationem ordinariam " infra diocesin vestram Cantuar. exercendam directas, in " quantum nos dictæ literæ concernerent, inspeximus et " consideravimus. Quibus inspectis et consideratis, nos ex " officii nostri debito mandatis vestris in eisdem contentis et " specificatis pro temporis brevitate, et nostris earundem " rerum scientiis, humiliter obtemperantes, vestram reve- " rendiss. paternitatem certiorem facimus de statu, condi- " tione et numero omnium et singularum ecclesiarum et " capell. infra Archidiaconatum Cantuar. et jurisdictionem " ejusdem, et non alibi: deque nominibus et cognominibus, " gradu et qualitate omnium et singulorum rectorum, vicari- " orum et curatorum infra jurisdictionem Archidiacon. præ- " dict. et non alibi existentium: necnon de numero famili- " arum et communicantium unius cujuscumque parochiæ: " deque rebus aliis in dictis literis nobis injunctis, modo et " forma subsequent. In quorum omnium et singulorum " fidem et testimonium, nos præfatus Vincentius Denne " Officialis et Thomas Cranmer Notarius Publicus huic " præsenti certificatorio nomen nostrum manu nostra propria " respectivè subscripsimus. Dat. 1. Dec. anno Dom. 1569.

" Per me Vincentium Denn, LL. D. &c.

" Per me Thomas Cranmer, Notarium Publicum prædict."

BOOK III.

Anno 1569.

285

Then follow the names of every parish, rector, vicar, or curate, his quality, residency, whether married or single; the number of families in every parish, and of communicants. Which matters stood thus in short:

The Clergy of the archdeaconry of Cant.

Churches and chapels within the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Canterbury -	216
Married Clergymen - - - - -	135
Licensed Preachers - - - - -	34
Graduates - - - - - - -	37

That is to say, one Doctor of Divinity, one Doctor of Law, seven Bachelors of Divinity, seventeen Masters of Arts, nine Bachelors of Art, two Bachelors of Law.

Families - - - - - -	11,174
Communicants - - - - -	32,986

Some of the non-resident Undergraduates were here certified to study at Cambridge or Oxford.

A controversy between the Dean of Canterbury and the Canons. Regist. Dec. Capli. Eccl. Cath. Cant. N. Bat.

About this time happened a dissension between the Dean, Dr. Thomas Godwin, and the Prebendaries of Canterbury, about choosing officers; when it was agreed that the case should be referred to their Archbishop. The case was this, as it is recorded in the register of the Dean and Chapter. "November 25, 1569, in the forenoon, the Dean and Chapter proceeded to the election of officers, according to the "statutes of the church; which occupied the better part of "the forenoon, and yet no election could be made. Thereupon the Chapter was continued till one of the clock afternoon, the same day. When Mr. Dean and the Chapter met, "and were assembled accordingly, and eftsones entered to "have made the election of the said officers. And every Prebendary's voice was very sundry times demanded. But "such a number as ought to consent to the perfecting of "those elections, although the whole day was spent in that "business, could not be had nor made: and so it was generally thought good that the Archbishop's Grace should be "informed thereof. And then the Chapter was continued "till eight of the clock the next morning. When, because "there had been contention between Mr. Dean and the "Chapter, touching the aforesaid election of officers, and

Anno 1569.

"whereas also complaints and griefs of wrong offered to "some of the Chapter had been shewed, it was, for avoid- "ing further contentions, agreed, that the Archbishop "should have the ordering of all the matter, and that the "day of appearance should be before him on Monday, the "5th of December next. And the Chapter was continued "till two of the clock afternoon. Thence continued Mon- "day, November 28, forenoon. And thence to the after- "noon the same day. And then to December 1, forenoon. "At which time Mr. Dean and the Chapter met: and then "being given to understand that the Archbishop had heard "of the aforesaid controversy, and had signified that the "Dean and Chapter should be before him on December 5, "which day, by reason of some other matters intervening, "was not thought convenient to hold; but that the Arch- "bishop should be sent and sued unto, to defer the day of "appearance until the 9th of December, was for causes "[Here two or three lines are burnt out of the register] Mr. "Dean and the Chapter should appear on the 15th day of "December. On which day the Dean, and such of the Pre- "bendaries as were appointed, appeared before the Lord "Archbishop at Lambeth. When and where his Grace did "order the election of officers; and did elect and nominate "a Vice-Dean, Receiver, and Treasurer. Which nomi- "nation and election, Mr. Dean, after his return, *viz.* on "December 19, 1569, did communicate to the whole Chap- "ter then assembled; and it was agreed that oaths, accord- "ing to the statutes, should be administered to them seve- "rally: which was done."

Referred to the Archbishop.

Now also the ancient hospital of St. Thomas, of East- 286
bridge in Canterbury, was visited, and statutes given it, drawn up and prepared by the Archbishop himself in May last. This hospital was founded for poor pilgrims; but converted by the Archbishop from superstition, and made serviceable for the uses of charity. It became by this time greatly abused. Many of the statutes, by the carelessness or fraud of the Masters of that hospital, were wholly disused. And the goods, the woods, and possessions, and other rights

Eastbridge hospital visited.

BOOK III.

Anno 1569.

and dues of the hospital were dilapidated and embezzled. One Swerder, late Master of this hospital, got an annuity of ten pounds out of the rents: and, which was worst of all, the poor were defrauded of their alms. Which were the reasons that moved the Archbishop to reform and make new statutes for this house. By these statutes he appointed the Master to be his Commissary General in the city of Canterbury for the time, and to be in Priests' Orders; unless the Archbishop's Suffragan would take that place, who was, as to his choice thereof, to be preferred before the Commissary. The Master was every year to give a true account of the state of the house, as to the rents and incomes thereof. And that, according to the Archbishop's pleasure, the Master was to reside either at the mansion-house of the hospital, or at his manor of Blene and Hothcourt; and to receive yearly from the fruits of the lands and possessions of the hospital six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, and twelve carectates, that is, cartloads of wood. That every Friday throughout the year, the Master was to receive thirty poor people assembled at the door of the hospital, such as had been natives of Canterbury or lived long in that city, and to distribute thirty pence to them. But in war time the payment of these thirty pence was to cease: and in lieu thereof, four pence were daily to be distributed to such soldiers as passed through the city, especially such of them as had been hurt or wounded, and to be harboured for a night; excepting such as were infected with the leprosy. And twelve beds to be kept constantly for poor soldiers, or other poor; and a woman of honest reputation, of forty years old and upwards, to be entertained, to attend upon such as should be lodged there. The house was to have two books: one as a calendar, wherein the number of the poor lodgers, their sickness, and the monies given them, were to be entered daily: and this book was yearly, with the accounts of the house, to be brought to the Archbishop for the time being. The other book was for the writing therein the day, month, year, and the names of such as died in the hospital. There was also a freeschool to be maintained here

for boys, not exceeding twenty, who were to be taught to read, to sing, and to write fairly: and especially the skills of singing and writing: and they were to have paper, pens, and ink, and other convenient books, provided them at the charge of the house. And no boy to stay at this school above four years, to make room for others. And three days in the week they were to sing aloud the Litany, or other short prayers, according to the appointment of the Master. And the Master of the hospital was himself to be the teacher, or to procure one, who should also be the collector of the rents, and to have a livery given him by the Master, such as he gave to his other servants, with a salary. Two Scholars to be maintained out of the rents at Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, as by indenture between the Master of the hospital and the Masters and Fellows of the said college it was agreed. For the rest of these good statutes and orders, devised by the Archbishop for this hospital, I refer the reader to the Appendix. Anno 1569. No. LVIII.

I find Thomas Lawse, Clerk, was admitted to the government of this hospital, February 13, 1569. Park. Register.

CHAP. XXV. 287

Papists in the Temples; brought before the Archbishop. Interrogatories for some of them. The Council writes to the Benchers. John Alasco, sometime Superintendent of the Dutch Church, London, dies. Some account of him. Matthew and John Parker have offices conferred on them by their father. By the means of the Archbishop, the Master of Bene't college resigns. Founds certain scholarships and fellowships in this his college. Makes ordinances for them. Provides them chambers and books. Gives a great gilt basin and ewer to the city of Norwich.

IT was thought fit now to purge the Inns of Court, called the Two Temples, of sundry Papists that here harboured themselves. Many of them came not to common prayer Paget and Shaftow, of the Temple, Papists.

BOOK III.

Anno 1569.

nor communion, though sometimes to the sermons in the Temple church. Among these was Paget, Under-treasurer of the Inner Temple; and Shaftow, who did business in law for the Earl of Northumberland, the traitor. These and others were brought before the Archbishop and other Commissioners in the Star-chamber: and some of them were, by the said Commissioners, committed to the Fleet. And for the further instruction of these Commissioners, the Council had sent their letters to them, and interrogatories, for the removing of Papists out of the Temples. In drawing up which interrogatories, the Archbishop had his hand; for in some places are his own insertions. Which when I shall have set down, it will appear what the crimes of these gentlemen were.

Interrogatories to be ministered unto G. H.

Interrogatories for Papists. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"First, Whether you have commonly frequented the "Temple church at service time, as others of the house do?

"*Item*, Whether you have received the Communion in "the Temple church, accustomably, as others of the house "have done?

"*Item*, Whether you said of late time, that the marriage "of Priests was unlawful, and their children bastards?

"*Item*, You being requested in your chamber to go to "a sermon at Paul's Cross, whether said you, 'That you "would not hear one knave of them all:' and, 'That Mr. "Alvey, the Master of the Temple, stood in the pulpit like "a crow-keeper?'

"*Item*, Whether, after your committing to the Fleet, you "said that you cared not a rush for the Commissioners?

"*Item*, Whether you have in your keeping a certain lewd "libel, entitled, *A Knack to know a Knave*, or any other "such like; or whether any other, to your knowledge, "hath any such?

"*Memorandum*, The two first interrogatories, and this "last, be to be ministered to them all."

More interrogatories for T. P.

Other articles there were, as interrogatories for T. P. the

Under-treasurer. He was interrogated, Whether he was sworn, when he was admitted to the office of Under-treasurer, according to the statute, as was commanded by the Council's letters? Whether he said not, that he divided every sermon that he heard into two parts; that is to say, into matter touching doctrine, and into matter touching manners? And as for matter touching manners, he could be content to hear it, and partly to digest the same. But as for any matter touching doctrine, that is to say, touching points of religion, you let that pass, and care not a point for it? Anno 1569. 288

Other interrogatories were for J. S. and more for Paget and Stone. They were generally examined of their hearing Mass in the Temple, White Friars, or at the Spital. Whether at Mass they prayed for the Queen? Whether they had the books of Harding and Dorman against the supremacy of the Queen? Whether they had not in their hands any bull of absolution, or seen it in other men's? Concerning their seeing a letter or letters, written by Harding, Dorman, Hopkins, Stanford, or any of them from beyond sea; and what the contents of them were? For J. S. and Paget, and Stone.

To Matthew Shaftow (and this is written with the Archbishop's hand) were these interrogatories put. That he was Solicitor to the Earl of Northumberland. Whether he had not his livery and exhibition for the same? And where he made his abode during the time of the late rebellion in the north parts? About contribution to Popish rebels, and fugitives beyond sea; about books, reasons, and arguments, touching the Scotch title, and the authors thereof. Thus did Papists nowadays behave themselves. And of the Inns of Court in this house chiefly did the young Popish gentlemen shroud themselves and their practices, against the Queen and the laws. And this eye did the government now cast upon them. The issue of these examinations in the Star-chamber was, that some were reformed and profitably reconciled to those laws and ecclesiastical orders which they had before despised; and others expelled and secluded, that were so perverse and seditiously bent, as to continue And Shaftow.

BOOK III.

in disorder. And the Council wrote letters to the Ancients and Benchers, to let them know what was done with these persons, and to furnish them with orders for the better restraining of Popery in those houses for the time to come. The copy whereof the Secretary sent the Bishop of London for his judgment therein. Which, he answered the Secretary, he liked very well: but he wished added thereto a commandment to the Benchers of every house, that in calling men to the bench or bar, they should reject all those that were notoriously known, or vehemently suspected, to be adversaries to true religion, until they had sufficiently purged themselves. And to this effect the Bishop had delivered his mind in a letter himself. This was in the month of May.

Anno 1569. The Council's letters to the Inns of Court.

Bishop of London.

A Lasco dies. Epistol. MSS. Eccles. Belgic. Lond.

Johannes a Lasco having been the first Superintendent over the foreigners' church in London, in the reign of King Edward, and a person of the nobility of Poland, we will take occasion here to mention his death, which happened in January this year at Frankford; where he left a wife, scarce known to any, in great trouble; as he had buried one before in England. He had a son named Thomas, and a daughter Barbara, at Groning. This grave and learned man, upon the coming in of Queen Mary to possess the crown, removed with his Church of Germans beyond sea. Being afterwards at Frankford, he laboured much to settle a right understanding in the doctrine of the Sacrament between the Protestants, Lutheran and Reformed. Which was the cause, that in the year 1556. he went from Frankford to the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Wittenburg, endeavouring the meeting and conference of learned men about the said matter of the Sacrament. Of this Peter Martyr, from Strasburg, acquainted Utenhovius, at London, by letter. But knowing well the heat of the Lutherans, especially at that time, thought it unseasonable, as he wrote in the said letter, and that it would be without any fruit. *Quo enim magis hæc ambiuntur, animi adversariorum magis exasperantur*, i. e. "The more these things are labour-"ed for, the more are the minds of the adversaries exaspe-

" rated; yet I pray God to send good success." And it proved as that good man feared. For this produced a hot dispute with Brentius; of which there was afterwards a narration writ; wherein A Lasco was much misrepresented in what he had said. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1569.

This pious man having been the great procurer of the church of the Augustin Friars for the Protestant strangers, and the first Minister thereof, his picture was there hung up, and kept in the library in memory of him, until the fire of London, when it was conveyed away, and could never since be heard of, as I have been told from an ancient member, and elder of that Church. What A Lasco was in his younger years may be learned from a character Erasmus gave him, whom he called Baro Poloniæ, in a letter to Reginald Pole; *Clarissimorum majorum imagines, dignitates amplissimæ, spes ampliores, ingenii mira vena, eruditio neutiquam vulgaris, ne tantulum quidem addunt illi supercilii:* i. e. " That his ancestry, his honours, his expectations, " his wonderful ingenuity, his uncommon learning, did not " in the least puff him up." He went away from Basil from Erasmus there, in the year 1525, towards Rome; whose departure, saith Erasmus, even killed many that knew him, and among the rest himself. So great a love he left behind him among those with whom he conversed. His picture. Dan. Vanmildort. 289 Erasmus's character of him. Ep. xvii. lib. 18.

This is the first time I meet with the names of the Archbishop's children recorded. In a register of the decrees and orders of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury it is noted, that the office of the Actuary of the Court of Audience was granted by the Archbishop to Matthew Parker and John Parker, Gentlemen. And the office of Principal Register was granted to the said John Parker and Matthew Parker, and Thomas Pede. Offices conferred upon the Archbishop's sons. N. Battely.

Which Matthew, being now eighteen years of age, was, December 29, married to Frances, a woman afterwards renowned for her virtues, one of the daughters of Barlow, Bishop of Chichester. She being not long after left a widow, disposed herself in marriage to Dr. Toby Matthew, that learned and eloquent Divine, Dean of Christ's Archbishop Parker's second son marries. Dr. Toby Matthew.

BOOK III.

Church, Oxon, Dean of Durham, Bishop of Durham, and Archbishop of York, successively.

Anno 1569. Procures the old Master of Bene't college to resign.

We said something the last year concerning the fatherly care of our Archbishop for Bene't college: now we shall add a passage or two more. The Master, Dr. Pory, who was also Minister of Lambeth, and a Prebendary of Westminster, was now superannuated, and so not fit to reside and act there as he ought to have done. Which contributed much to the disorders in that house; and was the reason the Archbishop had, for two or three years past, moved him to resign up his mastership; a thing he always seemed loath to do. But with calling on him, he prevailed with him about Christmas to do it. And Pory went down for that purpose. But he resigned up, as he said, all his joy with it. For with that academical preferment his mind seemed more to be delighted than with his other dignities. But while the Archbishop, now in March, expected his return back again to Lambeth, where he lived, he perceived that he was minded, with his mastership, to resign up all he had besides. And by a letter to the Archbishop, he signified that he was content to resign up his prebend to his successor in the mastership: namely, to one Mr. Aldrich, then Senior Proctor. He was known to the Archbishop, according to the character he gave of him, to be an honest young man, and skilled in the learned tongues; as also in French and Italian, and, as he trusted, like to do service in the realm hereafter. Whereupon the Archbishop laboured to obtain this Prebend for the new Master: and for that purpose wrote to the Secretary to prefer Pory's resignation to the Queen with favour, and he doubted not it would be well bestowed. He sent also another message to the Lady Stafford, a great Lady of Honour about the Queen, that she might also speak some good word, for the love of her son, who then was of that college.

Aldrich succeeds.

Clears himself of a false imputation of a design upon him.

That Pory had kept this headship so long was commonly imputed to the Archbishop; and that he stayed him in it in hopes to be his executor, for he was reckoned to be very rich. But the Archbishop, to take off any such sinister

opinions of him, " protested, in good faith, to the Secretary, " that he looked not to be advantaged five shillings by him, " nor would be either his executor or supervisor, if God " should take him to his mercy. But he might live, and " spend all, said the Archbishop; and so he had, for ought " he knew: and that he was but a poor man, contrary to " the world's opinion of him." Anno 1569.

Whether Aldrich enjoyed this prebend, I know not: yet in order to it, he had the endeavours of the Archbishop, and his good character of him to the Secretary. The mastership was actually in his possession, chiefly by the means of his Grace's recommendation. But the good Archbishop was mistaken, and Aldrich proved ingrateful. For afterwards he created a great deal of vexation to his patron; insomuch, that some few years hence we shall see how he laboured all he could to out him of this mastership, as he had been very instrumental to bring him into it: and at last got it voided of him. The new Master proves ingrateful to the Archbishop. Ad ann. 1573. 290

To this his beloved college he shewed his great affection this year, as he had upon all occasions done before, by obtaining and granting benefits to it. And he so prudently ordered it, that certain schools and counties felt the benefit of it too. First, by an indenture, dated May the 22d, *ann. Regin.* 11. it appears he appointed two scholars to be sent from the free-school in Canterbury, to Bene't college in Cambridge, and procured for their salaries yearly, six pound, thirteen shillings, and four pence, payable out of the rents of the hospital of Eastbridge. Which the said Archbishop had, by his pains and diligence, increased and augmented to the revenues of the said hospital, over and above what the original endowment of that house was. And hereupon it was decreed, between the Master of the said hospital, and the Master and Fellows of the said college, and their successors, that the said Master, with the assent of the Dean of Christ's Church, Canterbury, should always send from the said school, according to the condition of the time, (until the number of two hundred years should be completed,) two scholars born within the county of Kent. For which the The Archbishop founds Scholars from Canterbury;

BOOK III.

said Master of the hospital should, out of the annual rents thereof, make the payments of the said salaries, as aforesaid.

Anno 1569.

The foresaid indenture of the 22d of May was made between William Murphet, Clerk, Master of the hospital of the poor of Eastbridge, in the city of Canterbury, and John Porie, D. D. Master or Keeper of Corpus Christi college in Cambridge. The said William and his successors to pay to the said Master or Keeper yearly, at the choir door in the church of Westminster, on the west part of the said church, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, or within thirty days next following, the sum of twenty-seven pound, thirteen shillings, and four pence, for and during the term of two hundred years. In consideration of which, the Master or Keeper of the said college should admit and receive into the said college, for the increase of the number of scholars there, two scholars, to be named and chosen by the Master of the hospital and Dean of Christ's church, Canterbury, to be taken out of the free-school in Canterbury, and such as should be born within the county of Kent.

And from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincoln.

And further, by another indenture, dated the last of May this same year, it appears the Archbishop obtained from the Queen, out of certain tenements, situate in Westminster, in a place called Long Ditch, in the parish of St. Margaret's, an annual clear rent of eight pound, thirteen shillings, and four pence, for the more happy progress and increase of three scholars in the college of Corpus Christi, or Bene't college. And because the foresaid cathedral church of Canterbury had some part of their farms and possessions within the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, by a certain agreement and consent it was determined, that two of the three foresaid scholars might be freely taken by the Dean and Chapter out of them, who were the children of their tenants, in the said farms and possessions, if their parents did crave and desire it. The third to be of the county of Lincoln; of the cathedral church whereof the Archbishop was sometime Dean. Which three, after they should be sufficiently in-

structed in grammar learning, the said Dean and Chapter were to send from the school to the said college, to enjoy the same benefit, table, and stipend, as other scholars of that college had a right to; as by an instrument between the said Dean and Chapter, and the foresaid Master and Fellows, did appear. And here the Archbishop made a wise *proviso*, viz. that the Master and Fellows might increase or diminish the said sum to the scholars, according as the said living should increase or diminish: foreseeing what improvements might in aftertimes be made of those tenements.

Founds two fellowships and two scholarships more for Norwich.

Still further, this same year, he founded two fellowships and two scholarships more, in Bene't college, appropriated to Norwich. For which, and other charitable uses, he paid three hundred and twenty pounds to the mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty of the said city. In consideration of which money there was an indenture made, August the 6th, 11. Regin. between the said mayor, sheriffs, &c. and the said college; wherein the former gave and granted to the 291 college an annuity of eighteen pound of lawful money, out of all and singular the messuages, lands, tenements, &c. lying within the parishes of the said city, hamlets, or fields, belonging unto the same, which they had in the right of their corporation; to employ the same annuity for several uses and purposes. As, to the use of two Fellows yearly to be found, and to continue within the said college; likewise to the use and towards the exhibition of two grammar scholars, to be sent out of the schools at or in the city of Norwich, Wymondham, or Aylsham, to the said college; and other uses.

Makes ordinances for them.

The Archbishop also made certain articles, or ordinances, concerning these two fellowships, and also concerning the ninth and tenth fellowships, and concerning the two Norwich scholars, *viz.* that these two Fellows be called *the Norwich Fellows*, and always to be at the order of the election of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi college, as they chose other Fellows of the same house. That these two Fellows might enjoy any pension or canonship, prebend or prebends, in any cathedral or collegiate church, without cure, valued not above ten pounds in the book of

BOOK III.

first-fruits and tenths: and that the ninth and tenth Fellows might enjoy, with their fellowships, the like ecclesiastical livings, valued not above six pound in the said books. By reason of which preferments the said four Fellows were bound to teach freely the five Norwich Scholars. That if the two Norwich Fellows, the ninth or tenth Fellows, or any of them, would not or could not enjoy in their own persons such canonship or canonships, prebend or prebends, that then the Master and Fellows for the time being should have the disposition thereof, *pro hac vice tantum*, with such convenient consideration as should seem best unto their consciences, to the relief of the four Fellows aforesaid, and five Norwich Scholars. And that every the said Fellows, at the acceptation or presentation of the said ecclesiastical livings, should enter into sufficient bonds to the Master and Fellows, and that at their departure out of the said fellowships they should resign up their said ecclesiastical livings, to the behalf of such as should succeed them in their rooms.

Anno 1569.

Provides his Scholars chambers;

And here let me add, that, for the more convenience and benefit of the Scholars founded by him, he afterwards, anno 1574, allotted them chambers in the college, and procured them several books to be used in common by them in their studies. Whereby he saved them much money, that must otherwise have gone out of their purses to provide them. The chambers were on the east side of the college; for three of which (if no more) the Archbishop provided implements, *viz.* beds, mattresses, bolsters, and coverlids of tapestry, chairs, and tables; that is, one of each sort belonging to each chamber. Which cost him ten pound eight shillings. The books, which were for the common use of all the six Norwich Scholars, were chained, and remained within the under-chamber of the tenth chamber on the east side. And they were these:

And books.

Textus Bibliæ cum Gloss. Lyræ in quatuor voluminibus.

Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum versionibus Vulgat. et Erasmi.

Paraphrasis Erasmi super Novum Testament. in duob. voluminib. Latinè.

Concordantiæ Bibliorum.

Lexicon Græco-Latinum, recognitum an. 1562.

Thesaurus Linguæ Roman. et Britannic. per Thom. Cooper, anno 1565.

Thesaurus Linguæ Latin. in trib. voluminib. recognit. anno 1561.

Lexicon Latino-Græc. anno 1554.

Historia Antiquitat. Cantabrigiæ. anno 1574.

Gives a basin and ewer to Norwich.

This year the Archbishop expressed a further testimony of his good-will to his native city of Norwich, by presenting (as a new-year's gift) a basin and ewer, whole gilt, weighing an hundred, threescore, and fifteen ounces, to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens thereof. For which they gave a bond of an hundred pound, to Bene't college, never to alienate it, except for urgent causes of necessity, as might be thought reasonable to the Master of the said college. On the outward bottom of the basin was this inscribed, *Matthæus Parker, Norvicens. Archiepisc. Cantuar. dedit eidem civitat.* 1. *Jan. anno Dom.* 1569. *et anno consecrationis suæ* XI. *ætatis suæ vero* 66. 292

Preferred by the Archbishop. Regist. Parker.

I meet with these persons preferred this year by the Archbishop; *viz.* Radulphus Cavelarius, (Hebrew Professor at Cambridge,) admitted Jan. 27, to the seventh prebend of Christ's church, Canterbury: and Thomas Lawse, Clerk, admitted the 13th of February, to the government of the hospital of East Bridge in Canterbury.

Cecil, the Archbishop's great friend, recovers the Queen's favour.

I end this year with the emergence of an excellent man, Secretary Cecil, out of a very great danger of disgrace, if not of death; most of the great men about the Queen combining to bring her into displeasure with him. He was the Archbishop's chief and fast friend, and to whom he constantly made his applications on all occasions, (as is evident by what hath been already said,) and so did all the rest of the good Bishops in their affairs and necessities. So that on his safety and credit with the Queen, the Church's welfare in great measure depended. In what strength and security this great patron and friend of the Archbishop and hierarchy now again stood, after a desperate shock, I had rather express in his own words than mine. Writing thus to a friend

BOOK III.

Anno 1569.

of his. "I am in quietness of mind, as feeling the nearness "and readiness of God's favour to assist me with his grace, "to have a disposition to serve him, before the world. And "therein have I lately proved his mere goodness to preserve "me from some clouds or mists; in the midst whereof I "trust mine honest actions are proved to have been light- "some and clear. And to make this rule more proper and "special to be applied, I find the Queen's Majesty, my gra- "cious good Lady, without change of any part of her old "good meaning towards me. And so I trust only by God's "goodness to observe the continuance. I am also presently "moved to believe, that all my Lords, from the greatest to "the meanest, think my actions honest and painful, and do "profess inwardly to bear me as much good-will as ever "they did heretofore."

END OF VOL. I.